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HISTORY



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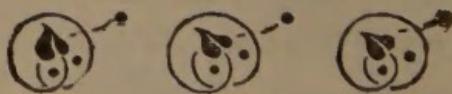
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CARLYLE

*The HISTORY
of the JEWS*
by HENRY HART
MILMAN D.D.
VOLUME II

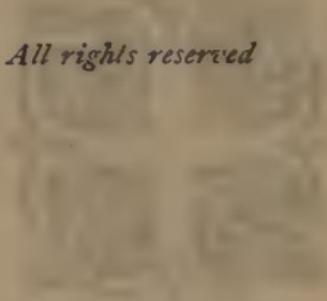


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HISTORY OF THE JEWS

BOOK XV

THE WAR

Vespasian—Siege of Jotapata—Fall of Japha—Mount Gerizim—Capture of Jotapata—Josephus—Surrender of Tiberias—Fall of Tarichea—Massacre—Siege of Gamala—Fall of Itabyrium—Taking of Gamala—of Gischala—Flight of John—Feuds in Jerusalem.

WITH the early spring Vespasian appeared at Antioch,¹ at the head of his powerful army. There Agrippa met him with all his forces. Vespasian advanced to Ptolemais : he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris. The metropolis of Galilee, notwithstanding the authority and the threats of Josephus, again made overtures to join the invader. Vespasian received the deputies with great courtesy, and sent them back with a strong body of 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to defend their city against any attack of the Jews.² These troops, under the command of Placidus, took up their position towards the great plain, the foot within the city, the cavalry encamped without the walls. From these quarters they ravaged the surrounding country. Josephus made one strong effort to recover the capital of Galilee, but was repulsed, and only the more exasperated the Romans, who spread fire and sword over the whole region ; they slew all who were able to bear arms, the rest they carried off as slaves.

Titus, with expedition unusual during the winter season, sailed from Achaia to Alexandria. From thence he shipped his troops for Ptolemais, and joined his father. Vespasian was now at the head of three of the most distinguished legions of the Roman army—the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth.

¹ Josephus says that Antioch was uncontestedly (*ἀδηρίτως*) the third city in the Roman Empire. This is important in Jewish as well as in Christian history. Compare Strabo, xvi. p. 1089. According to Strabo the other two were Seleucia on the Tigris, and Alexandria. Of course Rome is excluded.

² B. J. iii. 4. x.

History of the Jews

Besides these, he had twenty-three cohorts, five of them from Cæsarea. Ten of these cohorts mustered 1000 men; the rest 600, with 150 horse each.¹ The allied force consisted of 2000 foot, all archers, and 1000 horse furnished by Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus. Malchus, king of Arabia, sent 1000 horse and 5000 foot, the greatest part archers. The whole army amounted to 60,000 regulars, horse and foot, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion.²

The campaign was now formally opened: the forces of Placidus overspread the whole country. Josephus attempted no resistance in the open field. The inhabitants had been directed to fly to the fortified cities; all who were not expeditious or fortunate enough to escape were cut off or seized. But these were the unwarlike part of the people: the more active and courageous had all crowded into the cities. The strongest of all these was Jotapata, where Josephus commanded in person. Placidus concluded that if, by an unexpected attack, he could make himself master of that important post, the blow would so terrify the rest, that they would immediately fall. He marched rapidly against Jotapata; but the garrison had received timely information. They anticipated the assault by a daring sally, for which the Romans were entirely unprepared. The troops of Placidus were repulsed; many wounded, but only seven killed; for the legionaries retreated in good order, and being entirely covered with their defensive armour, seldom received mortal wounds. The Jews were only light-armed troops, who rarely ventured to fight hand to hand, but annoyed the enemy at a distance with their javelins. It was an inspiriting commencement of the campaign.

At length the vast army of Vespasian began to move. Josephus describes the order of march with the accuracy of an eye-witness.³ He must, indeed, have watched its stern and regular advance with the trembling curiosity of the sailor, who sees the tempest slowly gathering, which is about to burst, and perhaps wreck his weak and ill-appointed bark. The van was preceded by the light-armed allies and their archers, who scattered over the plain to observe any un-

¹ "Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter Legatos majore filio assumto." Suet. Ves. iv. "Bellum Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus . . . tribus legionibus administrabat." Tacit. Hist. i. 10.

² B. J. iii. 4. 2.

³ B. J. iii. 6. 2.

expected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the general, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were 120 cavalry attached. Then the mules which carried the military engines, and the besieging train. The lieutenant-generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself, in files of six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up the rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage, on mules and other beasts of burthen. After the Romans marched the mercenaries; a strong rearguard of light and heavy armed foot, and many horse, closed the procession. The host passed on in its awful magnificence. Vespasian halted on the frontier of Galilee, as if to give the revolted province time for repentance, or to strike terror into the more obstinate insurgents. The measure was not without effect. No sooner did the army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garis, not far from Sepphoris, hear of this tremendous invasion, than, before they had seen the enemy, they dispersed on all sides; and Josephus, left almost alone, began to despair of the war.¹ It was idle to think of opposing such an enemy with a few dispirited troops; he gathered, therefore, the wreck of his army, and fled to Tiberias.

Vespasian marched against Gabara;² the city was ungarrisoned, and the stern Roman proceeded to make a terrible example, and to wipe out the affront of Cestius with the blood of the enemy. The youth were put to the sword,—not a man escaped; the city, with every village and hamlet in the neighbourhood, was burned to the ground; the few villagers, whose lives were spared, were seized as slaves. The

¹ B. J. iii. 6. 3.

² This must be the right reading. Gadara was on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee.

retreat of Josephus to Tiberias filled the city with consternation ; they naturally construed it into a proof that he despaired of success. They were not wrong, for the manner in which the war was conducted made him consider resistance hopeless. Yet, though by his own account he could immediately have made terms with the Romans, he determined not to abandon the cause. He sent despatches to Jerusalem, strongly worded, in which he exhorted the people to make their immediate option, either of capitulating at once, or sending a powerful and effective army into the field.

Jotapata¹ was the city in which the greater part, and those the bravest, of the Galilean warriors, had taken refuge. It was strongly situated in a rugged, mountainous district. The roads were scarcely practicable for infantry, quite impassable for horse. In four days the pioneers of Vespasian cut a practicable road right through the mountains, and, on the fifth, Jotapata lay open to the army. Josephus contrived to throw himself into the city. This was made known to Vespasian by a deserter ; and he became the more eager for the capture of the town, when he heard that the general-in-chief was within the walls. It seemed as though the most prudent of the enemy had surrendered himself, as into a prison. Placidus and Æbutius, decurions of great merit, in whom Vespasian had the highest confidence, were sent with 1000 horse to surround the walls, and to cut off all possibility of escape.

The next day, May 15th, Vespasian advanced in person with his whole army. During all the day, till late in the evening, the defenders of Jotapata saw, from their lofty battlements, the slow and endless files emerging from the straight and level road which led to the city walls. It was on the strength of their position, amidst their rugged and precipitous mountains and their dark and impenetrable forests, that they had relied for their security. To their consternation they saw the woods falling before the axe of the pioneer, like grain before the sickle of the reaper ; the lofty crests of their mountains, as it were, bowing down their heads before the resistless invader ; and Nature herself giving up the custody of her unprotected fortress. Vespasian drew up his whole

¹ Jotapata, of which Robinson is silent, seems first to have been discovered by Schulz : there are ruins on a jagged cliff called Dschebel Dschifat, which answers to the situation and description of Jotapata. Ritter, Erdkunde, viii. ii. p. 764.

army on a hill, less than a mile to the north of the city ; his object was to strike terror into the defenders by the display of his whole force, which lay encamped on the slope. He was not mistaken in the effect which it produced : the garrison cowered behind their walls ; not a man ventured forth. The army, weary with their long march, did not advance to an immediate assault : they proceeded to draw a triple line of circumvallation round the city ; and thus every chance of escape was cut off. This, however, instead of striking terror, drove the whole garrison to despair. They felt themselves cooped up like wild beasts in their lair ; they had no course left but to fight gallantly to the utmost ; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valour and most stubborn resolution.

The next day the attack began. The Jews, disdaining to be pent up within their walls, pitched their camp before the trenches, and went boldly forth to meet the enemy. Vespasian ordered the bowmen and slingers to gall them with their missiles, and himself with the infantry began to ascend a declivity which led to the least defensible part of the wall. Josephus saw the danger, and with the whole strength of the garrison made a resolute sally, and drove the assailants down the hill. Great valour was displayed by both parties. On one side fought desperation ; on the other the haughty shame of being defeated by such a foe : the Romans had skill in the use of their weapons ; the Jews made up what they wanted in practice and experience with reckless bravery. Night separated the combatants, yet the slaughter was not great on either side. The Romans had lost thirteen killed, and many wounded ; the Jews seventeen killed, but six hundred wounded.

On the following day they again attacked the Romans. They had become more resolute, since they found they could make head against their formidable enemies. Every morning added to the fury of the contest ; for five days the Romans continued to make their assaults, and the Jews to sally forth or fight from the walls, with equal courage. The Jews had now lost all their terror of the Roman prowess ; while the Romans, with their obstinate bravery, persisted in forcing their way to the walls.

Jotapata stood on the summit of a lofty hill, on three sides rising abruptly from the deep and impassable ravines which surrounded it. Looking down from the top of the walls the

eye could not discover the bottom of these frightful chasms. It was so embosomed in lofty mountains, that it could not be seen till it was actually approached. It could only be entered on the north, where the end of the ridge sloped more gradually down ; on this declivity the city was built ; and Josephus had fortified this part with a very strong wall. Vespasian called a council of war. It was determined to raise an embankment (*agger*) against the most practicable part of the wall. The whole army was sent out to provide materials. The neighbouring mountains furnished vast quantities of stone and timber. In order to cover themselves from the javelins and arrows of the garrison, the assailants stretched a kind of roof, made with wattles of wicker-work, over their palisades ; under this penthouse they laboured securely at their embankment. They worked in three divisions, one bringing earth, the others stone, or wood. The Jews were not idle ; they hurled down immense stones and every kind of missile upon the workmen, which, although they did not do much damage, came thundering down over their heads with appalling noise, and caused some interruption to their labours.

Vespasian brought out his military engines, of which he had 160, in order to clear the walls of these troublesome assailants. The catapults began to discharge their hissing javelins, the balistas heaved huge stones of enormous weight, and balls of fire and blazing arrows fell in showers. The Arab archers, the javelin men, and the slingers, at the same time, plied their terrible weapons, so that a considerable space of the wall was entirely cleared : not a man dared approach the battlements. But the Jews, who could not fight from above, began to attack from below. They stole out in small bands, like robbers, came secretly on the workmen, pulled down their breastworks, and struck at them as they stood naked and without their armour, which they had pulled off to work with greater activity. If the besiegers fled, they instantly demolished the embankment, and set fire to the timbers and the wattles. Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the different breastworks, under which the separate parties were labouring, gave advantage to the assailants, ordered one to be carried all round, and, uniting all the working parties, effectually prevented these destructive attacks.

The garrison at length beheld this vast embankment completed ; it almost reached to the height of their battlements ;

it stood towering right opposite to them, as if another city had arisen beside their own, and from the equal heights of their respective walls they were to join in deadly conflict for the mastery. Josephus hastily summoned his workmen, and gave orders that the city wall should be raised to a much greater height. The workmen represented that it was impossible, as long as the wall was thus commanded by the enemy, to carry on their labour. Josephus was not baffled; he ordered tall stakes to be driven on the top of the wall, upon which he suspended hides of oxen newly killed. On this yielding curtain the stones fell dead; the other missiles glided off without damage; and even the fire-darts were quenched by the moisture. Under this covering his men worked night and day, till they had raised the wall twenty cubits, thirty-five feet. He likewise built a great number of towers on the wall, and surrounded the whole with a strong battlement. The Romans, who thought themselves already masters of the city, were not a little discouraged, and were astonished at the skill and enterprise of the defenders; but Vespasian was only the more enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison, and the subtlety of the commander. For the defenders, become confident in the strength of their bulwarks, began to renew their former sallies: they fought in small bands, with the courage of regular troops and all the tricks and cunning of robbers. Sometimes they crept out and carried off whatever they could lay their hands on; sometimes, unperceived, set fire to the works. At length, Vespasian determined to turn the siege into a blockade; and, as he could not take the city by assault, to reduce it by famine. For, in a short time, the garrison would either desire to capitulate, or if they were still obstinate in their resistance, would perish from want. At all events, if it was necessary to renew the attack, their men would be enfeebled by privation and suffering. Accordingly, he kept his troops in their quarters, and contented himself with strictly blockading every avenue to the city.

The besieged were very well supplied with grain, and every other necessary, excepting salt; but there was great want of water. There was no spring in the city; the inhabitants were obliged to be content with rain water. But during the summer it rarely, if ever, rains in that region; and, as the summer was the time of the siege, they began to be dreadfully dispirited, and to look forward in horrible apprehension to

the period when their supply would entirely fail. Josephus commanded the water which remained to be rigidly measured out. This scanty doling forth of that necessary refreshment to men parched with fatigue, and many of them feverish with wounds, seemed worse even than absolute privation ; the sense of want seemed to aggravate their thirst ; and many began to faint, as if already at the worst extremity of drought. The Romans saw what was going on within the walls ; and, as the inhabitants crept along with their pitchers to a particular spot to receive their daily allotment of water, they pointed their engines at them, and struck them down as they passed.

But the fertile mind of Josephus had not exhausted its store of schemes : he ordered a great number of his men to steep their clothes in water and hang them up from the battlements till the wall ran down with the dripping moisture. The Romans were confounded ; for men who could waste so much water out of mere wantonness, could not possibly be in the wretched state of privation they had hoped. Vespasian, weary of thus blockading a city so amply supplied, returned to the assault, the mode of attack to which the Jews wished to drive him. For in their state it was better to perish at once by the sword, than by thirst and famine.

Josephus had another stratagem by which he kept up intelligence with those without the city. There was one narrow and rugged path, down the dry bed of a torrent, which led into the valley to the south. It was so dangerous and seemingly impracticable, that the Romans neglected to guard it. By this way the messengers of Josephus stole out of the city, bearing letters to and from the commander, and everything of small bulk of which the garrison stood in need. These men, in general, crept out on all fours, covered with the skins of beasts, that they might look like dogs. This went on for a long time, till at length the way was detected, and closed up by the enemy.

At this perilous juncture Josephus honestly confesses that he began to think of his own personal safety ; and entered into deliberation with some of the chief leaders of the garrison, as to the means of making their escape. Their counsel transpired, and they were environed by all the people of the city, earnestly entreating them not to abandon the wretched town to the fury of the enraged enemy ; for, so long as he and the garrison remained, there was some hope of resistance. Directly they were gone, the city must inevitably fall ; and

merciless extermination was the only fate which they could expect. The crafty general endeavoured to persuade them, that his only object in leaving the town would be to provide more effectually for their safety; that he would raise all Galilee, and so harass the Romans as to force them to break up the siege: that his presence was of no real service, but only made Vespasian the more obstinate in his determination to capture the town. This language but the more inflamed the multitude; the women with their infants in their arms began to wail; boys and old men fell at his feet, and embracing them, besought him to remain and share their fate. "Not," Josephus adds, "from any jealousy lest I should save my life, while theirs were in danger, but because they entertained some hope of saving their own through my means. As long as I remained, they were safe."¹

Partly moved by compassion, partly feeling that if he did not consent to their entreaties, he might be detained by force, Josephus determined to stand firm at his post, and seized the moment of excitement, to lead his force to a desperate attack. "If then," he exclaimed, "there is no hope of safety, let us die nobly, and leave a glorious example to posterity." The bravest crowded round him, and some rushed suddenly forth, drove in the Roman guard, and carried their inroads even into the camp; they tore up the hides with which the works had been defended, and set fire to the lines in many places. A second and third day they continued these furious attacks; and for many nights and days kept up, without being wearied, a perpetual alarm.

Vespasian found the heavy-armed legionaries ill-suited to this desultory warfare; from the unwieldy weight of their armour they could not, from their pride they would not, retreat: and, when they turned again in any force, the light-armed Jews in an instant disappeared within their walls. Besides, the valour of the Jews was mere desperation; like a fierce fire, if unresisted it would burn out. He ordered therefore the regular troops to decline these attacks, and to repel the sallies of the besieged with the Arabian archers and Syrian slingers. The engines in the meantime never ceased discharging their showers of bolts and stones: these sorely distressed the Jews, but sometimes getting under the range of the engines, they fiercely attacked the Romans, never sparing

¹ B. J. iii. 7. 16.

their own lives, and new troops continually filling up the places of those who were fatigued or slain.

The Roman general found that he was, as it were, besieged in his turn ; and as the embankment had now reached close to the wall, he ordered the battering-ram to be advanced. This was the most formidable of all the besieging artillery used in ancient warfare. It was an immense beam, headed with iron, in the shape of a ram's head, from which it took its name ; it was suspended by cables from another beam, which was supported by strong tall posts ; it was drawn back by a great number of men, and then driven forward with so tremendous a recoil, that tower or wall could scarcely ever resist the shock. The Romans were accustomed to see the bulwarks of the strongest cities crumble as it were to dust, the instant they could bring that irresistible machine to work. As the heavy ram slowly advanced towards the walls, covered with a pent-house of wattles and hides, both for the protection of the engine and of the men who were to work it, the catapults and other engines, with the archers and slingers, were commanded to play with increasing activity, to sweep the walls, and distract the besieged. The battlements were entirely cleared of the defenders, who lay crouching below, not knowing what was about to happen. At the first blow of the ram the wall shook as with an earthquake, and a wild cry rose from the besieged, as if the city were already taken.

The engine went on battering at the same place shock after shock : the wall already began to totter and crumble, when Josephus thought of a new expedient. He ordered a number of sacks to be filled with straw, and let down by ropes from the walls, to catch the hard blows of the ram, wherever it might strike. The Romans were perplexed, for their blows fell dead on this soft and yielding substance ; and in their turn they fastened the blades of scythes on long poles and cut asunder the ropes which held the sacks. Then the engine again began, without interruption, its work, when behold the Jews suddenly broke forth in three parties. They bore in their hands all the lighted combustibles they could find ; they swept everything before them, and set fire to the engines, the wattles and the palisadoes of the besiegers. The Romans, confounded with this unexpected daring, and blinded by the fire and smoke driving in their faces, made less courageous defence than usual. The timbers of the embankment were all dry : a great quantity of bitumen, pitch, and even sulphur had been used as cement.

The conflagration spread with the greatest rapidity, and thus one hour destroyed the labour of many days.

The daring exploit of one man among the Jews met with universal admiration: he was a Galilean of Saab, named Eleazar, the son of Samaes. With an immense stone from the wall, he took such a steady aim, that he struck off the iron head of the battering-ram; he then leaped down from the wall, secured his prize, and was bearing it back to the city. He was unarmed, and all the darts and arrows of the enemy were discharged at him. He was transfixed by five arrows; still, however, he pressed on, regained the walls, stood boldly up, displaying his trophy, in the sight of all—and then, still clinging to it with convulsive hands, fell down and expired. Two other Galileans, Netiras and Philip of Ruma, greatly distinguished themselves, breaking through the ranks of the tenth legion, and driving in all who opposed them.

Josephus and the rest followed this heroic example, and all the engines and the breast-work of the fifth and of the tenth legions which were driven in, were entirely consumed. Others followed the first rank of the assailants, and heaped the earth over what was destroyed as fast as they could.

Still, towards the evening, the Romans again set up the ram, and began to batter the wall at the same place. But while Vespasian himself was directing the assault, he was wounded in the heel by a javelin from the wall, slightly indeed, for the javelin was spent; but the greatest alarm spread through the army. Many gave up the attack to crowd around the general, who was bleeding. Titus showed the most affectionate solicitude. But Vespasian, suppressing the pain of his wound, speedily relieved their fears: and, to revenge the hurt of their commander, the whole army rushed on with a loud shout to the walls: all that night the awful conflict lasted. The Jews fell in great numbers; for though the missiles poured around them like hail, they would not abandon the walls, but continued heaving down great stones, and flinging fiery combustibles on the wattles which protected those that worked the ram. They fought at disadvantage, for the light of their own fires made the walls as light as day, and the enemy were thus enabled to take steady aim, while the black engines lay in shadow in the distance, and they could not distinguish when the bolts were about to be discharged. The scorpions and catapults raged more and more fiercely, and swept the walls; the stones from the other engines shattered the pinnacles and

the corners of the turrets, which kept falling with a fearful crash. The stones penetrated right through dense masses of men, making as it were a furrow as they passed, and reaching to the rearmost man. Strange stories are reported of the force of these engines—one man was struck on the head, and his skull hurled, as by a sling, to the distance of three stadia, about three furlongs: a pregnant woman was hit in the lower part, and the child cast to the distance of half a stadium. It was a night of unexampled confusion. The clattering of the bolts, the shouts of the army, the heavy fall of the huge stones, the thundering shocks of the battering-ram, were mingled with the frantic shrieks of women, and the screams of children—the whole space about the walls was like a pool of blood; and men could mount the wall upon the bodies of their slaughtered friends. All this deafening din was echoed back and multiplied by the surrounding mountains. Many fell, many more were wounded, but till the morning watch the wall stood firm: it then yielded: still, however, those who were well provided with defensive armour, laboured with all their might to form new buttresses and bulwarks, wherever a breach was threatened, before the machines, by which the enemy were to mount the breach, could be advanced.

Towards the morning Vespasian allowed his troops a short time for refreshment. In order to repel the besieged from the breach, he made the bravest of his horsemen dismount, and divided them into three parties. They were completely cased in armour, and had long pikes in their hands, to be ready to charge, instantly that the machines for mounting the breach were fixed. Behind these he stationed the flower of the infantry. The rest of the horse were extended all over the mountains, which encircled the town, that none might make their escape; behind the foot were the archers, the slingers, and engineers; and others with scaling ladders, which were to be applied to such parts of the walls as were yet uninjured, to call off the attention of the defenders from the breach. When Josephus discovered this, he selected the old, the infirm, the fatigued, and the wounded to defend those parts of the wall. The bravest he chose to man the breach; six, of whom himself was one, formed the first line. He addressed them in a few words, enjoining them not to be alarmed at the shout of the legionaries; to kneel down and cover their heads with their bucklers, and retreat a little, till the bowmen had exhausted their quivers; when the Romans

had fixed the mounting machines to leap down upon them and fight, remembering that they could now scarcely be thought to fight for safety, for of that they had no hope, but for a brave revenge : finally, to set before their eyes their fathers and children massacred, their wives defiled, and anticipate a just vengeance for these, now inevitable, calamities.

While this was going on, the idle multitude, with the women and children, saw the city still surrounded by triple lines, for the Romans did not withdraw any part of their guards for the approaching conflict—the appalling force standing with their drawn swords before the breach—the whole mountain gleaming with the lances of the cavalry, and the Arabian archers with their bows already levelled—they were seized with universal consternation ; one shrill and agonising shriek ran through the whole city, as if the horrors of the capture were not only dreaded, but actually begun. Josephus, lest they should dispirit his men, ordered all the women to be locked up in the houses, and threatened all others with exemplary punishment if they raised any disturbance. He then took his post in the breach. At once the trumpets of the legions sounded, and the whole Roman host raised one terrific shout. At that instant the sun was darkened with the clouds of arrows. The Jews closed their ears to the noise, and, shrouded under their bucklers, avoided the arrows. The moment that the mounting engines were fixed, the Jews were upon them before the assault, fighting hand to hand with the most resolute courage ; till at length the Romans, who could continually pour new troops upon them, while the besieged had none to supply their place when weary, formed a solid phalanx, and moving on as one man, drove back the Galileans, and were already within the walls. Still Josephus had a last expedient. He had prepared an immense quantity of boiling oil, and, at a signal, this was poured, vessels and all, which burst with the heat, upon the ascending phalanx. The ranks were broken, and the men rolled down, wild with agony ; for the boiling oil, which kindles easily and cools slowly, trickled within their armour. They had not time to tear off their breastplates and bucklers before it had penetrated to the skin ; but they leaped about and writhed with anguish, or plunged headlong from the bridges ; or, if they attempted to fly, were pierced through their backs, the only part which was without defensive armour. Yet the steady courage of the Romans was not thus to be repelled. However those behind might pity their suffering companions,

they still pressed forward, and sternly rebuked them for standing in their way, and for impeding braver men in the performance of their duty. But the Jews had still another stratagem. They poured boiled fenu-greek, a kind of herb, upon the planks on which the enemy were mounting the breach, and made them so slippery, that no one could gain a firm footing, either to ascend or retreat. Some fell on their faces, and were trampled down by those who followed; others rolled back upon the embankment. The Jews struck at them as they lay and grovelled; or, the close combat being thus interrupted, discharged their javelins, and heaped darts and stones upon them. At length, about the evening, the general recalled his worsted men, with considerable loss in killed and wounded. Those of Jotapata had six killed, and three hundred wounded.¹

Vespasian found his troops rather exasperated than disheartened by this obstinate resistance; but yet it was necessary to proceed by more slow and cautious approaches. He gave orders that the embankment should be raised considerably; and that fifty towers should be built upon it, strongly girded with iron, both that the weight might make them more firm, and to secure them against fire. In these he placed his javelin men, his slingers, and archers, and the lighter engines for the discharge of missiles. These, being concealed by the height and the breast-works of their towers, might take deliberate aim at all who appeared upon the walls. This was a fatal measure to the Jews. The darts and arrows came pouring from above, so that they could not shift and avoid them. They could have no revenge against these invisible foes; for their own arrows could not reach to the height of the towers, and the towers, being solid and compact with iron, could not be set on fire. All they could do was to abandon their walls, and, when any party approached, make a rapid and desperate sally to beat them off. Thus their own loss was considerable—that of the Romans very slight. Still, however, they kept up a manful resistance, and constantly repelled the enemy from the walls.

But now the fall of a neighbouring fortress was a dreadful omen, and a warning of their own approaching fate to the

¹ οἶδος δσπρίου, ἦτις ἐφθῆ ἐπιχεομένη δλισθον ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισφαλῆ, δπερ Ἰώσηπος πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐμηχάνησατο. Suidas in voce. Confer Plin. xviii. 16; Col. ii. 10. 10. "Mihi quidem (ait Lipsius, Polior. v. 3) hoc novum et alibi non lectum." Cardwell, note on B. J.

defenders of Jotapata. A city called Japha,¹ at no great distance, emboldened by the vigorous defence of Jotapata, closed its gates against the Romans. Vespasian detached Trajan, the father of the Emperor, with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, to reduce the place.² The city was strongly situated, and surrounded by a double wall. The men of Japha came boldly forth to meet the enemy ; but this hardihood was their ruin. They were repulsed and chased to the walls. The pursuers and pursued entered pell-mell within the outer gates. Those who defended the inner wall instantly closed their gates, and shut out the flower of their own garrison as well as the enemy. The fugitives, hotly pursued, were cooped up between the two walls, and mowed down with horrible carnage. They rushed to the gates, called upon their fellow-citizens by name, and entreated them to open and let them in—but in vain ; to admit them, was to admit the conquering enemy. Totally disheartened, not only by the terror of the foe, but by the apparent treachery of their friends, they had no courage to resist ; but either stood still to be tamely butchered, reproaching, as it were, those who looked down from the walls with their miserable end—or, in desperate frenzy, rushed on each other's swords, or fell upon their own ; and so they died, execrating their fellow-citizens rather than the enemy. In the flight and in the suburb 12,000 perished ; and those who had thus, either out of panic or mis-calculating prudence, betrayed their fellow-citizens, obtained only a brief respite ; for Trajan, rightly concluding that the garrison must be greatly enfeebled by this loss, formed the blockade of the city—and with courtier-like reserve, as if he already anticipated the imperial destiny of the Flavian family, sent despatches to Vespasian to request that his son Titus might be detached to complete the victory. Titus speedily arrived with 1000 foot and 500 horse. He took the command, and, placing Trajan at the head of the left wing, and himself leading the right, gave orders for a general assault. No sooner had the soldiers fixed the scaling-ladders than the Galileans, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the walls. Titus and his soldiers leaped down into the city, and, the Galileans rallying,

¹ Japha (see vol. i. p. 531), the most populous κώμη in Galilee. B. J. iii. 7. 31. Jasa is thought to be the Japha of Josephus : it was visited by Mr. Wolcot. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, p. 701.

² Plin. *Panegyr.* c. 89. Spanheim, *de Usu Numm.*, Diss. xi. p. 328. Rasche, *Lexicon*, ii. i. 378.

a furious conflict ensued ; for the citizens blocked up the narrow streets and lanes, and fought desperately, while the women, from the roofs of the houses, hurled down everything on which they could lay their hands. The battle lasted for six hours, when all who could bear arms were slain ; and the rest, old and young—part in the public streets, part in the houses—were indiscriminately put to the sword. The women alone and infants were reserved as slaves : 15,000 were killed, 2130 taken.

It is remarkable that the Samaritans, who are generally accused by the Jews as disclaiming their kindred in every period of danger, made common cause in this insurrection. Roman oppression must indeed have weighed heavily, if the indignation it excited could overpower the rooted animosity of Samaritan and Jew, and set them in arms together against the same enemy. The Samaritans had not openly joined the revolt, but stood prepared with a great force on the sacred mountain of Gerizim—for most of their strong cities were garrisoned by the Romans. Vespasian determined to anticipate and suppress the insurrectionary spirit which was manifestly brooding in the whole region. Cerealis¹ was sent with 600 horse, and 3000 infantry, who suddenly surrounded the foot of the mountain. It was the height of summer, and the Samaritans, who had laid in no provision, suffered grievously from the want of water : some actually died of thirst ; others deserted to the Romans. As soon as Cerealis supposed that they were sufficiently enfeebled, he gradually drew his forces up the side of the mountain, enclosing the enemy in a narrower compass, as in the toils of a skilful hunter. He then sent to them to throw down their arms, and promised a general amnesty. On their refusal, he charged them with irresistible fury, and slew the whole, to the number of 11,600.

And now the end of Jotapata drew near. For forty-seven days its gallant inhabitants had resisted the discipline and courage of the whole Roman army, under their most skilful general ; they had confronted bravery with bravery, and stratagem with stratagem. They were now worn out with watching and fatigue, with wounds and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned, and the overwearied survivors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at

¹ Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion. Tac. Ann. xiv. 32; Hist. iv. 71; Vit. Agric. 8. 17; Dion, lxv. 18; lxvi. 30, with Reimar's note.

the early dawn of morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian suspected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken had endured the most horrible torments, and though burnt in many parts of his body, steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step, approached the walls. Titus was the first to mount, with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis, and Placidus, followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised: it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that the enemy were within the walls; and even now, those who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time the whole army was within the gates, and the Jews were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation by the commencement of the slaughter. The Romans remembered what they had suffered during the siege, and it was not a time when mercy and compassion, foreign to their usual character, could arrest the arm of vengeance. They charged furiously down from the citadel, hewing their way through the multitude, who, unable to defend themselves, stumbled, and were crushed in the uneven ways; or were suffocated in the narrow lanes, or rolled headlong down the precipices. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter; nothing heard but the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the conquerors. A few of the most hardy had gathered round Josephus, and mutually exhorted each other to self-destruction; as they could not slay the enemy, they would not be tamely slain by them. A great number fell by each other's hands. A few of the guard who had been at first surprised, fled to a tower on the northern part of the wall, and made some resistance. At length they were surrounded, and gave themselves up to be quietly butchered. The Romans might have boasted that they had taken the city without the loss of a man, had not a centurion, named Antonius, been slain by a stratagem. There were a great number of deep caverns under the city, in which many took refuge; one of

these, being hotly pursued, entreated Antonius to reach his hand to him, as a pledge of accepting his surrender, as well as to help him to clamber out. The incautious Roman stretched out his hand, the Jew instantly pierced him in the groin with a lance, and killed him.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in the streets or houses ; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women : 1200 captives were taken. During the siege and capture 40,000 men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defences burnt. Thus fell Jotapata, on the first day of Panemus (July).

But among all the dead, the Romans sought in vain for the body of their obstinate and subtle enemy, Josephus.¹ Vespasian himself expressed great anxiety for his capture ; but all their search was baffled, and they began to fear that the wily chieftain had, after all, withdrawn himself from their vengeance. During the confusion of the massacre, Josephus had leaped down the shaft of a dry well, from the bottom of which, a long cavern led off, entirely concealed from the sight of those above. There he, unexpectedly, found himself among forty of the most distinguished citizens of Jotapata, who had made this their hiding-place, and furnished it with provisions for several days. He lay hid all the day, while the enemy were prowling about, and at night crept out, and endeavoured to find some way of escape from the city ; but the Roman guards were too vigilant, and he was obliged to return to his lair. Two days he remained without detection ; on the third, a woman who had been with those within the cavern, being captured, betrayed the secret. Vespasian immediately despatched two tribunes, Paulinus² and Gallicanus, to induce Josephus, by a promise of his life, to surrender. Josephus, while he lay quiet in his cavern, was suddenly startled by hearing himself called on by name. It was the voice of the tribune with the message of Vespasian. But Josephus had no great confidence in Roman mercy, and refused to come forth, till Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicanor, with whom he had been well acquainted. Nicanor stood at the mouth of the well, and enlarged on the natural generosity of the Romans, and their admiration of so gallant an enemy ; he assured the suspicious

¹ B. J. iii. 8. 1.

² Probably Valerius Paulinus, not the famous Suetonius Paulinus.

Josephus that Vespasian had no intention against his life, but was anxious to save a man who had displayed such noble self-devotion ; and strongly urged that his delay would be of little use, as they might easily take him by force. He even added, that Vespasian would not have employed the friend of Josephus on such a mission, if he had any secret or treacherous design.

The Roman soldiers would have settled the affair in a much more summary manner : they were with difficulty restrained by their commander from throwing fire into the cavern, which would either have suffocated those within, or forced them to make their way out. At this moment Josephus remembered his dream, which had so precisely foretold all the calamities of the Jews, and all which was to happen to the future emperor of Rome. Now, Josephus was an adept in the interpretation of dreams : as a priest he had deeply studied the prophecies of the Holy Books. He was suddenly and, doubtless, most opportunely seized with divine inspiration, which inwardly assured him that it was the will of Heaven that his country should fall, and Rome triumph, and he himself save his life. So, if he passed over to the Roman party, he would do so, not as a renegade, but as an obedient servant of God.

Saying this within himself, he consented to the terms of Nicanor. But, unhappily, a new difficulty occurred. However satisfactory to his own conscience this determination of humbly submitting to the will of God, the companions of Josephus were not religious enough to enter into his motives. They reproached him with the vulgar desire of saving his life, and with cowardly defection from the laws of his country. They reminded him of his own eloquent exhortations to despise death in such a noble cause ; exhortations with which so many had generously complied. They intimated somewhat plainly, that they would assist his failing patriotism, and enable him to obtain all the honours of martyrdom ; in short, that their hands and swords were ready to enable him to die, not as a renegade, but as the chieftain of the Jews. At the same time they showed their zealous interest in his character by surrounding him with drawn swords, and threatening to put him to death if he stirred. Josephus was in great embarrassment, for he felt that it would be impious resistance to the will of God if he should thus submit to die. He began (in his own words) to *philosophise* to them. It is not very probable that at this perilous instant Josephus should have the self-command to make, or his fierce assailants the patience to listen to, a long

set speech ; but his oration, as it stands in the History, is so curious, that we must insert the chief topics on which he dwelt. "Why, my friends," he began, "should we be so eager for self-murder? why should we separate associates so dear to each other as the soul and body? It is noble to die in war, true! but according to the legitimate usage of war, by the sword of the enemy. If I had supplicated for mercy, I should have deserved to die; but if the Romans freely offer to spare us, why should we not spare ourselves? For what have we been fighting all this time?—to save our lives; and now we are to be such fools as to throw our lives away. It is noble, indeed, to die for our liberty, yes, in battle:—that man is equally a coward who fears to die when death is necessary, and he who chooses to die when there is no necessity. Why do we refuse to surrender? In fear lest the Romans should kill us; and therefore we would kill ourselves. In fear lest we be made slaves? at present, indeed, we enjoy great liberty!" He then entered at large into the common-place arguments against self-murder; the disgrace of abandoning the helm when the bark is in danger; the natural fondness of all animals for life, and their aversion to death; above all, the sin of throwing away the most precious gift of God. "Our bodies are mortal, and made of perishable matter; but the soul is immortal; as a part of the Divinity it dwells within our bodies. He is base and treacherous who betrays that with which he is entrusted by man; how much more he who basely gives up the precious trust which God has confided to him! We punish slaves even if they desert the service of a cruel master, yet we have no scruple to desert the service of a good and merciful Deity. Know ye not, that those who depart this life according to the law of nature, and pay the debt when it is demanded by God, obtain everlasting glory? their houses and families prosper; their souls remain pure and obedient, and pass away to the holiest mansions in heaven: from whence, in the revolution of ages, they again take up their dwelling in pure bodies. But for those who have madly lifted their hands against their own lives, the darkest pit of hell receives their souls, and God avenges their crime upon their children's children. Hence God and our wise lawgiver have enacted a severe punishment against the suicide: his body is cast forth at sunset without burial; the guilty hand which dared to separate the soul from the body, is cut off." (Here Josephus seems to have calculated on the ignorance o

his audience, and boldly engrafted a Grecian superstition on the Mosaic law.) He concluded with protesting that he had no thought of deserting to the ranks of the Romans, but that he rather looked forward to their putting him to death, in which case he should die gladly, having affixed the stain of the basest treachery on the enemy. But, unfortunately, these subtle arguments, these sublime doctrines, and magnanimous sentiments were lost on the dull ears of the obstinate Galileans; they only became more enraged; they ran at him with their swords, they reproached him with his cowardice, and every one of them was ready to plunge his sword to the heart of the craven. Josephus stood like a wild beast at bay, constantly turning to the man that was rushing at him; one he called familiarly by his name; at another he looked sternly, as if he were still his commander; here he clasped a hand, there he entreated; at all events determined to save his life, if possible. At length his distress so wrought upon them, that some out of respect, some out of attachment, perhaps some out of contempt, dropped their swords; those of not a few, he says, fell out of their hands, others were quietly returned into their sheaths. The wily leader marked his time, and had a stratagem ready on the instant. "If we must die, then, let us not die by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us cast lots, and thus fall one after another; for if the rest perish, it would be the deepest disgrace for me to survive." They all readily agreed, thinking that Josephus would inevitably share their fate. How the lots were cast, we are not informed, or whether, among his other soldier-like and noble qualities, the worthy commander had some skill in sleight-of-hand. But it so happened (by good fortune or the will of Providence) that they all, one after another, as the lots came up, offered their breasts to the sword. Josephus found himself left, with one other, to the last. Not in the least inclined that the lot should fall on himself, and with a nice and scrupulous reluctance to imbrue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, Josephus persuaded this man to accept of the offered terms; and so they both came out together, leaving their dead friends in the cavern. Nicanor immediately led him to Vespasian. The Romans crowded from all parts to see this redoubted chieftain. A great rush and uproar ensued. Some were rejoicing at his capture, others threatening him with vengeance; all pressing forward to get a sight of him: those who were at a distance cried out that he should be put to

death; those near him were seized with admiration, and remembrance of his noble actions. Not one of the officers, who had been most furious against him, but inclined to mercy directly they saw him, particularly Titus, who was struck with his dignified fortitude, and vigour of manhood. He was thirty years old at the beginning of the war. The influence of Titus was of great weight with Vespasian to dispose him to lenity; the prisoner was ordered to be closely guarded, with the design that he might be sent to Nero at Rome.

Josephus instantly demanded to be admitted to a private conference with Vespasian. All, excepting Titus and two friends, retired. Josephus assumed at once the air and language of a prophet: he solemnly protested that nothing would have tempted him to avoid the death which became a noble Jew, but the conviction that he was a messenger of God, to announce to Vespasian that he and his son would speedily assume the imperial dignity:¹ "Send me not to Nero: bind me, and keep me in chains, as thy own prisoner; for soon wilt thou be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." Vespasian naturally mistrusted the adroit flatterer; but, before long, permitted himself to be fully persuaded of his prophetic character. Josephus appealed to the inhabitants of Jotapata, whether he had not predicted the taking of the city, and their own capture at the end of forty-seven days. The captives, who could only have been women, as all the men were put to the sword, readily avouched his story; and the prophet, though still kept in chains, was treated with great distinction, and received presents of raiment and other valuable donatives.

This is a strange adventure. It is impossible not to admire the dexterity with which the historian extricates himself from all the difficulties of his situation, which, however highly coloured, must have been one of the greatest peril. What secrets that dark cavern may have concealed, can never be known; but we should certainly have read with deep interest the account of these transactions, and indeed of the whole Galilean administration of Josephus, in the work of his rival, Justus of Tiberias, unhappily lost. But, after every deduction for his love of the marvellous, and the natural inclination to paint highly where he was the hero of his own story, the

¹ Tacitus observes with his bitter shrewdness, "Occultâ lege fati, et ostentis, ac responsis, destinatum Vespasianum liberisque ejus imperium, *post fortunam credidimus.*" Hist. i. 10; compare Suet. Vesp. c. iv.

valour and skill displayed in the defence of Jotapata, and the singular address with which he insinuated himself into the favour of Vespasian and his son, give a very high impression of the abilities of Josephus. As to the sincerity of his belief in his own inspiration, it would more easily have obtained credit, if he had shown himself, on other occasions, either more scrupulous or less addicted to stratagem. The prediction itself was far from requiring any great degree of political sagacity. It was impossible to suppose that the bloody Nero would be allowed to burthen the throne much longer. The imperial family was all but extinct. The empire would, in all probability, fall to the lot of the boldest and most ambitious of the great military leaders, among whom Vespasian stood, if not confessedly the first, yet certainly, with few competitors, in the first rank. It was therefore no very bold hazard to designate him as the future sovereign: at all events, and perhaps Josephus looked no further, the prediction served his immediate turn; and, if it had not eventually proved true, yet the life of the prophet was secure, and his history, if ever written, might have preserved a prudent silence with regard to a prediction which the event had not justified.¹

The progress of this year's campaign was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms: a powerful army had marched to subdue a rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and they were little beyond the frontier. Now, however, they proceeded with greater rapidity. Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, from whence he marched along the coast to Cæsarea. The Greek inhabitants of that city had now, by the massacre of their Jewish competitors, the whole region at their command. They threw open their gates, went forth to receive the Romans with the loudest and most sincere demonstrations of joy; for their vengeance was not yet satiated with Jewish blood. They

¹ The interest which attaches to the siege of Jotapata, the extraordinary minuteness of the description in Josephus, the character of Josephus himself, with its strange power and still stranger inconsistency, the perplexing problem as to his veracity as well as his patriotism, with the extraordinary fact that with no instruction or experience in military affairs he should have acted here with the skill of a consummate general, there with the obstinate courage, fertility of resources, craft and readiness of the guerilla partisan—all this tempted me perhaps to draw out this siege and this personal history to a disproportionate length. Having done so, I am not inclined to shorten it, so significant does it still appear to me of the state of the Jewish mind, and the nature of the conflict of the Jews with the Roman supremacy, against which, in the wide circle of the Empire, they were the last desperate combatants for freedom.

sent a petition for the execution of Josephus; but Vespasian did not condescend to reply.¹ He took possession of Cæsarea, as pleasant winter quarters for two of his legions; for though very hot in summer, the climate of Cæsarea was genial in winter: he fixed on Scythopolis for the station of the other legion, the fifteenth.

Cestius Gallus, during his flight, had abandoned Joppa. A strong body of insurgents had collected from all quarters, and taken possession of the town, where they had built a great number of barks, with which they made piratical excursions, and plundered all the rich merchant vessels which traded between Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Vespasian sent a considerable force against this city. The troops reached Joppa by night; and, the walls being unguarded, entered at once. The inhabitants made no resistance, but fled to their ships, and moored for the night out of the reach of the enemy's darts and arrows. Joppa is a bad harbour: the shore is steep and rugged, making a kind of semicircular bay, the extreme headlands of which approach each other. These headlands are formed by precipitous rocks and breakers, which extend far into the sea: when the north wind blows, there is a tremendous surge, which makes the port more dangerous than the open sea. In the morning this wind, called by the sailors of Joppa the black north wind, began to blow furiously; it dashed the ships against each other, or against the rocks. Some endeavoured to push to sea against the swell; for they dreaded alike the lee-shore breakers and the enemy: but all these, unable to stem the rolling of the swell, foundered. The rest the wind drove towards the city, which the Romans would not let them enter. The shrieks of the men, the crashing of the vessels, made an awful din; many were drowned; many were seen swimming on broken pieces of wreck; many, to escape drowning, fell on their own swords. The whole shore was strewn with mutilated bodies; those who struggled to the beach were slain by the Romans: 4200 lives were lost. The Romans razed the city, but garrisoned the citadel, lest it should again become a nest of pirates.

At first, vague rumours of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem: not a man had escaped to bear the fatal intelligence. But bad tidings are apt to travel fast; and, as is usual, when the truth became known, it was accompanied

¹ B. J. iii. 9. 3.

with many circumstances of falsehood. Josephus was said to have fallen; and all Jerusalem united in lamenting his loss: his death was a public calamity. There was scarcely a family which had not to deplore some private affliction; they bewailed those who had been their guests (probably at the great festivals), or relations, or friends, or brothers: but all deplored Josephus. For thirty days, wailings were heard in the city; and musicians were hired to perform funeral chants. When, however, the news arrived that Josephus was not merely alive, but treated with distinction by Vespasian, sorrow gave place to the fiercest indignation. By some he was called a dastard, by others a traitor; his name was execrated; and to their motives for fierce and obstinate resistance to the Romans was added an eager desire to revenge themselves on the apostate. But they were yet left for some time to exhale their fury in words, and display their bravery, not against the enemy, but against each other.

Vespasian—whether his army had been too severely handled at Jotapata, or whether, as is possible, he wished, in case any effort should be made at Rome to rid the world of the tyrant, to find himself at the head of a powerful and unbroken force—turned aside from the direct road of victory, and declined to advance upon the rebellious capital. He accepted the invitation of Agrippa, who earnestly solicited his presence, in order that the king might make a splendid display of his devotion to the Roman cause, and, by the terror of the Roman arms, quell the spirit of revolt in his own dominions. From Cæsarea by the sea, Vespasian passed to Cæsarea Philippi, where the army reposed for twenty days. Tarichea and Tiberias, though on the western coast of the lake of Gennesaret, belonged to the dominions of Agrippa. Evident symptoms of insurrection appeared in both these cities. Titus was ordered to concentrate all the forces on Scythopolis, which is at no great distance from Tiberias: there Vespasian met him; and they advanced to a place on an eminence, within half a mile of Tiberias, named Sennabris. From thence he sent forward a decurion, named Valerian, with fifty horse, to exhort the inhabitants to surrender; for the people were peaceably disposed, but forced into war by a small turbulent party. Valerian, when he came near the city, dismounted, that his troop might not appear like a body of skirmishers; but before he could utter a word, the insurgents, headed by Jesus, the son of Saphat, charged him with great fury. Valerian, though

he might easily have dispersed them, had no orders to fight; and, astonished at the boldness of the Jews, fled on foot, with five of his companions. The captured horses were led in triumph into the city. The senate of Tiberias took the alarm, and fled to the Roman camp: they entreated Vespasian not to act precipitately against a city almost entirely disposed to the Roman interest, and not to visit the crime of a few desperate insurgents on the unoffending people. Vespasian had given orders for the plunder of the city; but partly in compliance with their supplication, partly from respect for Agrippa, who trembled for the fate of one of the fairest towns in his dominions, he accepted their submission. The insurgents, under Jesus, fled to Tarichea. The people opened their gates, and received the Romans with acclamations. As the entrance to the city was too narrow for the army to march in, except in very slender files, Vespasian commanded part of the wall to be thrown down; but he strictly prohibited all plunder or outrage against the inhabitants; and, at the intervention of Agrippa, left the rest of the wall standing.

Not only the insurgents from Tiberias, but from all the adjacent country, assembled in Tarichea, which likewise stood, south of Tiberias, on the shore of Gennesaret. This beautiful lake has been compared by travellers with that of Geneva. In those days the shores were crowded with opulent towns, which lay embowered in the most luxuriant orchards, for which the whole district was celebrated. Such was the temperature of the climate, that every kind of fruit-tree flourished in the highest perfection—nuts, which usually grow in a colder climate, with the palm of the sultry desert, and the fig and olive, which require a milder air. “Nature,” says Josephus, “is, as it were, ambitious of bringing together the fruits of different climates, and there is a strife among the seasons of the year, each claiming this favoured country as its own: for not only do fruits of every species flourish, but continue to ripen; the grapes and figs for ten months, and other kinds throughout the year. The water of the lake is remarkably salubrious, milder than that of fountains, and as cool as snow. It abounds in fish of several kinds, peculiar to its waters.” This lake had been the chief scene of the miracles and preaching of Jesus Christ. Its blue and quiet waters were now to be broken by other barks than those of the humble fishermen who spread their nets upon its surface; and to reflect, instead of the multitudes who listened to the peaceful Teacher, the

armour of embattled squadrons and the glittering pride of the Roman eagles. Tarichea had been carefully fortified by Josephus ; not indeed so strongly as the more important town of Tiberias, but still every part that was not washed by the lake had been surrounded with a substantial wall. The inhabitants had a great number of vessels in their port, in which they might escape to the opposite shore, or, if necessary, fight for the naval command of the lake. The Romans pitched their camp under the walls ; but while they were commencing their works, Jesus, at the head of the Tiberians, made a vigorous sally, dispersed the workmen, and when the legionaries advanced in steady array, fled back without loss. The Romans drove a large party to their barks ; the fugitives pushed out into the lake, but still remained within the range of missiles, cast anchor, and drawing up their barks, like a phalanx, began a regular battle with the enemy on the land.

Vespasian heard that the Galileans were in great force on the plain before the city. He sent Titus with 600 picked horse to disperse them. The numbers were so immense that Titus sent to demand further succours ; but before they arrived, he determined to charge the enemy. He addressed his men, exhorting them not to be dismayed by numbers, but to secure the victory before their fellow-soldiers could come up to share their glory. He then put himself at their head, and his men were rather indignant than joyful at beholding Trajan, at the head of 400 horse, make his appearance in the field. Vespasian had likewise sent Antonius Silas with 2000 archers to occupy the side of a hill opposite to the city, in order to divert those who were on the walls. Titus led the attack ; the Jews made some resistance, but overpowered by the long spears and the weight of the charging cavalry, gave way, and fled in disorder towards Tarichea. The cavalry pursued, making dreadful havoc, and endeavoured to cut them off from the city. The fugitives made their way through by the mere weight of numbers. When they entered the city, a tremendous dissension arose. The inhabitants, anxious to preserve their property, and dismayed by their defeat, urged capitulation. The strangers steadily and fiercely refused compliance. The noise of the dissension reached the assailants, and Titus immediately cried out, "Now is the time for a resolute attack, while they are distracted by civil discord." He leaped upon his horse, dashed into the lake, and, followed by his men, entered the city. Consternation seized

the besieged ; they stood still, not attempting resistance. Jesus and his insurgents, at the alarm, fled with others towards the lake, and came right upon the Romans. They were killed endeavouring to reach the shore ; the inhabitants without resistance, the strangers fighting gallantly, for the former still cherished a hope that their well-known peaceful disposition might obtain them mercy. At length Titus having punished the ringleaders, gave orders that the carnage should cease. Those who had before fled to the lake, when they saw the city taken, pushed out to sea as far as possible. Titus sent information to his father of this signal victory, and gave orders that vessels might instantly be prepared to pursue the fugitives. When these were ready, Vespasian embarked some of his troops, and rowed into the centre of the lake. The poor Galileans in their light fishing-boats could not withstand the heavy barks of the Romans, but they rowed round them, and attacked them with stones—feeble warfare, which only irritated the pursuers ! for if thrown from a distance they did no damage, only splashing the water over the soldiers or falling harmless from their iron cuirasses ; if those who threw them approached nearer, they could be hit in their turn by the Roman arrows. All the shores were occupied by hostile soldiers, and they were pursued into every inlet and creek ; some were transfixed with spears from the high banks of the vessels, some were boarded and put to the sword, the boats of others were crushed or swamped, and the people drowned. If their heads rose as they were swimming, they were hit with an arrow, or by the prow of the bark ; if they clung to the side of the enemy's vessel, their hands and heads were hewn off. The few survivors were driven to the shore, where they met with no more mercy. Either before they landed, or in the act of landing, they were cut down or pierced through. The blue waters of the whole lake were tinged with blood, and its clear surface exhaled for several days a foetid steam. The shores were strewn with wrecks of boats and swollen bodies that lay rotting in the sun, and infected the air, till the conquerors themselves shrank from the effects of their own barbarities. Here we must add to our bloody catalogue the loss of 6000 lives.

These, however, were the acts of an exasperated soldiery against enemies with arms in their hands. But Vespasian tarnished his fame for ever, by a deed at once of the most loathsome cruelty and deliberate treachery. After the battle,

his tribunal was erected in Tarichea, and he sat in solemn judgment on those of the strangers who had been taken captives, and had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. According to his apologist Josephus, his friends encircled the seat of justice, and urged the necessity of putting an end to these desperate vagabonds, who, having no home, would only retreat to other cities, forcing them to take up arms. Vespasian, having made up his sanguinary resolution, was unwilling to terrify the inhabitants of Tarichea by commanding the massacre in their streets; he feared that it might excite insurrection: nor did he wish the whole city to be witness of his open violation of that faith which had been pledged when they surrendered. But his friends urged that every act was lawful against the Jews, and that right must give way to expediency. The insurgents received an ambiguous assurance of amnesty, but were ordered to retreat from the city only by the road to Tiberias. The poor wretches had implicit reliance on Roman faith. The soldiers immediately seized and blockaded the road to Tiberias; not one was allowed to leave the suburbs. Vespasian, in person, pursued them into the stadium; he ordered 1200 of the aged and helpless to be instantly slain, and drafted off 6000 of the most able-bodied to be sent to Nero, who was employed in a mad scheme of digging through the Isthmus of Corinth: 30,400 were sold as slaves, besides those whom he bestowed on Agrippa, who sold his portion also. The greater part of these, if we may believe Josephus, were desperate and ferocious ruffians, from Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Gadara, and Hippos, men who sought to stir up war, that they might escape the punishment of the crimes they had committed during peace. Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian.

This terrible example appalled the whole of Galilee, and most of the towns capitulated at once to avoid the same barbarities; three cities alone still defied the conqueror, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium, the city which Josephus had fortified on Mount Tabor. Though the inhabitants of Gamala, situated on the side of the lake of Gennesaret, opposite to Tarichea, at no great distance from the shore, might have inhaled the tainted gales, which brought across the waters the noisome and pestilential odours of the late massacre; though probably some single fugitive may have escaped, and hastening to the only city of refuge, have related the dreadful particu-

lars of those still more revolting deeds which had been perpetrated in the stadium of Tarichea; yet Gamala, proud in the impregnable strength of its situation, peremptorily refused submission. Gamala was the chief city of Lower Gaulonitis, and belonged to the government of Agrippa. It was even more inaccessible than Jotapata. It stood on a long and rugged ledge of mountains, which sloped downward at each end, and rose in the middle into a sudden ridge, like the hump of a camel, from which the town had its name Gamala. The face and both sides of the rock ended in deep and precipitous chasms or ravines; it was only accessible from behind, where it joined the mountain ridge. On this side a deep ditch had been dug right across, so as to cut off all approach. The houses rose one above another on the steep declivity of the hill, and were crowded very thick and close. The whole city seemed as if hanging on a sharp precipice, and threatening constantly to fall and crush itself. It inclined to the south, but on the southern crag, of immense height, was the citadel, and above this was a precipice without a wall, which broke off sheer and abrupt, and sank into a ravine of incalculable depth. There was a copious fountain within the walls. This impregnable city, Josephus had still further strengthened by trenches and water-courses. The garrison was neither so numerous nor so brave as that of Jotapata, but still confident in the unassailable position of their city. It was crowded with fugitives from all parts, and had already for seven months defied a besieging force which Agrippa had sent against it. Vespasian marched to Emmaus, celebrated for its warm baths, and then appeared before Gamala. It was impossible to blockade the whole circuit of a town so situated. But he took possession of all the neighbouring heights, particularly of the mountain which commanded the city. He then took up a position behind and to the east, where there was a lofty tower. There the fifteenth legion had their quarters, the fifth threw up works opposite to the centre of the city, the tenth was employed in filling up the ditches and ravines. Agrippa ventured to approach the walls to persuade the inhabitants to capitulation. He was struck by a stone from a sling on the right elbow, and carried off with all speed by the followers. This insult to the native king exasperated the Roman soldiery. The embankments were raised with great expedition by the skilful and practised soldiers. Directly they were ready, the engines were advanced. Chares and Joseph commanded in

the city ; they had some misgivings of the event, for they were but scantily supplied with provisions and water. Still, however, they manned the wall boldly, and for some time vigorously resisted the engineers who were fixing the machines ; but, at length, beat off by the catapults and other engines for throwing stones, they drew back into the city. The Romans immediately advanced the battering-rams in three places, and beat down the wall. They rushed in through the breaches, and broke into the city amid the clang of their trumpets, the clashing of their arms, and the shouting of their men.

The Jews thronged the narrow streets, and bravely resisted the advance of the assailants. At length, overpowered by numbers, who attacked them on all sides, they were forced up to the steep part of the city. There they turned, and charging the enemy with great fury, drove them down the declivities, and made great havoc among them, as they endeavoured to make their way up the narrow streets, and along the rugged and craggy paths. The Romans, who could not repel their enemy, thus hanging as it were over their heads, nor yet break through the throngs of their own men, who forced them on from beneath, took refuge in the houses of the citizens, which were very low. The crowded houses could not bear the weight, and came crashing down. One, as it fell, beat down another, and so all the way down the hill. The situation of the Romans was tremendous. As they felt the houses sinking, they leaped on the roofs, and fell with the tumbling buildings. Many were totally buried in the ruins ; many caught by some part of their bodies, as in a trap ; many were suffocated with the dust and rubbish. The Gamalites beheld the hand of God in this unexpected calamity of the foe. They rushed on, regardless of their own lives, struck at the enemy on the roofs, or as they were slipping about in the narrow ways, and, aiming steadily from above, slew every one who fell. The ruins furnished them with stones, and the slain of the enemy with weapons. They drew the swords of the dead to plunge into the hearts of the dying. Many of the Romans who had fallen from the houses killed themselves. Flight was impossible, from their ignorance of the ways and the blinding dust : many slew each other by mistake, and fell among their own men. Those who could find the road retreated from the city. Vespasian himself, who had shared in the labours of his men, was deeply afflicted to see the city rolling down in ruins upon the heads of his soldiers. Neglectful of his own safety, he

had ascended by degrees, without perceiving it, to the upper part of the city. He found himself in the thick of the danger, with but few followers, for Titus was absent on a mission to the prefect of Syria. It was neither safe nor honourable to fly. With the readiness of an old and experienced soldier, he called to those who were with him to lock their shields over their heads in the form of a testudo. The storm of darts and of the falling ruins crashed about them without doing them any injury. They persevered. The Gamalites, according to Josephus, who now loses no opportunity of flattering his protector, thinking the Romans' presence of mind little less than divine, relaxed the fury of their attack. The troops retreated with their faces to the enemy, and did not turn till they were safe beyond the walls. The loss of the Romans was great. The brave centurion *Æbutius* was particularly lamented. A decemvir named Gallus, with ten men, in the tumult, crept into a house and concealed himself there. The good citizens, at supper, sat quietly conversing on the exploits of the day; Gallus, who was a Syrian, understood every word they said. At night he broke out, cut all their throats, and came safe off to the Roman camp.

The soldiers were dispirited with their defeat, and with the shame of having left their general in so perilous a situation. Vespasian addressed them in language of approbation and encouragement: he attributed their recent repulse to accident, and to their own too impetuous ardour, which had led them to fight with the frantic fury of their antagonists, rather than with the steady and disciplined courage of Roman legionaries. The Gamalites, in the meantime, were full of exultation at their unexpected success. But before long, pride gave way to melancholy foreboding, for their provisions began to fail. Their spirits sank, for now they had no hope of being admitted to capitulation. Yet they did not entirely lose their courage and activity. They repaired the shattered walls, and strictly guarded the parts that were still unshaken. When at length the Romans had completed their works, and threatened a second assault, many fled through the sewers, and passages which led into the ravines, where no guard was stationed. The rest of the inhabitants wasted away with hunger in silence; for the scanty provisions that remained were kept for the use of the garrison alone.

In the meantime Itabyrium had fallen. This town had been strongly fortified by Josephus. The ascent to the hill of

Tabor is on the north, but extremely difficult.¹ The level area on the top, three miles and a quarter in circuit, occupied by the troops, was surrounded in forty days by a strong wall. The lower part of the hill had copious fountains, but the town depended on the cisterns of rain water. Against this city Placidus was sent with 600 horse. The hill seemed absolutely inaccessible. But the garrison, endeavouring to out-general the Roman commander, were themselves caught by their own stratagem. Each party pretended a desire to come to terms. Placidus used mild language; and the Itabyrians descended the hill as if to treat, but with a secret design of assailing the Romans unawares. At this unexpected assault Placidus feigned flight, to lure them into the plain. They pursued boldly, when he suddenly wheeled round, routed them with dreadful slaughter, and cut off their retreat to the mountain. Those who escaped fled to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Itabyrium, distressed for want of water, surrendered.

In the meantime, the garrison of Gamala still made a vigorous resistance, while the people pined away with hunger. At length, two soldiers of the fifteenth legion contrived by night to creep under one of the highest towers, where they began to undermine the foundations. By the morning watch they had got, unperceived, quite under it. They then struck away five of the largest stones, and ran for their lives. The tower came down, guards and all, with a tremendous crash. The rest of the sentinels on the wall fled on all sides. Some were killed as they ran out of the city, among them Joseph, one of the valiant defenders. The whole city was in confusion, men running up and down, with no one to take the command; for the other leader, Chares, lay in the last paroxysm of a fever, and, in the agitation of the alarm, expired.

But all that day, the Romans, rendered cautious by their former repulse, made no attempt. Titus had now returned to the camp, and eager to revenge the insult on the Roman arms, with 200 horse and a number of foot entered quietly into the city. As soon as the Galilean guards perceived him, they rushed to arms. Some catching up their children, and dragging their wives along, ran to the citadel, shrieking and crying;

¹ The height of this mountain, according to the numbers as they stand in Josephus, would be three miles and three-quarters. Maundrell ascended it in an hour. The circumference of the town three miles and a quarter. Yet Maundrell states the area on the top to be only two furlongs in length, and one broad. Three miles and a quarter of wall and trench, built in forty days, seems rather beyond credibility.

others, who encountered Titus, were slain without mercy. Those who could not make their escape to the citadel rushed blindly on the Roman guard. The steep streets ran with torrents of blood. Vespasian led his men immediately against the citadel. The rock on which it stood was rugged and impracticable, of enormous height, and surrounded on all sides by abrupt precipices. The Jews stood upon this crag, the top of which the Roman darts could not reach, striking down all their assailants, and rolling stones and throwing darts upon their heads. But a tremendous tempest completed their ruin. They could not stand on the points of the rock, nor see the enemy as they scaled the crag. The Romans reached the top, and surrounded the whole party. The memory of their former defeat rankled in their hearts. They slew as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. Numbers threw themselves headlong, with their wives and children, down the precipices. Their despair was more fatal than the Roman sword: 4000 were killed by the enemy; 5000 bodies were found of those who had cast themselves from the rock. Two women alone escaped, the sisters of Philip, Agrippa's general, and they only by concealing themselves, for the Romans spared neither age nor sex; they seized infants and flung them down from the rock. Thus fell Gamala on the 23rd of September.¹

Gischala² alone remained in arms. The inhabitants of this town were an agricultural people, and little inclined to war. But the subtle and ambitious John, the son of Levi, the rival of Josephus, commanded a strong faction in the city, headed by his own desperate bandits. The town, therefore, notwithstanding the desire of the people to capitulate, assumed a warlike attitude. Vespasian sent Titus against it with 1000 horse. The tenth legion moved to Scythopolis, he himself with the other two went into winter quarters at Cæsarea. When he arrived before Gischala, Titus perceived that he might easily take the city by assault. But desirous of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, and probably well acquainted with the disposition of the people, he sent to offer terms of capitulation. The walls were manned by the faction of John; not one of the people was allowed to approach them while the summons of Titus was proclaimed. John answered with the greatest temper and moderation, that the garrison accepted with the

¹ B. J. iv. 1. 10.

² Reland and Ritter place Gischala at El Jisch, a short distance north-west of Safed. Ritter, pp. 771 and 783.

utmost readiness the generous terms that had been offered ; but that the day being the Sabbath, nothing could be concluded without a direct infringement of the law. Titus not merely conceded this delay, but withdrew his troops to the neighbouring town of Cydoessa.

At midnight, John, perceiving that no Roman guard was mounted, stole quietly with all his armed men out of the city, followed by many others, with their families, who had determined on flying to Jerusalem.¹ To the distance of twenty stadia, about two miles and a half, the women and children bore on steadily : their strength then began to fail. They dropped off by degrees, while the men pressed rapidly on, without regarding them. They sat down wailing by the way-side ; and the more faint and distant seemed the footsteps of their departing friends, the more near and audible they thought the hurried trampling of the enemy. Some ran against each other, each supposing the other the foe ; some lost their way ; many were trampled down by other fugitives. Those who kept up longest, as they began to fail, stood calling on the names of their friends and relations, but in vain. The unfeeling John urged his men to save themselves, and make their escape to some place where they might have their revenge on the Romans. When Titus appeared the next day before the gates, the people threw them open, and with their wives and children received him as their deliverer. He sent a troop of horse in pursuit of John. They slew 6000 of the fugitives, and brought back 3000 women and children to the city. Titus entered Gischala amidst the acclamations of the people ; and conducted himself with great lenity, only threatening the city in case of future disturbance, throwing down part of the wall, and leaving a garrison to preserve the peace. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance ; and the campaign ended soon after, when Vespasian, having made a rapid march against Jamnia and Azotus, both which surrendered, and admitted Roman garrisons, returned to Cæsarea, followed by a vast multitude from all quarters, who preferred instant submission to the Romans to the perils of war.²

But while the cities of Galilee thus arrested the course of the Roman eagles—while Jotapata and Gamala set the example of daring and obstinate resistance—the leaders of the nation in

¹ In his implacable enmity to John of Gischala, Josephus represents this desperate but skilful retreat of John to Jerusalem as a cowardly flight.

² B. J. iv. 3. 2.

Jerusalem, instead of sending out armies to the relief of the besieged cities, or making an effort in their favour, were engaged in the most dreadful civil conflicts, and were enfeebling the national strength by the most furious collision of factions. It must be allowed that the raw and ill-armed militia of Judæa, if it had been animated by the best and most united spirit, could scarcely have hoped to make head in the open field against the experience and discipline of the Roman legions. Their want of cavalry, perhaps, prevented their undertaking any distant expedition, so that it may be doubted whether it was not their wisest policy to fight only behind their walls, in hopes that siege after siege might weary the patience, and exhaust the strength, of the invading army. But Jerusalem was ill-preparing herself to assume the part which became the metropolis of the nation, in this slow contest ; and better had it been for her, if John of Gischala had perished in the trenches of his native town, or been cut off in his flight by the pursuing cavalry. His fame had gone before him to Jerusalem, perhaps not a little enhanced by the defection of his rival Josephus.¹ The multitude poured out to meet him, as well to do him honour, as to receive authentic tidings of the disasters in Galilee. The heat and the broken breathing of his men showed that they had ridden fast and long ; yet they assumed a lofty demeanour, declared that they had not fled, but retreated to maintain a better position for defence—that for Gischala, and such insignificant villages, it was not worth risking the blood of brave men—they had reserved all theirs to be shed in the defence of the capital. Yet to many their retreat was too manifestly a flight, and from the dreadful details of massacre and captivity, they foreboded the fate which awaited themselves. John, however, represented the Roman force as greatly enfeebled, and their engines worn out before Jotapata and Gamala ; and urged, that if they were so long in subduing the towns of Galilee, they would inevitably be repulsed with shame from Jerusalem. John was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. The young men listened with eager interest and vehement acclamation : the old sat silent, brooding over their future calamities. The metropolis now began to be divided into two hostile factions ; but the whole province had before set them the fatal example of discord. Every city was torn to pieces by

¹ B. J. iv. 3. 1.

civil animosities ; wherever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the peace factions not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends, this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. Every one assembled a band of adherents, or joined himself to some organised party. As in the metropolis, the youth were everywhere unanimous in their ardour for war ; the older in vain endeavoured to allay the frenzy by calmer and more prudent reasoning. First individuals, afterwards bands of desperate men, began to spread over the whole country, spoiling either by open robbery, or under pretence of chastising those who were traitors to the cause of their country. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning, and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend from the conquest of the Romans than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. The Roman garrisons in the neighbouring towns, either not considering it their business to interfere, or rejoicing, in their hatred to the whole race, to behold their self-inflicted calamities, afforded little or no protection to the sufferers. At length, an immense number of these daring ruffians, satiated with plunder, by degrees, and in secret, stole into Jerusalem, where they formed a great and formidable troop. The city had never been accustomed to exclude strangers from its walls—it was the national metropolis ; and all of Jewish blood had a right to take up their temporary or permanent residence in the Holy City. They thought too that all who entered their gates would strengthen their power of resistance, and that it would be impolitic to reject any who came to offer their lives for the defence of the capital. But even had they not brought sedition and discord in their train, this influx of strangers would rather have weakened than strengthened the defence of Jerusalem ; for the provisions which ought to have been reserved for the soldiers, were consumed by an inactive and useless multitude, and famine was almost immediately added to the other evils which enfeebled and distracted the city.

These men, of fierce and reckless dispositions, and already inured to marauding habits, though gathering from all quarters, soon learned to understand each other, and grew into a daring and organised faction. They began to exercise their old calling ; robberies, and burglaries, and assassinations, perpetually

took place, not secretly, or by night, or of the meaner people, but openly in the face of day, of the most distinguished characters in Jerusalem. The first victim was Antipas, a man of royal blood, and a citizen of such high character as to be entrusted with the charge of the public treasury. They seized and dragged him to prison. The next were Levias, and Saphias the son of Raguel, both of the Herodian family, with many others of the same class. The people looked on in dismay, but, so long as their own houses and persons were safe, they abstained from interference.

Having gone so far in their daring course, the robbers did not think it safe to proceed farther. They dreaded the families of those whom they had imprisoned, for they were both numerous and powerful; they even apprehended a general insurrection of the people. They sent a ruffian named John, the son of Dorcas, a man ready for the worst atrocities, with ten others like him, and under their warrant a general massacre of the prisoners took place. The ostensible pretext of this barbarity was the detection of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Romans. They gloried in this act, and assumed the titles of Saviours and Deliverers of their country, for having thus executed condign vengeance on those who were traitors to the common liberty.¹

The people still cowered beneath the sway of these Zealot robbers. Their next step was even more daring. They took upon themselves the appointment to the Chief Priesthood—that is, probably, to nominate the members of the Sanhedrin. They annulled at once all claim from family descent, and appointed men unknown, and of ignoble rank, who would support them in their violence. Those whom they had raised by their breath, their breath could degrade. Thus all the leaders of the people were the slaves and puppets of their will. They undermined the authority of some who were before at the head of affairs by propagating false rumours, and by ascribing to them fictitious speeches—so that by their dissensions among each other, they might increase the power of the Zealots, thus united for evil. At length, satiated with their crimes against men, they began to invade the sanctuary of God with their unhallowed violence.

¹ The acts of these Septembrisers of Jerusalem are related, it must be remembered, by an enemy. This fatal schism between the more timid and prudent who would have submitted to Rome, and the braver and more desperate determined to fight to the last for their liberties, was inevitable: only we should wish to have heard the other side.

After some time, the populace were at last goaded to resistance. Ananus, the oldest of the chief priests,¹ had been long the recognised head of the more peaceful party. He was a man of great wisdom, and in the opinion of Josephus, had he not been cut off by untimely death, might have saved the city. At his incitement, murmurs and threats of resistance spread among the people, and the robber Zealots immediately took refuge in the Temple of God, which they made their garrison and headquarters. They pretended to proceed according to a mockery of law, which was more galling to the popular feeling than their licentious violence. They declared that the High Priest ought to be appointed by lot, not according to family descent. They asserted that this was an ancient usage; but, in fact, it was a total abrogation of the customary law, and solely intended to wrest the supreme power into their own hands. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was the rightful High Priest; but the Zealots assembled, for this purpose, one family of the priestly race, that of Eliachim,² and from this chose a High Priest by lot. It happened that the choice fell on one Phanias, the son of Samuel, a man not merely unworthy of that high function, but a coarse clown, who had lived in the country, and was totally ignorant even of the common details of his office. They sent for him, however, decked him in the priestly robes, and brought him forth as if upon the stage. His awkwardness caused them the greatest merriment and laughter; while the more religious priests stood aloof, weeping in bitter but vain indignation at this profanation of the holy office.

The people could endure everything but this. They rose as one man, to revenge the injured dignity of the sacred ceremonies. Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, went about, both in private and public, haranguing the multitude, and exhorting them to throw off the yoke of these desperate ruffians, and to cleanse the Holy Place from the contamination of their presence. The most eminent of the priestly order, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, remonstrated with the people for their quiet submission to the Zealots, which had now become a name of opprobrium and detestation.

¹ These ἄρχιερεῖς, whom we now meet with in the plural number, instead of the one ἄρχιερεῦς, were probably the chiefs of the twenty-four sacerdotal classes. Those too who had held the High-priesthood retained the title. Compare Selden de Success. in Pontif. i. 12; Casaubon in Baron. xiii. 5; Krebs and Wetstein in Matt. ii. 4.

² This is Reland's reading for Eniachim, as in 1 Chron. xxiv. 12.

A general assembly was summoned. All were indignant at the robberies, the murders, and sacrileges of the Zealots, but still they apprehended their numbers and the strength of their position. Ananus came forward and addressed them ; and as he spoke, he continually turned his eyes, full of tears, towards the violated Temple. He reproached them with their tame endurance of a tyranny more cruel and disgraceful than that of the Romans. Would they, who could not endure the yoke of the masters of the world, bear the tyranny of their countrymen?¹ He reproached them for their abandonment of the Temple of their God to profane and lawless men. It was a cause for bitter tears to see the offerings of the heathen in the Holy Place : how much worse to see the arms of murderers, the murderers of the flower of the city, whom the Romans even if conquerors would have spared ! The Romans remained reverently without, in the court of the Gentiles : those who were bound to the Law, who called themselves Jews, trod the very Holy of Holies, their hands reeking with the blood of their brethren. His long and animated harangue was heard with the deepest interest, and the people demanded with loud outcries to be immediately led to battle. The Zealots had their partisans in the assembly, and speedily received intelligence of what was going on. While Ananus was organising his force, they began the attack. But Ananus was not less active ; and though the people were inferior in discipline, unused to act together in bodies, and inexperienced in the management of their arms, yet they had vast superiority in numbers. Thus a fierce civil war broke out in a city against whose gates a mighty enemy was preparing to lead his forces. Both parties fought with furious valour ; many were slain ; the bodies of the people were carried off into their houses ; those of the Zealots into the Temple, dropping blood, as they were hurried along, upon the sacred pavement. The robbers had always the better in a regular conflict, but the people at length increasing in numbers, those that pressed behind prevented those in front from retreating, and urged forward in a dense and irresistible mass, till the Zealots were forced back into the Temple, into which Ananus and his men broke with them. The first quadrangle, that of the Gentiles, being thus taken, the Zealots fled into the next, and closed the gates. The religious scruples of Ananus prevented him from pressing his

¹ τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας μὴ φέροντες, τῶν ὁμιλίων τυράννων ἀνεξόμεθα;

advantage ; he trembled to commit violence against the sacred gates, or to introduce the people, unclean, and not yet purified from slaughter, into the inner court of the Temple. He stationed 6000 chosen and well-armed men in the cloisters, and made arrangements that this guard should be regularly relieved.¹

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gischala, who had not long arrived in Jerusalem, pursued his own dark course.² Outwardly, he joined the party of Ananus ; no one could be more active in the consultations of the leaders, or in the nightly inspection of the guards. But he kept up a secret correspondence with the Zealots, and betrayed to them all the movements of the assailants. To conceal this secret he redoubled his assiduities, and became so extravagant in his protestations of fidelity to Ananus and his party, that he completely overacted his part, and incurred suspicion. The people could not but observe that their closest consultations were betrayed to the enemy, and they began gradually to look with a jealous eye on their too obsequious servant. Yet it was no easy task to remove him ; he was much too subtle to be detected, and had a formidable band of adherents, by no means of the lowest order, in the council itself. The people acted in the most unwise manner possible. They betrayed their suspicions of John by exacting from him an oath of fidelity. John swore readily to all they demanded, that he would remain obedient to the people, never betray their counsels, and entirely devote both his courage and abilities to the destruction of their enemies. Ananus and his party laid aside their mistrust, admitted him to their most secret councils, and even deputed him to treat with the Zealots. John undertook the mission, and proceeded into the court of the Temple. There he suddenly threw off his character, and began to address the Zealots as if he had been their ambassador, rather than that of the people. He represented the dangers he had incurred in rendering them secret service,

¹ B. J. iv. 3. 12.

The more wealthy, however, betrayed their want of spirit. They hired substitutes among the poor to keep guard for them. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασιν, ἀφεθέντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχειν δοκούντων, μισθούμενοι πενιχροτέρους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔπειπον. Such a party was not likely to succeed against such antagonists. Ibid.

² It must be remembered that this description of the acts of John comes from his deadly foe. Salvador is inclined to make a hero of John, but somewhat cautiously and irresolutely.

informed them that negotiations were going on for the surrender of the city to the Romans, that their ruin was resolved, for Ananus had determined either to enter the Temple by fair means, under the pretext of worship, and with that view had purified the people, or by main force ; they must either submit, or obtain succours from some external quarter ; and he solemnly warned them against the danger of trusting to the mercy of the people. John, with his characteristic caution, only intimated the quarter from which this succour was to be sought. The chieftains of the Zealots were Eleazar, the son of Simon, the old crafty antagonist of Ananus, and Zacharias, the son of Phalec. They knew that they were designated for vengeance by the adherents of Ananus ; their only hope was in driving their own partisans to desperation. The mention of negotiations, according to Josephus the malicious invention of John, inflamed the whole party of the Zealots to madness. A despatch was instantly sent to call the Idumæans to their assistance, by messengers who were noted for their swiftness of foot and promptitude of action.

These Idumæans, who, since the conquest of Hyrcanus,¹ had been incorporated with the Jews as a people, were a fierce and intractable tribe ; some of the old Arab blood seemed to flow in their veins ; they loved adventure, and thronged to war as to a festivity. No sooner was the welcome invitation of the Zealots made known through the country, than they flew to arms, and even before the appointed day had assembled an immense force, proclaiming as they went, that they were marching to the relief of the metropolis. They were 20,000 in number, under John and James, the sons of Susa, Simon, son of Cathla, and Phineas, son of Clusoth. The messengers of the Zealots had escaped the vigilance of Ananus ; and the vast army came suddenly, though not quite unexpectedly, before the walls. The gates were closed, and Ananus determined to attempt expostulation and remonstrance with these formidable invaders. Jesus, the next in age of the chief priests to Ananus, addressed them from a lofty tower on the wall. He endeavoured to persuade them to follow one of three lines of conduct—either to unite with them in the chastisement of these notorious robbers and assassins ; or to enter the city unarmed, and arbitrate between the conflicting parties ; or, finally, to depart, and leave the capital to settle its own affairs.²

¹ Compare Joseph. Ant. xiii. 9. 1; B. J. ii. 3. 1.

² B. J. iv. 4. 3.

Simon, the son of Cathla, sternly answered, that they came to take the part of the true patriots and defenders of their country against men who were in a base conspiracy to sell the liberties of the land to the Romans. This charge the party of Ananus had always steadily disclaimed ; with what sincerity it is impossible to decide.

At the words of the son of Cathla, the Idumæans joined in the loudest acclamations, and Jesus returned in sadness to his dispirited party, who now, instead of being the assailants, found themselves, as it were, besieged between two hostile armies. The Idumæans were not altogether at their ease. Though enraged at their exclusion from the city, they were disappointed at receiving no intelligence from the Zealots, who were closely cooped up in the Temple, and some began to repent of their hasty march. So they encamped, uncertain how to act, before the walls. The night came on, and with the night a tempest of unexampled violence, wind and pouring rain, frequent lightnings, and long rolling thunders. The very earth seemed to quake. All parties, in this dreadful state of suspense, sat trembling with the deepest awe, and construed the discord of the elements, either as a sign of future calamity, or as a manifestation of the instant wrath of the Almighty. The Idumæans saw the arm of God revealed to punish them for their assault on the Holy City, and thought that Heaven had openly espoused the cause of Ananus. Mistaken interpreters of these ominous signs ! which rather foreboded their own triumph, and the discomfiture of the Jewish people. Yet they locked their shields over their heads, and kept off the torrents of rain as well as they could. But the Zealots, anxious about their fate, looked eagerly abroad to discover some opportunity of rendering assistance to their new friends. The more daring proposed, while the fury of the storm had thrown the enemy off their guard, to fight their way through the bands stationed in the cloisters of the outer court, and to throw open the gates to the Idumæans. The more prudent thought it in vain to resort to violence, because the sentinels in the cloisters had been doubled, and the walls of the city would be strongly manned for fear of the invading army, and they expected Ananus every hour to go the round of the guards. That night alone, trusting perhaps to the number and strength of his doubled party, Ananus neglected all precaution. The darkness of the night was increased by the horrors of the tempest ; some of the guard stole off to rest. The watchful Zealots

perceived this, and taking the sacred saws, began to cut asunder the bars of the gates. In the wild din of the raging wind and pealing thunder, the noise of the saws was not heard. A few stole out of the gate, and along the streets to the wall. There applying their saws to the gate which fronted the Idumæan camp, they threw it open. The Idumæans, at first, drew back in terror, for they suspected some stratagem of Ananus ; they grasped their swords, and stood awaiting the enemy, whom they expected every instant to break forth. But when they recognised their friends, they entered boldly ; and so much were they exasperated, that if they had turned towards the city, they might have massacred the whole people. But their guides earnestly besought them first to deliver their beleaguered companions. Not only did gratitude, but prudence likewise, advise this course : for if the armed guard in the porticoes were surprised, the city would speedily fall ; if it remained entire, the citizens would rally round that centre, speedily collect an irresistible force, and cut off their ascent to the Temple. They marched rapidly through the city, and mounted the hill of Moriah. The Zealots were on the watch for their arrival, and as they attacked the guard in front, fell upon them from behind. Some were slain in their sleep : others, awaking at the din, rushed together, and endeavoured to make head against the Zealots. But when they found that they were attacked likewise from without, they perceived, at once, that the Idumæans were within the city. Their spirits sank, they threw down their arms, and uttered wild shrieks of distress. A few bolder youths confronted the Idumæans, and covered the escape of some of the older men, who ran shrieking down the streets, announcing the dreadful calamity. They were answered by screams and cries from the houses, and the shrill wailing of the women. On their side, the Zealots and Idumæans shouted, and the wind howled over all, and the black and flashing sky pealed its awful thunders. The Idumæans spared not a soul of the guard whom they surprised, being naturally men of bloody character, and exasperated by having been left without the gates exposed to the furious pelting of the storm ; those who supplicated, and those who fought, suffered the same fate : it was in vain to appeal to the sanctity of the Temple ; even within its precincts they were hewn down. Some were driven to the very ledge of the rock on which the Temple stood, and in their desperation precipitated them-

selves headlong into the city. The whole court was deluged with human blood, and when day dawned, 8500 bodies were counted. But the carnage ended not with the night. The Idumæans broke into the city, and pillaged on all sides. The High Priests, Ananus, and Jesus, the son of Gamala, were seized, put to death, and,—an unprecedented barbarity among a people so superstitious about the rites of sepulture, that even public malefactors were buried before sunset!—the bodies of these aged and respected men, who had so lately appeared in the splendid sacred vestments of the priests, were cast forth naked to the dogs and carrion birds.¹

With the death of Ananus, all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The historian gives him a high character. He was a man of rigid justice who always preferred the public good to his own interest, and a strenuous lover of liberty, of popular address, and of great influence over all the lower orders. Though vigilant and active in placing the city in the best posture of defence, yet he always looked forward, in eager hope, to a peaceable termination of the contest. In this respect, perhaps, he followed the wisest policy, considering the state of his country, and the strength of the enemy;² yet we cannot wonder that a man with such views, at such a crisis, should be vehemently suspected of traitorous intentions by the more rash and zealous of his countrymen, who preferred death and ruin rather than submission to the tyrannous yoke of Rome. Jesus, the son of Gamala, was likewise a man of weight and character.

The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people, in the words of Josephus, like a herd of unclean animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them; those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked

¹ κάιτο, τοσαύτην Ιουδαῶν περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὅπετε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδικη̄ς ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντος ἥλιου καθέλειν τε καὶ θάπτειν. I cite this passage as illustrating the crucifixion of our Lord, and because it shows how the Jewish mind had now become familiar with this Roman mode of execution.

² ἄμαχα γὰρ ἦδει τὰ Ρωμαῖον is the expression of Josephus, with a sympathy of opinions prudent or base (as different minds might judge). B. J. iv. 5. 2.

conspirators. They were scourged and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night these horrors went on; at length their bodies were cast out into the streets, to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament nor bury their miserable kindred; but retired into the farthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead was to deserve death. By night they scraped up a little dust with their hands, and strewed it over the bodies; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished 12,000 of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.¹

Ashamed, at length, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to affect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice. There was a distinguished man, named Zacharias, the son of Baruch,² whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled, by proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness; he stood up, ridiculed their charges, and, in a few words, clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervour against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The Zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords; but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious Zealots raised a cry of indignation; two of them rushed forward, and struck him dead, where he stood, in the Temple court, shouting aloud, "This is our verdict—This is

¹ B. J. iv. 5. 3.

² The singular coincidence between this man and the Zacharias, son of Barachias, mentioned by Christ (St. Matt. xxiii. 35), is explained in very different ways. Some go so far as to interpret it as a prophecy of this event, and cite instances of an aorist used in a future sense. This is to me very improbable. I should be inclined to suppose "the son of Barachias" a gloss crept into the text of the Gospel, or an error of a copyist.

our more summary acquittal!" Then dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them, in disgrace, back into the city.

At length the Idumæans began to repent of this bloody work; they openly declared that they had advanced to Jerusalem to suppress the treason of the leaders, and to defend the city against the Romans; that they had been deceived into becoming accomplices in horrible murders; no treason was really apprehended, and the Roman army still suspended their attack. They determined to depart; first, however, they opened the prisons, and released 2000 of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Gioras, of whom we shall hereafter hear too much. Their departure was unexpected by both parties. The populace, relieved from their presence, began to gain confidence; but the Zealots, as if released from control, rather than deprived of assistance, continued their lawless iniquities. Every day new victims fell by rapid and summary proceedings; it seemed as if they thought their safety depended on the total extermination of the higher orders. Among the rest perished Gorion, a man of the highest birth and rank, and the greatest zeal for liberty: incautious language caused his ruin. Even Niger of Peræa, their most distinguished soldier, who had escaped from the rout at Ascalon, was dragged along the streets, showing in vain the scars which he had received for his ungrateful country. He died with fearful imprecations, summoning the Romans to avenge his death, and denouncing famine and pestilence, and civil massacre, as well as war, against this accursed city. Niger was the last whose power they dreaded. After that deed they carried on their sanguinary work without scruple: none could escape. He who paid them no court was stigmatised as haughty; he who spoke boldly, as one who despised them; he who merely flattered them, as a traitor; they had but one punishment for great or small offences—death; none but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands.¹

In this state of the city, many of the Roman leaders strongly urged Vespasian to march immediately on Jerusalem, and put an end to the rebellion. The more politic general replied, that nothing would extinguish these feuds which were wasting

¹ B. J. iv. 6. 1. Thus writes Josephus—perhaps here as elsewhere, rather with the vehemence of an orator, than with the cautious accuracy of a historian.

the strength of the rebels, or unite their forces, but an attack from the Romans ; he determined to allow them, like wild beasts, to tear each other to pieces in their dens. Every day deserters came in ; not but that the roads were closely guarded, yet those who had the power to bribe largely, and those alone, were sure to find their way ; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem, after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled ; for, so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for that sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative, was death ; thus compassion itself was proscribed and eradicated from the heart. Such was the state of the people, that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffering ; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Religion seemed utterly abolished : the law was scorned, the oracles of the prophets were treated with ridicule, as the tricks of impostors. " Yet by these men," says Josephus, " the ancient prediction seemed rapidly drawing to its fulfilment ; that when civil war should break out in the city, and the Temple be profaned by the hands of native Jews, the city would be taken, and the Temple burned with fire."

During all this horror and confusion, John of Gischala steadily pursued his path of ambition. From the most desperate of these desperate men, he attached a considerable party to his own person ; and, though suspected by all as aiming at kingly power, and watched with jealous vigilance, yet such was his craft and promptitude, that he imperceptibly centred all real authority and influence in his single person. In the public councils, he contradicted every one, and delivered his own sentiments with a sort of irresistible imperiousness. Some were cajoled by his subtlety, others awed by his decision, till at length his adherents almost threw off the mask, and formed, as it were, a bodyguard around their leader. Thus the Zealots were divided. In one part John ruled like a king ; in the other a kind of democratical equality prevailed. Yet the factions only watched each other, and contending but in occasional skirmishes, combined readily for the persecution of the people, and vied with each other in the quantity of plunder they could extort.

Thus the miserable city was afflicted by the three great

evils, war, tyranny, and sedition: a fourth was soon added to complete their ruin. The Sicarii or Assassins, it may be remembered, had seized the strong fortress of Masada, near the Dead Sea. They had hitherto been content to subsist on the adjacent country. Encouraged by the success of the daring robbers who had thus become masters of Jerusalem, they surprised Engeddi during the night of the Passover, dispersed all who resisted, and slew about 700, chiefly women and children. They brought away great quantities of corn, and followed up the blow by wasting the whole region. Other bands collected in other parts, and the province became a scene of plunder and confusion.

It was now the spring—the commencement of a new campaign. The refugees in the camp of Vespasian earnestly besought him to march at once upon the capital; but the wary Roman chose rather to reduce the rest of the country. The first place against which he moved was Gadara, the chief city of Peræa. The more wealthy inhabitants sent a deputation to Vespasian. The opposite party, surprised by the rapid advance of the Romans, after revenging themselves on some of those who had treated for surrender, withdrew, and Gadara received the conqueror with open gates, and with joyful acclamations. Vespasian granted the inhabitants a garrison for their protection, for they had destroyed their walls of their own accord.

Vespasian having despatched Placidus, with 500 horse and 3000 foot, to pursue the fugitives from Gadara, returned to Cæsarea. They had taken possession of a large village named Bethanabris, which they armed in their defence. Placidus attacked them, and employing his usual stratagem, a feigned retreat, to allure them from their walls, then faced round, and cut off the greater part. Some forced their way back, and Placidus had well-nigh entered the village with them. Before night it was taken and laid waste with the usual carnage. Those who escaped, raised the country as they passed, and, grown again to a considerable body, fled towards Jericho, the populous and strongly fortified city on the other side of the river. Placidus pursued them to the Jordan; the river was swollen and impassable. They were obliged to turn and fight. It must have been near the place where the waters, of old, receded at the word of Joshua, but now the deep and rapid flood rolled down in unchecked impetuosity. The Romans charged with their accustomed vigour. Multitudes fell, multi-

tudes were driven into the stream, others plunged in of their own accord. Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters. 15,000 were killed, 2500 taken prisoners, with an immense booty from all that pastoral region, asses, sheep, camels, and oxen. Placidus followed up his victory, reduced the whole country of Peræa, and the coast of the Dead Sea as far as Machærus.

In the meantime the state of the Roman empire began to command the attention of Vespasian. Vindex had revolted in Gaul, and Vespasian was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. He advanced from Cæsarea, took successively Antipatris, Lydda, and Jamnia, and blockaded Emmaus, which made resistance. He then moved southward through the toparchy of Bethleptephah, to the frontier of Idumæa, wasting as he went with fire and sword, and leaving garrisons in all the defensible castles. In Idumæa he took two large villages, Betharis and Cephartoba, put to the sword above 10,000 men, and brought away 1000 captives. Leaving there a strong force to waste the country, he returned to Emmaus, passed by Samaria and Neapolis, encamped in Corea, and at length appeared before Jericho, where the troops which had subdued Peræa met him. The insurgents of Jericho fled to the wilderness of Judæa, which lay to the south along the shores of the Dead Sea. The city was deserted, and the Roman soldiery reposed among the delicious gardens and palm groves in the neighbourhood, before they encountered the dreary and mountainous wilderness which lay between them and Jerusalem.

Vespasian sent to reduce all the neighbouring country. Lucius Annius was detached against Gerasa, where 1000 of the youth were put to the sword, the rest made captives, and the city pillaged by the soldiery. And now Jerusalem already beheld the Roman at her gates; every approach to the city was cut off, and every hour they expected to see the plain to the north glitter with the arms and eagles of the fated enemy. Suddenly intelligence came from Rome which checked the march of Vespasian, and Jerusalem had yet a long period either to repent and submit, or to prepare for a more orderly and vigorous resistance. The first event was the death of Nero: and during the whole of the year 68-9, in which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius successively attained and lost the imperial crown, Vespasian held his troops together, without weakening,

by unnecessary exertions against the enemy, that force by which he might eventually win the sovereignty of the world.

But Jerusalem would not profit by the mercy of the Almighty in thus suspending for nearly two years the march of the avenger. An enemy more fatal than the Roman immediately rose up to complete the sum of her misery, and to add a third party to those which already distracted her peace. Simon, son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, was a man as fierce and cruel, though not equal in subtlety to John of Gischala. He had greatly distinguished himself in the rout of Cestius. Since that time, it has been seen that he pillaged Acrabatene, and, being expelled from that region by Ananus, entered Masada, where by degrees he became master of the town. His forces increased; he had wasted all the country towards Idumæa, and at length began to entertain designs upon Jerusalem. The Zealots marched out in considerable force against him, but were discomfited and driven back to the city. Simon, instead of attacking Jerusalem, turned back and entered Idumæa at the head of 20,000 men. The Idumæans suddenly raised 25,000, and after a long and doubtful battle Simon retreated to a village called Nain, the Idumæans to their own country. Simon a second time raised a great force and entered their border. He encamped before Tekoa, and sent one of his adherents named Eleazar to persuade the garrison of Herodium, at no great distance, to surrender. The indignant garrison drew their swords upon him; he leaped from the wall and was killed. On the other hand the Idumæans, betrayed by one of their leaders, were struck with a panic and dispersed. Simon entered the country, took Hebron, and wasted the whole region. His army consisted of 40,000 men, besides his heavy-armed troops. They passed over the whole district like a swarm of locusts, burning, destroying, and leaving no sign of life or vegetation behind them.

The Zealots in the meantime surprised the wife of Simon, and carried her off in triumph to Jerusalem. They hoped that by this means they should force Simon to terms. Simon came raging like a wild beast before the walls of Jerusalem. The old and unarmed people who ventured out of the gates were seized and tortured. He is said scarcely to have refrained from mangling their bodies with his teeth. Some he sent back with both hands cut off, vowing that unless his wife were returned, he would force the city, and treat every man within the walls in the same manner. The people, and even

the Zealots themselves, took the alarm ; they restored his wife, and he withdrew.

It was now the spring of the second year, 69, and Vespasian once more set his troops in motion. He reduced the toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatene. His cavalry appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. Cerealis in the meantime had entered Idumæa, and taken Caphethra, Capharabis, and Hebron : nothing remained to conquer but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem itself.

Still no attempt was made on Jerusalem ; it was left to its domestic enemies. Simon had remained in Masada, while Cerealis wasted Idumæa. He then broke forth again, entered Idumæa, drove a vast number of that people to Jerusalem, and again encamped before the walls, putting to the sword all the unfortunate stragglers who quitted the protection of the city.

Simon thus warred on the unhappy city from without, and John of Gischala within. The pillage and licence of the opulent capital had totally corrupted his hardy Galileans, who had been allowed to commit every excess. Pillage was their occupation, murder and rape their pastime. They had become luxurious and effeminate ; they had all the cruelty of men with the wantonness of the most abandoned women. Glutted with plunder and blood, and the violation of women, they decked their hair, put on female apparel, painted their eyes, and in this emasculate garb wandered about the city, indulging in the most horrible impurities, yet, on an instant, reassuming their character of dauntless ruffians, drawing their swords, which were concealed under their splendid clothes, and fighting fiercely or stabbing all they met without mercy. Thus was the city besieged within and without. Those who stayed were tyrannised over by John ; those who fled, massacred by Simon.

At length the party of John divided. The Idumæans, who were still in considerable numbers in Jerusalem, grew jealous of his power ; they rose and drove the Zealots into a palace built by Grapte, a relation of King Izates. This they entered with them, and thence forced them into the Temple. This palace was the great treasure-house of John's plunder, and was now in turn pillaged by the Idumæans. But the Zealots assembled in overwhelming force in the Temple, and threatened to pour down upon the Idumæans and the people. The Idumæans did not dread their bravery so much as their desperation, lest they should sally and set the whole city on

fire over their heads. They called an assembly of the chief priests, and that counsel was adopted which added the final consummation to the miseries of the city. "God," says Josephus, "overruled their wills to that most fatal measure." They agreed to admit Simon within the gates. The High Priest, Matthias, a weak but, from his rank, an influential man, supported this new proposition: he was sent in person to invite Simon within the walls, and amid the joyful greetings of the misguided populace, the son of Gioras marched through the streets, and took possession of all the upper city.

Simon immediately proceeded to attack the Zealots in the Temple, but the commanding situation of the building enabled them to defend themselves with success. They fought with missiles from the porticoes and pinnacles, and many of Simon's men fell. To obtain still further advantage from the height of their ground, they reared four strong towers, one on the north-east corner, one above the Xystus, one at another corner opposite the lower city, and one above the Pastophoria, where the priests were accustomed to sound the silver trumpet to announce the commencement and termination of the Sabbath. On these towers they placed their military engines, their bowmen and slingers, which swept the enemy down at a great distance; till at length Simon in some degree relaxed his assaults.

Vespasian had now assumed the purple; the East declared in his favour; Josephus received the honour and reward of a prophet, and was delivered from his bonds. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the new Cæsar was acknowledged at Rome, and the whole empire hailed in joyful triumph the accession of the Flavian dynasty. At the commencement of the ensuing year the emperor had time to think of the reduction of the rebellious city which had long resisted his own arms. His son Titus was sent to complete the subjugation of Palestine by the conquest of the capital.

BOOK XVI

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

State of the City—Advance of the Roman Army—Danger of Titus—Capture of the first Wall—Of the second—Famine—Murders within the City—Crucifixions without—The City encircled with a Trench and Wall—Antonia taken—Capture—Conflagration of the Temple—Capture and Demolition of the City—Fate of John and Simon—Numbers slain and taken Prisoners—Triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

A.C. 69, 70.

THE last winter of Jerusalem passed away in the same ferocious civil contests; her streets ran with the blood of her own children; and, instead of organising a regular defence against the approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its own position against the unintermitting assaults of its antagonists. The city was now divided into three distinct garrisons, at fierce and implacable hostility with each other.¹ Eleazar, the son of Simon, the man who was the first cause of the war, by persuading the people to reject the offerings of the Roman emperors, and who afterwards had set himself at the head of the Zealots, and seized the Temple, saw, with deep and rankling jealousy, the superiority assumed by John of Gischala. He pretended righteous indignation at John's sanguinary proceedings, and at length, with several other men of influence, Judas, the son of Hilkiah, Simon, the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, he openly seceded from the great band of Zealots who remained true to John, and seized the inner court of the Temple. And now the arms of savage men, reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens, were seen to rest upon the gates and walls of the Holy of Holies. The sacred songs of the Levites gave place to the ribald jests of a debauched soldiery. Instead of the holy instruments of music, were heard the savage shouts

¹ Joseph. B. J. v.

"Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres Duces, totidem exercitus." Tac. Hist. v. 12.

of fighting warriors ; and among the appointed victims, men, mortally wounded by the arrows of their own brethren without, lay gasping on the steps of the altar. The band of Eleazar was amply supplied with provisions ; for the stores of the Temple were full, and the Zealots were not troubled with religious scruples. But they were few, and could only defend themselves within, without venturing to sally forth against the enemy. The height of their position gave them an advantage over John, whose numbers were greatly superior : yet, though he suffered considerable loss, John would not intermit his attacks ; clouds of missiles were continually discharged into the inner court of the Temple, and the whole sacred pavement was strewn with dead bodies.

Simon, the son of Gioras, who occupied the upper city, attacked John the more fiercely, because the strength of John was divided, and he was likewise threatened by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon, which Eleazar had over John. It was a perilous enterprise to scale the ascent to the Temple, and on such ground the Zealots had no great difficulty in repelling the incessant assaults of Simon's faction. Against Eleazar's party they turned their engines, the scorpions, catapults, and balistas, with which they slew not a few of their enemies in the upper court, and some who came to sacrifice. For it was a strange feature in this fearful contest, that the religious ceremonies still went on upon the altar, which was often encircled with the dead. Beside the human victims which fell around, the customary sacrifices were regularly offered. Not only the pious inhabitants of Jerusalem constantly entreated and obtained permission to offer up their gifts and prayers before the altar of Jehovah ; but even strangers from distant parts would still arrive, and, passing over the pavement slippery with human blood, make their way to the Temple of their fathers, where they fondly thought the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob still retained his peculiar dwelling within the Holy of Holies. Free ingress and egress were granted ; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers were admitted with less difficulty : but often in the very act of prayer, or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stone fall thundering on their heads ; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshipping in the sacred place.

The contest raged more and more fiercely—for the abund-

ant stores within the Temple so unsparingly supplied the few adherents of Eleazar, that, in their drunkenness, they would occasionally sally out against John. When these attacks took place, John stood on the defensive ; from the outer porticoes repelled Simon, and with his engines within harassed Eleazar. When the drunken or overwearied troops of Eleazar gave him repose, he would sally forth against Simon, and waste the city. Simon, in his turn, would drive him back ; and thus the space around the Temple became a mass of ruin and desolation ; and in these desultory conflicts, the granaries, which, if carefully protected and prudently husbanded, might have maintained the city in plenty for years, were either wantonly thrown to waste or set on fire by Simon, lest they should be seized by John.

The people in the meantime, particularly the old men and the women, groaned in secret ; some uttered their prayers, but not aloud, for the speedy arrival of the Romans, to release them from the worse tyranny of these fierce strangers. In one point the three parties concurred, the persecution of the citizens, and in the condign punishment of every one whom they suspected of wishing well to the Roman army as their common enemy. It was dreadful to witness the deep and silent misery of the people ; they dared not utter their griefs ; their very groans were watched, and stifled in their hearts. But it was even more dreadful to see the callous hard-heartedness which had seized all ranks. All were alike become reckless from desperation ; there was no feeling for the nearest kindred, their very burial was neglected. All the desires, the hopes, the interests of life were extinguished ; death was so near, it was scarcely worth while to avoid it. Men went trampling over dead bodies as over the common pavement ; and this familiarity with murder, as it deadened the hearts of the citizens, so it increased the ferocity of the soldiers. Yet, even in the midst of all this, the old religious prejudices were the last to yield. Among the atrocities of John, the promiscuous spoliations and murders, one act made still a deep impression upon the public mind—his seizing some sacred timbers of great size and beauty which Agrippa had brought from Lebanon for the purpose of raising the Temple twenty feet, and his converting them to the profane use of raising military towers to annoy the faction of Eleazar in the inner Temple. He erected these towers on the west side, where alone there was an open space, the others

being occupied by flights of steps.¹ The force of the three factions was as follows: Simon had 10,000 Jews, and 5000 Idumæans; John 6000; Eleazar 2400.²

At length, after this awful interval of suspense, the war approached the gates of Jerusalem. Titus, having travelled from Egypt, arrived at Cæsarea, and began to organise his forces. In addition to the three legions which Vespasian had commanded, the twelfth returned to Syria, burning with revenge for its former disgraceful defeat under Cestius Gallus. The Syrian kings sent large contingents. The legions were full, the men who had been drafted off by Vespasian having been replaced by 2000 picked troops from Alexandria, and 3000 of those stationed on the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, who was distinguished not only by his wisdom and integrity, but by the intimate friendship of Titus, was appointed to a high command. He had been the first, in the recent political changes, to espouse the party of Vespasian; and his experience in arms, and his knowledge of the country which he had once governed, added weight to his counsels. The army advanced in its customary order of march: first the allies; then the pioneers; the baggage of the principal officers, strongly guarded; then Titus himself, with a select guard of spearmen; then the horse attached to the legions; the military engines next, also strongly guarded; the eagles and the trumpeters followed; then the legionaries in their phalanx, six deep: the slaves with their baggage; last of all, the mercenaries with the rearguard to keep order. The host moved slowly through Samaria into Gophna, and encamped in the valley of Thorns, near a village called Gaboth Saul, the Hill of Saul, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Jerusalem. Titus himself, with 600 horse, went forward to reconnoitre. As they wound down the last declivities which sloped towards the walls, the factious and turbulent city seemed reposing in perfect peace. The gates were closed; not a man appeared. The squadron of Titus turned to the right, filed off and skirted the wall towards the tower of Psephina.

On a sudden the gate behind him, near the tower of the Women, towards the monument of Helena, burst open; and

¹ B. J. v. 6, i.

² The general suspicion which attaches to the enormous numbers of killed and prisoners, given by Josephus, is increased by observing the comparatively small force of fighting men at this period, which rests on the same authority.

countless multitudes threw themselves, some across the road on which Titus was advancing, some right through his line, separating those who had diverged from the rest of the party.¹ Titus was cut off with only a few followers. To advance was impossible ; the ground was covered with orchards and gardens, divided by stone walls and intersected by deep trenches and water-courses, which reached to the city walls. To retreat was almost as difficult, for the enemy lay in thousands across his road. Titus saw that not a moment was to be lost : he wheeled his horse round, called to his men to follow him, and charged fiercely through. Darts and javelins fell in showers around him ; he had ridden forth to reconnoitre, not to battle, and had on neither helmet nor breastplate. Providentially not an arrow touched him. Clearing his way with his sword on both sides, and trampling down the enemy with his fiery steed, he continued to cleave his passage through the dense masses. The Jews shouted with astonishment at the bravery of Cæsar, but exhorted each other to secure the inestimable prize. Yet still they shrank and made way before him. His followers formed around him as well as they could, and at length they reached their camp in safety. One man had been surrounded and pierced with a thousand javelins. Another, having dismounted, was slain, and his horse was led away into the city. The triumph of the Jews was unbounded. Cæsar himself had been seen to fly. It was the promise and presage of more glorious and important victories.

The legion from Emmaus now joined the camp, and advanced to Scopos, within a mile of the city, from which all its extent could be surveyed. A level plain lay between the army and the northern wall ; the Romans encamped, two legions in front, the fifteenth three stadia behind. The tenth legion now likewise arrived from Jericho, and occupied a station at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Each from his separate watch-tower, Eleazar from the summit of the Temple, John from the porticoes of the outer courts, and Simon from the heights of Sion, beheld three camps forming immediately under the walls of the city. For the first time they felt the imperious necessity of concord. They entered into negotiations, and agreed on a simultaneous attack. Their mutual animosity turned to valiant emulation ;

¹ B. J. v. 2, 2.

they seized their arms, and rushing along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, fell with unexpected and irresistible impetuosity upon the tenth legion at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The legionaries were at work on their entrenchments, and many of them unarmed. They fell back, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset; many were killed before they could get to their arms. Still more and more came swarming out of the city; and the consternation of the Romans yet further multiplied their numbers. Accustomed to fight in array, the legionaries were astonished at this wild and desultory warfare; they occasionally turned, and cut off some of the Jews, who exposed themselves in their blind fury; but, overborne by numbers, they were on the verge of total and irreparable defeat, when Titus, who had received intelligence of the assault, with some picked men, fell as unexpectedly on the flank of the Jews, and drove them up the valley with great loss. Still the battle raged the whole day. Titus, having planted the troops who came with him in front across the valley, sent the rest to seize and fortify the upper part of the hill. The Jews mistook this movement for flight, their watchmen on the walls shook their garments violently as a signal; it seemed as if the whole city poured forth, roaring and raging like wild beasts. The ranks of the Romans were shattered by the charge, as if by military engines; they fled to the mountain. Titus was again left with but a few followers, on the declivity. With the advantage of the ground he defended himself resolutely, and at first drove his adversaries down; but like waves broken by a promontory, they went rushing up on both sides, pursuing the other fugitives, or turning and raking his party on both flanks. Those on the mount, as they saw the enemy swarming up the hill, were again seized with a panic, and dispersed on all sides, until a few, horror-struck at the critical situation of their commander, by a loud outcry raised an alarm among the whole legion, and bitterly reproaching each other for their base desertion of their Cæsar, with the resolute courage of men ashamed of their flight, rallied their scattered forces, made head, and drove the Jews down the hill into the valley. The Jews contested every foot of ground, till at length they were completely repulsed; and Titus again having established a strong line of outposts, dismissed his wearied men to their works.

It was now the Passover, the period during which, in the

earlier days of the Mosaic polity, or during the splendour of the Hebrew monarchy, the whole people used to come up with light and rejoicing hearts to the hospitable city, where all were welcome ; where every house was freely opened and without reward ; and the united voices of all the sons of Abraham blessed the Almighty for their deliverance from Egypt. Even in these disastrous days the festival retained its reverential hold upon the hearts of the people. Not merely multitudes of Jews from the adjacent districts, but even from remote quarters, were assembled to celebrate the last public Passover of the Jewish nation. Dion Cassius states that many Jews came from beyond the Euphrates to join in the defence of the city ; probably he meant those strangers who had come to the festival.¹ These numbers only added to the miseries of the inhabitants, by consuming the stores and hastening the general distress and famine. Yet, even the day of sacrifice was chosen by John of Gischala for an act of treachery and bloodshed. When Eleazar opened the gates of the court to admit the worshippers, some of John's most desperate adherents, without having performed their ablutions (Josephus adds this as a great aggravation of the crime), stole in among the rest with their swords under their cloaks. No sooner were they within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshippers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar's Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the Temple. The multitude cowered round the altar ; some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity—others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partisans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding-places, even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command ; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

In the meantime Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The whole plain from Scopos to the outward wall was levelled. The blooming gardens with their bubbling fountains, and cool water-courses, in which the inhabitants of

¹ οἱ Ιουδαῖοι, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀντόθεν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανά τῶν ὁμοήθων, δυχ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἀντῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέραν Ἐυφράτου προσ-βεβηκτες. lxvi. 4.

Jerusalem had enjoyed sweet hours of delight and recreation, were ruthlessly swept away. The trees, now in their spring flower, fell before the axe, the landmarks were thrown down, the water-courses destroyed: even the deep and shady glens were levelled and filled up with the masses of rugged and picturesque rocks which used to overshadow them. A broad and level road led from Scopos to the tomb of Herod, near the pool of Serpents.

While this work was proceeding, one day, a considerable body of the Jews was seen to come, driven out, as it appeared, from the gate near the Tower of the Women. They stood cowering under the walls as if dreading the attack of the Romans. It seemed as though the peace party had expelled the fiercer insurgents, for many were seen upon the walls, holding out their right hands in token of surrender, and making signs that they would open the gates. At the same time they began to throw down stones on those without; the latter appeared at one moment to endeavour to force their way back, and to supplicate the mercy of those on the walls; at another to advance towards the Romans, and then retreat as if in terror. The unsuspecting soldiers were about to charge in a body, but the more wary Titus ordered them to remain in their position. A few, however, who were in front of the workmen, seized their arms and advanced towards the gates. The Jews fled, till their pursuers were so close to the gates as to be within the flanking towers. They then turned, others sallied forth and surrounded the Romans, while those on the walls hurled down stones and every kind of missile on their heads. After suffering great loss in killed and wounded, some of the Romans effected their retreat, and were pursued by the Jews to the monument of Helena. The Jews, not content with their victory, stood and laughed at the Romans for having been deceived by so simple a stratagem, clashed their shields, and assailed them with every ludicrous and opprobrious epithet. Nor was this the worst; they were received with stern reproof by their tribunes, and Cæsar himself addressed them in the language of the strongest rebuke: "The Jews," he said, "who have no leader but despair, do every thing with the utmost coolness and precaution, lay ambushes, and plot stratagems; while the Romans, who used to enslave fortune by their steady discipline, are become so rash and disorderly as to venture into battle without command." He then threatened, and was actually about to put into execution,

the military law, which punished such a breach of order with death—had not the other troops surrounded him, entreating mercy for their fellow soldiers, and pledging themselves to redeem the disaster by their future regularity and discipline. Cæsar was with difficulty appeased.

The approach to the city was now complete, and the army took up a position along the northern and western wall. They were drawn up, the foot in front, seven deep, the horse behind, three deep, with the archers between them. The Jews were thus effectually blockaded ; and the beasts of burthen, which carried the baggage, came up to the camp in perfect security. Titus himself encamped about a quarter of a mile from the wall, near the tower Psephina ; another part of the army near the tower called Hippicus, at the same distance ; the tenth legion kept its station near the Mount of Olives.

Jerusalem at this period was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines ; there it had but one. Not that these walls stood one within the other, each in a narrower circle running round the whole city ; but each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided—or it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Sion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the upper city ; but in addition, first the hill of Moriah had been taken in, on which the Temple stood ; then Acra, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up and the top of Acra levelled by the Asmonean princes, so that Acra and Moriah were united, though on the side of Acra the Temple presented a formidable front, connected by several bridges or causeways with the lower city. To the south the height of Sion, the upper city, was separated from the lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropœon, or the valley of the Cheesemongers : at the edge of this ravine, on both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one part. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.¹

¹ This topography and description of the walls is almost entirely from Josephus, whose authority on this subject is unquestionable. It may be compared with Mr. Fergusson's elaborate article in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Mr.

The first or outer wall encompassed Bezetha. Agrippa the First had intended, as it has been mentioned, to make this of extraordinary strength. He had desisted from the work on the interference of the Romans; who appear to have foreseen that this refractory city would hereafter force them to take arms against it. Had this wall been built according to the plan of Agrippa, the city, in the opinion of Josephus, would have been impregnable. This wall began at the tower Hippicus, which stood, it seems, on a point at the extreme corner of Mount Sion: it must have crossed the western mouth of the valley of Tyropœon, and run directly north to the tower of Psephina, proved clearly by D'Anville to have been what was called during the Crusades Castel Pisano. It then bore towards the monument of Helena, ran by the royal caverns to the Fuller's monument, and was carried into the valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat, where it joined the old or inner wall under the Temple. The wall, however it fell short of Agrippa's design, was of considerable strength. The stones were 35 feet long, so solid as not easily to be shaken by battering engines, or undermined. It was $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad; it had only been carried to the same height by Agrippa, but it had been hastily run up by the Jews to 35 feet; on its top stood battlements $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pinnacles $5\frac{3}{4}$; so the whole was nearly 45 feet high.

The second wall began at a gate in the old or inner one, called Gennath, the gate of the gardens; it intersected the lower city, and having struck northward for some distance, turned to the east and joined the north-west corner of the citadel of Antonia. The Antonia stood at the north-west corner of the Temple, and was separated from Bezetha by a deep ditch, which probably protected the whole northern front of the Temple as well as of the Antonia.

Fergusson agrees with me in full reliance on the accuracy of Josephus: the difficulty is in adapting the description to the present state of the ground, and the traditional sites of some of the towers and other landmarks. With Mr. Fergusson's view of the site of the Holy Sepulchre this History has no concern. My difficulty is in supposing a place of sepulture, with the Jews' deep feeling of the uncleanness of the dead, being permitted on the hill of the Temple. Still it may have been the site of Constantine's church; but I venture to doubt whether Constantine knew more of the actual site than we do. The only indication—the Temple of Venus, said to have been built by Hadrian, in contempt of the Christians—I am confident is utterly unhistoric, out of character with Hadrian and his times, and perhaps the fiction which has perplexed the question for ever. That temple, if really built, was much more likely raised in scorn of the rebellious and hardly conquered Jews, in front of what had been their glorious Temple.

The old or inner wall was that of Sion. Starting from the south-western porticoes of the Temple, to which it was united, it ran along the ridge of the Tyropœon, passed first the Xystus, then the Council house, and abutted on the tower Hippicus, from whence the northern wall sprang. The old wall then ran southward through Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, all along the ridge of the valley of Hinnom, then eastward again to the pool of Solomon, so on through Ophla, probably a deep glen: it there joined the eastern portico of the Temple. Thus there were, it might seem, four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege. The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha; the fortifications of the northern part of the Temple, the Antonia, and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced, only a part of the lower city was won; the strong rock-built citadel of Antonia and the Temple on one hand, and Sion on the other, were not in the least weakened.

The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were 35 feet broad, and 35 high; but above this height were lofty chambers, and above those again upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain-water. Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, fourteen in the second, and sixty in the third. The intervals between the towers were about 350 feet. The whole circuit of the city according to Josephus was 33 stadia—rather more than 4 miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was $122\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judæa, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea: it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower Hippicus, and, following the old wall, stood those of Mariamne and Phasaelis, built by Herod, and named after his brother and friend and his wife. These were stupendous even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square; $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet each way. The whole height of the tower was 140 feet—the tower itself $52\frac{1}{2}$, a deep tank or reservoir 35, two stories of chambers $43\frac{3}{4}$, battlements and pinnacles $8\frac{3}{4}$. Phasaelis was a solid square of 70 feet. It was surrounded by a portico $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks; and above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty chambers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest with battlements and pinnacles, so that its whole height was above 167 feet.

It looked from a distance like the tall Pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up; it was built of solid wall 35 feet high, and the same width: on the whole, with the upper chambers, it was about $76\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. These lofty towers appeared still higher from their situation. They stood upon the old wall, which ran along the steep brow of Sion. The masonry was perfect: they were built of white marble, cut in blocks 35 feet long, $17\frac{1}{2}$ wide, $8\frac{1}{4}$ high, so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its impregnable strength, with still greater wonder and admiration at its unexampled magnificence: for within these towers stood the palace of the kings, of the most extraordinary size and splendour. It was surrounded by a wall 35 feet high, which was adorned by towers at equal distances, and by spacious barrack rooms with 100 beds in each. It was paved with every variety of rare marble; timbers of unequalled length and workmanship supported the roofs. The chambers were countless, adorned with all kinds of figures, the richest furniture, and vessels of gold and silver. There were numerous cloisters, of columns of different orders, the squares within of beautiful verdure; around were groves and avenues, with fountains and tanks, and bronze statues pouring out the water. There were likewise large houses for tame doves. Much of this magnificence, however, had already run to waste and ruin, during the conflict within the city. The beautiful gardens were desolate, the chambers plundered. A fire, that originated in the Antonia, had crossed over to the palace and injured a considerable part, even the roofs of the three towers.¹

The fortress Antonia stood alone, on a precipitous rock near 90 feet high, at the north-west corner of the Temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than 5 feet high. The fortress was 70 feet in height. It had every luxury

¹ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας ἥρξατο τὸ πῦρ, μετέβη δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τῶν τριῶν πύργων τὰς στέγας ἀπενεμήθη. B. J. v. 4. This is rather difficult to comprehend, unless the roofs were of very combustible material, set in flames by flying sparks and flakes of fire.

and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at each corner; three of them between 80 and 90 feet high: that at the corner next to the Temple above 120. From this the whole Temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloisters or porticoes of the Temple, in which, during the Roman government, their guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the Temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendour of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus the esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side.¹ Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone; the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than 300 cubits, 525 feet; but their whole height was not seen, excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were of the size of 70 feet, probably in length.

On this gigantic foundation ran on each front a strong and lofty wall without; within, a spacious double portico or cloister 52½ feet broad, supported by 162 columns, which supported a cedar ceiling of the most exquisite workmanship. The pillars were entire blocks hewn out of solid marble, of dazzling whiteness, 43¾ feet high. On the south side the portico or cloister was triple.

This quadrangle had but one gate to the east, one to the north, two to the south, four to the west; one of these led to the palace, one to the city, one at the corner to the Antonia, one down towards the gardens.

The open courts were paved with various inlaid marbles. Between this outer court of the Gentiles, and the second court of the Israelites, ran rails of stone, but of beautiful workmanship, rather more than 5 feet high. Along these, at regular intervals, stood pillars with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—warning all strangers, and Jews who were

¹ D'Anville, from an estimate of the present area of the hill, is inclined to suppose that the whole ought to be nearly ten instead of six stadia.

unclean, from entering into the Holy Court beyond. An ascent of 14 steps led to a terrace $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, beyond which arose the wall of the Inner Court. This wall appeared on the outside 70 feet, on the inside $43\frac{1}{4}$; for besides the ascent of 14 steps to the terrace, there were 5 more up to the gates. The Inner Court had no gate or opening to the west, but four on the north and four on the south, two to the east, one of which was for the women, for whom a portion of the Inner Court was set apart—and beyond which they might not advance; to this they had access likewise by one of the northern and one of the southern gates, which were set apart for their use. Around this court ran another splendid range of porticoes or cloisters: the columns were quite equal in beauty and workmanship, though not in size, to those of the outer portico. Nine of these gates, or rather gateway towers, were richly adorned with gold and silver on the doors, the door-posts, and the lintels. The doors of each of the nine gates were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and half that breadth. Within, the gateways were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and deep, with rooms on each side, so that the whole looked like lofty towers: the height from the base to the summit was 70 feet. Each gateway had two lofty pillars 21 feet in circumference. But that which excited the greatest admiration was the tenth, usually called the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. It was of Corinthian brass of the finest workmanship. The height of the Beautiful Gate was $87\frac{1}{2}$, its doors 70 feet. The father of Tiberius Alexander had sheeted these gates with gold and silver; his apostate son was to witness their ruin by the plundering hands and fiery torches of his Roman friends. Within this quadrangle there was a further separation; a low wall which divided the priests from the Israelites: near this stood the great brazen altar. Beyond, the Temple itself reared its glittering front. The great porch or Propyleon, according to the design of the last, or Herod's Temple, extended to a much greater width than the body of the Temple; in addition to the former width of 105 feet, it had two wings of 35 each, making in the whole 175. The great gate of this last quadrangle, to which there was an ascent of twelve steps, was called that of Nicanor. The gateway tower was $132\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $43\frac{1}{2}$ wide: it had no doors, but the frontispiece was covered with gold, and through its spacious arch was seen the golden gate of the Temple glittering with the same precious metal, with large plates of which it was sheeted all over. Above this gate hung the

celebrated golden vine. This extraordinary piece of workmanship had bunches, according to Josephus, as large as a man. The Rabbins add that, "like a true natural vine, it grew greater and greater; men would be offering, some, gold, to make a leaf, some a grape, some a bunch: and these were hung up upon it, and so it was increasing continually."

The Temple itself, excepting in the extension of the wings of the Propyleon, was probably the same in its dimensions and distribution with that of Solomon. It contained the same holy treasures, if not of equal magnificence, yet by the zeal of successive ages the frequent plunder to which it had been exposed was constantly replaced; and within, the golden candlestick spread out its flowering branches; the golden table supported the show-bread, and the altar of incense flamed with its costly perfume. The roof of the Temple had been set all over on the outside with sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and defiling the roof; and the gates were still sheeted with plates of the same splendid metal. At a distance, the whole Temple looked literally like "a mount of snow, fretted with golden pinnacles."

Looking down upon its marble courts, and on the Temple itself, when the sun arose above the Mount of Olives, which it directly faced, it was impossible, even for a Roman, not to be struck with wonder, or even for a Stoic, like Titus, not to betray his emotion. Yet this was the city which in a few months was to lie a heap of undistinguished ruins; and the solid Temple itself, which seemed built for eternity, not "to have one stone left upon another."

Surveying all this, Titus, escorted by a strong guard of horse, rode slowly round the city. But if thoughts of mercy occasionally entered into a heart, the natural humanity of which seems to have been steeled during the whole course of the siege, the Jews were sure to expel them again by some new indication of their obstinate ferocity. As he passed along, Nicanor, an intimate friend of the emperor, was so imprudent as to venture near the walls with Josephus, to parley with the besieged; he was answered by an arrow through the right shoulder. Titus immediately ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, and all the trees to be cut down to make his embankments. He determined to direct his attack against the part of the outer wall which was the lowest, on account of the buildings of Bezetha not reaching up to it, near the tomb of John the high priest. As the approaches were made, and the day

of assault was visibly drawing near, the people began to have some cessation of their miseries, as their worst enemies, those within the gates, were employed against the Romans ; and they looked forward to a still further release when the Romans should force the city.

Simon, it has been before stated, had 10,000 of his own men, and 5000 Idumæans ; John 6000 ; 2400 remained under the command of Eleazar. The cautious John would not venture forth himself from his lair in the Temple, not from want of valour or animosity against the enemy, but from a suspicion of Simon ; but his men went forth to fight in the common cause. The more open and indefatigable Simon was never at rest : he mounted all the military engines taken from Cestius, on the walls ; but they did little damage, as his men wanted skill and practice to work them. But they harassed the Roman workmen by stones and missiles from the walls, and by perpetual sallies. Under their penthouses of wicker work, the Romans laboured diligently ; the tenth legion distinguished itself, and having more powerful engines, both for the discharge of arrows and of stones, than the others, not merely repelled those who sallied, but threw stones, the weight of a talent, a distance of two furlongs, upon the walls. The Jews set men to watch the huge rocks, which came thundering down upon their heads. They were easily visible, from their extreme whiteness (this, it seems, must have been by night) ; the watchmen shouted aloud in their native tongue, *The bolt is coming !* on which they all bowed their heads, and avoided the blow. The Romans found out this, and blackened the stones, which, now taking the Jews unawares, struck down and crushed, not merely single men, but whole ranks. Night and day the Romans toiled ; night and day, by stratagem and force, the Jews impeded their progress. When the works were finished, the engineers measured the space to the walls with lead and line, thrown from the engines, for they dared not approach nearer. Having first advanced the engines, which discharged stones and arrows, nearer the wall, so as to cover the engineers, Titus ordered the rams to play. At three different places they began their thundering work ; the besieged answered with shouts, but shouts of terror. It became evident that nothing less than an united effort could now repel the foe. Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers who would descend to man the wall. John, though still suspicious, did not oppose their going ; and the

two parties fought side by side from the walls with emulous valour, striving to set the engines on fire by discharging combustibles from above; others sallied forth in troops, tore the defences from the engines, and killed the engineers. Titus, on his side, was indefatigable; he posted horsemen and bowmen in the intervals between the machines, to repel the assailants. So the formidable machines, called Helepoleis, the takers of cities, pursued undisturbed their furious battering. At length a corner tower came down, but the walls stood firm, and offered no practicable breach.

Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews seemed on a sudden to desist from their ferocious sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and entrenchments. Suddenly, through an unperceived gate, near the tower of Hippicus, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on to the edge of the entrenchments. The Romans gathered hastily, but Jewish valour prevailed over Roman discipline. The besiegers were put to flight, and then a terrible conflict took place about the engines, which had all been set on fire, but for the manful resistance of some Alexandrians, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest at length suddenly retreated; one Jew was taken prisoner, and crucified—the first instance of that unjustifiable barbarity—before the walls. John, the captain of the Idumæans, was shot by an Arab, during a parley with a Roman soldier; he was a man of courage and prudence, and his death was greatly lamented. Exhausted with the conflict of the day, the Roman army retired to repose. There was a total silence throughout the vast camp, broken only by the pacing of the sentinel; when suddenly a tremendous crash seemed to shake the earth, and the crumbling noise of falling stones continued for a few moments. The legionaries started to arms, and, half naked, looked through the dim night, expecting every instant to see the gleaming swords and furious faces of their enemies glaring upon them. All was still and motionless. They stood gazing upon each other, and hastily passed the word; and as their own men began to move about, they mistook them for the enemy, and were well nigh seized with a panic flight. The presence of Titus reassured them, and the cause of the alarm soon became known. They had built three towers upon their embankment, nearly ninety feet

high ; one of them had fallen with its own weight, and given rise to the confusion.

These towers did the most fatal damage to the Jews. Beyond the range of arrows from their height, from their weight they were not to be overthrown, and, being plated with iron, would not take fire. From the tops of these the men showered continually every kind of missile, till at length the defenders retired from the walls, and left the battering engines to perform their work undisturbed. There was one of these Helepoleis, or battering engines, called by the Jews themselves Nico, the Victorious, for it beat down everything before it. Nico did not cease to thunder day and night, till at length the wall began to totter. The Jews, exhausted by fatigue, and harassed with passing the night far from their own houses within the city, began to grow careless and indifferent about the suburb ; and at once, abandoning their posts, retreated to the second wall. The Romans entered Bezetha, and threw down a great part of the wall. Titus took up a position, near what was called the Camp of the Assyrians, stretching as far as the brook Kedron, and he immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here the conflict became more terrible than ever ; the party of John defended the Antonia and the northern cloister of the Temple ; that of Simon, the rest of the wall to a gate through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back ; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms—the Jews, in fear of leaving their walls defenceless—the Romans, in constant dread of a surprise. At dawn the battle began again ; on the one hand, Simon acted the part of a most gallant commander, and his influence and example excited his men to the most daring exploits ; on the other, the desire of speedily putting an end to the war, the confidence in their own superior discipline ; the assurance that the Roman arms were irresistible ; the pride of their first success ; above all, the presence of Titus, kept up the stubborn courage of the assailants. Longinus, a Roman knight, greatly distinguished himself by charging singly into a whole squadron of the Jews ; he killed two men, and came safely off. But the Jews were entirely reckless of their own lives, and sacrificed them readily if they could but kill one of their enemies. Before long the

great Helepoleis began to thunder against the central tower of the wall. The defenders fled in terror, except a man named Castor, and ten others. At first these men lay quiet; but as the tower began to totter above their heads, they rose, and stretched out their hands in an attitude of supplication. Castor called on Titus by name, and entreated mercy. Titus ordered the shocks of the engine and the discharge of arrows to cease, and gave Castor permission to speak. Castor expressed his earnest desire to surrender, to which Titus replied, that he would the whole city were of the same mind, and inclined honourably to capitulate. Five of Castor's men appeared to take his part; the other five, with savage cries, to reproach them for their dastardly baseness. A fierce quarrel seemed to ensue. The attack was entirely suspended, and Castor sent secret notice to Simon, that he would amuse the emperor some time longer. In the meanwhile, he appeared to be earnestly expostulating with the opposite party, who stood upon the breastworks, brandishing their swords; and at length striking their own bosoms, seemingly fell dead. The Romans, who did not see very distinctly from below, were amazed at what they supposed the desperate resolution of the men, and even pitied their fate. During this, Castor was wounded in the nose by an arrow, which he drew out, and showed it indignantly to Cæsar, as if he had been ungenerously treated. Titus sternly rebuked the man who had shot it, and desired Josephus to go forward and parley with Castor. But Josephus knew his countrymen too well, and declined the service. Upon this, one Æneas, a deserter, offered his services. Castor called him to come near to catch some money, which he wished to throw down. Æneas opened the folds of his robe to receive it, and Castor immediately levelled a huge stone at his head; it missed Æneas, but wounded a soldier near him. Cæsar, furious at having been thus tricked, ordered the engines to be worked more vigorously than ever. Castor and his men set the tower on fire, and when it was blazing, appeared to leap boldly into the flames; in fact, they had thrown themselves into a subterraneous passage, which led into the city.

The fifth day the Jews retreated from the second wall, and Titus entered that part of the lower city which was within it, with 1000 picked men. The streets of the wool-sellers, the braziers, and the clothiers, led obliquely to the wall.

Instead of throwing down the walls and burning as he went

on, Titus, with a view of gaining the people, issued orders that no houses should be set on fire, and no massacre committed. He gave out, that he was desirous of separating the cause of the people from that of the garrison ; that to the former he would readily restore all their property. The fierce insurgents hailed this as a sign of weakness, threatened all the people with instant death if they stirred, slew without mercy every one who uttered a word about peace, and then fell furiously on the Romans. Some fought on the houses, some from the walls ; some along the narrow streets ; others, sallying from the upper gates, fell on the camp behind. The guards who were upon the walls leaped down, and totally abandoned their companions within the newly conquered part of the city. All was confusion ; those who reached the wall were surrounded, and looked in vain for succour from their associates without, who had enough to do to defend their own camp. The Jews increased every instant in numbers ; they knew every lane and alley of the city, they appeared on every side, and started up where they were the least expected. The Romans could not retreat, for the narrowness of the breach would only allow them to retire very slowly. Titus, at last, came to their assistance, and by placing archers at the ends of the lanes and streets, kept the assailants back, and at last brought off most of his men, but they had totally lost the fruits of their victory.

This success raised the spirits of the besieged to the highest pitch of elevation ; they thought that whenever the Romans should venture again into the streets, if indeed they would be rash enough to do so, they would be repelled with the same loss and disgrace. But they thought not of the secret malady which was now beginning to sap their own strength—the want of provisions.¹ As yet, indeed, though many were absolutely perishing with hunger, as these were only the disaffected populace, they rather rejoiced at being rid of the burthen than deplored the loss. As for the breach, they manned it boldly, and made a wall of their own bodies, fighting for three days without intermission. On the fourth day they were forced to retire, and Titus, entering the wall a second time, threw down the whole northern part of it, and strongly garrisoned the towers towards the south.

Two walls had fallen, but still the precipitous heights of Sion, the impregnable Antonia, and the stately Temple, lowered

¹ B. J. v. 9. 1.

defiance on the invaders. Titus determined to suspend the siege for a few days, in order to allow time for the terror of his conquests to operate on the minds of the besieged, and for the slow famine to undermine their strength and courage. He employed the time in making a magnificent review of all his troops, who were to receive their pay in view of the whole city. The troops defiled slowly in their best attire with their arms taken out of their cases and their breastplates on ; the cavalry leading their horses, accoutred in their most splendid trappings. The whole suburbs gleamed with gold and silver. The Romans beheld the spectacle with pride, the Jews with consternation. The whole length of the old wall, the northern cloisters of the Temple, every window, every roof, was crowded with heads, looking down, some with stern and scowling expressions of hate and defiance ; others in undisguised terror, some emaciated with famine, others heated with intemperance. The sight might have appalled the boldest ; but the insurgents knew that they had offended too deeply to trust to Roman mercy, and that nothing remained but still to contend with the stubborn obstinacy of desperation. For four days this procession continued defiling beneath the walls ; on the fifth, as no overtures for capitulation were made, Titus gave orders to recommence the siege. One part of the army was employed to raise embankments against the Antonia, where John and his followers fought : the rest against the monument of John the high priest, on part of the wall defended by Simon. The Jews had now learned, by long practice, the use of their military engines, and plied them from their heights with tremendous effect. They had 300 scorpions, for the discharge of darts ; and forty balistas, which threw enormous stones. Titus used every means to induce them to surrender, and sent Josephus to address them in their native language. Josephus with some difficulty found a place from whence he might be heard, and, at the same time, be out of arrow-shot. Whether his prudence marred the effect of his oratory or not, by his own statement he addressed to them a long harangue. He urged their own interest in the preservation of the city and Temple, the unconquerable power of the Romans, their mercy in offering terms of capitulation, and he dwelt on the famine which had begun to waste their strength. Neither the orator himself, nor his topics, were very acceptable to the fierce Zealots. They scoffed at him, reviled him, and hurled their darts against his head. Josephus then reverted to the ancient

history of the nation ; he urged that the Jewish people had never yet relied on such defenders, but ever on their God. "Such was the trust of Abraham, who did not resist when Necho, the Pharaoh of Egypt, took away his wife Sarah!" The orator seems here to have reckoned on the ignorance of his audience. He then recounted first the great deliverances, then the great calamities of the nation, and proceeded in a strain of vehement invective, little calculated to excite anything but furious indignation in the minds of the Zealots.¹ They, as might be expected, were only more irritated. The people, by his account, were touched by his expostulations ; probably their miseries and the famine argued more powerfully to their hearts ; they began to desert in numbers. Some sold their property at the lowest price, others swallowed their more valuable articles, gold and jewels, and when they fled to the Romans, unloaded themselves of their precious burthens. Titus allowed them to pass unmolested. The news of their escape excited many others to follow their example, though John and Simon watched every outlet of the city, and executed without mercy all whom they suspected of a design to fly. This too was a convenient charge, on which they could put to death as many of the more wealthy as they chose.

In the meantime the famine increased, and with the famine the desperation of the insurgents.² No grain was exposed for public sale : they forced open and searched the houses ; if

¹ Josephus even appealed to miracles wrought in favour of the Romans : he asserted that the fountain of Siloam, and other water springs, which had failed entirely while they were in the power of the Jews, no sooner came into the possession of the Romans than they began to flow abundantly.

² While the famine was thus grievous, the supply of water seems never to have failed. In this they had great advantage over the besiegers. Josephus indeed (see above) intimates a sort of miracle, that Silcam, and other sources of water which had dried up, when in possession of the Jews, began to flow again for the Romans. Τίτῳ μὲν γὰρ πήγαι πλονοιώτεραι ῥέουσιν, ἀλι ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτῶν παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλωάμ ἐπιλιπούσαν ἔστε, καὶ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεος ἀπάσας, ὥστε πρὸς ἀμφορεῖς ὄνεισθαι τὸ ὕδωρ· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὕτω πληθύνουσι τοῖς πολεμοῖς ὑμῶν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀντοῖς καὶ κτήνεσιν, ἀλλα καὶ κήπους διαρκεῖν. Josephus would persuade us that he uttered this in the hearing of the besiegers, thus appealing to themselves for its truth. It is evidently a flower of later rhetoric. Strabo had before described Jerusalem as ἐντὸς μὲν ἔνυδρον, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρὸν (xvi. p. 763). So Tacitus : "Fons perennis, cavati sub terrâ montes ; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus." Hist. v. 12. Dion Cassius is even more explicit : τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τῇ ἀνυδρᾳ ἐκακοπάθουν, καὶ φαῦλον καὶ περρῶθεν ὕδωρ ἐπαγόμενον οἱ δὲ Ιοι δαιοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἵσχυον. Not only had they plenty of water, but at times they issued cut through the subterraneous aqueducts, attacked the Romans when seeking water, and cut off stragglers. Vesp. lxvi. 3.

they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal ; if none was discovered, they tortured them with greater cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings were the marks by which they judged whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment : the plunderers passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses, devoured it underground ; others made bread, snatched it half-baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. The misery of the weaker was aggravated by seeing the plenty of the stronger. Every kind feeling—love—respect—natural affection—were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children ; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. The most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they supposed that eating was going on ; they burst in, and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and the throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately, and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled around, and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers by swallowing every atom, were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which cannot be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf, or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties ; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food, with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return ; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion at least might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed as well as pillaged.¹

¹ Of all high wrought descriptions of human suffering, what can surpass this paragraph in the history of the war? (v. 10. 3). Josephus would console

Such were the cruelties exercised on the lower orders by the satellites of the tyrants; the richer and more distinguished were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John; he that had been stripped by John was made over to Simon; so, by turns, they, as it were, shared the bodies and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies; their common crimes united them in friendship. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some flagrant cruelty; and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

The blood runs cold, and the heart sickens, at these unexampled horrors; and we take refuge in a kind of desperate hope that they have been exaggerated by the historian: those which follow, perpetrated under his own eyes by his Roman friends, and justified under the all-extenuating plea of necessity, admit of no such reservation—they must be believed in their naked and unmitigated barbarity. Many poor wretches, some few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night, to pick up whatever might serve for food. They would, most of them, willingly have deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these Titus laid men in ambush; when attacked, they defended themselves; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified; and in the morning, sometimes 500, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on crosses before the walls. This was done because it was thought unsafe to let them escape, and to terrify the rest.¹ The soldiers added ridicule to their cruelty; they would place the bodies in all sorts of ludicrous postures; and this went on till room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies.

himself with the bold assertion that the men who perpetrated these enormities were not Jews of legitimate descent, but δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλυδες, καὶ νῦθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα. And yet these very men for freedom (dare we say for faith?) did deeds of valour and daring equal to the famous Maccabees.

¹ Josephus is now become the steadfast flatterer of Titus. Not only does he colour most highly the personal prowess of the son of Cæsar; in this he has the concurrence of Tacitus: “Ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se, promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquii officia provocans; ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.” Hist. v. i.

Josephus would also attribute to Titus merciful compunction at these executions. I cannot but think that Bishop Heber’s “stoic tyrant’s philosophic pride” is more true to the character of Titus.

These executions produced a contrary effect to that which was contemplated. The Zealots dragged the relatives of the deserters, and all they suspected as inclined towards peace, up to the walls, and bade them behold those examples of Roman mercy. This checked the desertion, excepting in those who thought it better to be killed at once than to die slowly of hunger. Titus sent others back to Simon and John, with their hands cut off, exhorting them to capitulate, and not to force him to destroy the city and the Temple. It cannot be wondered, that as Titus went round the works, he was saluted from all parts, in contempt of the imperial dignity, with the loudest and bitterest execrations against his own name and that of his father.

At this time a son of the king of Commagene, called Antiochus Epiphanes, a name of ominous sound to Jerusalem, joined the Roman camp with a chosen band of youths, dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion. He expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in assaulting the wall. Titus gave him free leave to make the attempt, which he did with great valour, but with little success, notwithstanding his vaunting; for though he escaped, all his men were severely mutilated and wounded by the besieged.

After seventeen days' labour, on the 27th or 29th of May, the embankments were raised in four separate places. That of the fifth legion began near the pool of the Sparrows; that of the twelfth about thirty-five feet farther off; that of the tenth on the north, near the pool of the Almond Trees; and that of the fifteenth on the east, near the monument of John. All was prepared; the engines mounted, and the troops stood awaiting the assault, when suddenly the whole ground between the embankments and the wall was seen to heave and roll like a sea. Presently thick masses of smoke came curling heavily up, followed by dim and lurid flames; the whole then sank, the engines and the embankments rolled down together into the fiery abyss, and were either buried or consumed. John had undermined the whole, piled below an immense quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, set fire to the wooden supports, and thus destroyed the labours of seventeen days.

The Jewish captains were rivals in valour as in guilt. Two days after, Simon, on his side, made a desperate attack on the engines, which had already begun to shake the walls. Tepthaus, a Galilean, Megassar, formerly an attendant on Mariamne, and a man of Adiabene, the son of Nebat, called

Chagiras (the lame), rushed fiercely out, with torches in their hands. These men were the bravest as well as the most cruel of the Zealots. They were not repelled till they had set fire to the Helepoleis. The Romans crowded to extinguish the fire ; the Jews from the walls covered their men, who, though the iron of the engines was red hot, would not relax their hold. The fire spread to the other works, and the Romans, encompassed on all sides by the flames, retreated to their camp. The Jews followed up their success, and, all fury and triumph, rushed upon the trenches, and assailed the guards. By the Roman discipline it was death to desert such a post. The guards stubbornly resisted, and were killed in numbers. The scorpions and balistas of the Romans rained a shower of mortal missiles, but the Jews, utterly regardless of defending themselves, still pushed fiercely on, swarm after swarm pouring out of the city ; so that Titus, who had been absent reconnoitring the Antonia, in order to find a new spot to fix his engines, found the whole army besieged, and even wavering. He charged with his men resolutely against the Jews, who turned round and faced his attack. Such was the dust and the noise, that no one could see, hear, or distinguish friend from foe. The event of the contest left the Romans dispirited by the loss of their battering train, and with little hope of taking the city with the ordinary engines that remained. Titus summoned a council of war. Three plans were discussed ; to storm the city immediately, to repair the works and rebuild the engines, or to blockade and starve the garrison to surrender. The last was preferred ; and the whole army set to work upon the trench, each legion and each rank vying with the rest in activity. The trench ran from the "Camp of the Assyrians," where Titus was encamped, to the lower part of Bezetha, along the valley of Cedron, and the ridge of the Mount of Olives, to a rock called Peristereon, at the mouth of the valley of Siloam, and a hill which hangs over Siloe, thence to the west to the valley of the Fountain, thence ascending to the sepulchre of the high priest Ananias, round the mountain where Pompey's camp was formerly pitched, by a village called that of Erebinth, or Pulse, then turned eastward again and joined the camp : the whole work was within a furlong of five miles ; it was surmounted by thirteen garrison towers, and was entirely finished in three days.

It can scarcely be doubted that there must have been, within the walls of Jerusalem, many so closely connected with the

Christians as to be well acquainted with the prophetic warning which had induced that people to leave the fated city. With what awful force must the truth of the disbelieved or disregarded words have returned to their remembrance, when their enemies had thus literally “cast a trench about them, and compassed them round, and kept them in on every side!” But the poor and the lowly would have little time to meditate even on such solemn considerations; for the instant effect of this measure was to increase the horrors of the famine so far that whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men, gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or, in the uncertainty of their own lives, neglected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends; others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes still steadily fixed on the Temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers, as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their limbs; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the corpses, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rotting, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work.¹ The Roman camp, in the meantime, was abundantly supplied; and Titus commanded timber to be brought from a distance, and recommenced his works in four places against the Antonia.

One crime remained of which the robbers had not yet been guilty, and that, Simon now hastened to perpetrate. The high priest, Matthias, a man of feeble character, had passively submitted to all the usurpations of the robber leaders. He it

¹ B. J. v. 12. 4.

was who admitted Simon to counterpoise the party of John. Matthias was accused, whether justly or not, of intelligence with the Romans ; he was led out and executed in the sight of the Romans, with his three sons : the fourth had made his escape. The inoffensive old man only entreated that he might be put to death first ; this was denied him, and his sons were massacred before his face by Ananus, the son of Bamad, the remorseless executioner of Simon's cruelties. Ananias, the son of Masambal, Aristeus, the secretary of the Sanhedrin, and fifteen of its members, were put to death at the same time. The father of Josephus was thrown into prison, and all access to him strictly forbidden. Josephus himself had a narrow escape ; he was struck on the head by a stone, and fell insensible. The Jews by a vigorous sally endeavoured to make themselves masters of his body, but Titus sent troops to his rescue, and he was brought off, though with difficulty. The rumour of his death spread through the city, and reached his mother in her prison ; his speedy appearance under the walls reassured his friends, and was quickly imparted to his afflicted parents.

The murder of the High Priest, and of the Sanhedrin, at last excited an attempt to shake off the yoke of the tyrants. A certain Judas, the son of Judas, conspired with ten others to betray one of the towers to the Romans. They offered to surrender it, but the Romans, naturally suspicious, hesitated. In the meantime Simon, as vigilant as he was cruel, had discovered the plot ; the conspirators were put to death in the sight of the Romans, and their bodies tumbled from the walls. Still desertion became more frequent ; some threw themselves from the walls, and fled for their lives ; others, under pretence of issuing forth to skirmish, got within the Roman posts. Many of these famished wretches came to a miserable end. When they obtained food they ate with such avidity as was fatal to their enfeebled frames ; few had self-control enough to accustom their stomachs by degrees to the unusual food. Others perished from another cause. A man was seen searching his excrements for some gold which he had swallowed and voided. A report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought off their treasures in the same manner. Some of the fierce Syrian and Arabian allies set on them and cut open their living bodies in search of gold ; two thousand are said to have been killed in this way during one night. Titus was indignant at the horrid barbarity ;

he threatened to surround the perpetrators and to cut down their whole squadrons. The number of offenders alone restrained him from inflicting summary justice. He denounced instant death against any one detected in such a crime : but still the love of gold was, in many instances, stronger than the dread of punishment, and that which was before done openly, was still perpetrated secretly.

John, the Zealot, at this time committed an offence, in the opinion of the devout Jews, even more heinous than his most horrible cruelties, that of sacrilege ; he seized and melted the treasures of the Temple, and even the dishes and vessels used in the service. Probably with revengeful satisfaction he began with the offerings of the Roman emperors. He openly declared that the holy treasures ought to assist in supporting a holy war. He distributed, also, to the famished people, the sacred wine and oil, which were used and drunk with the greatest avidity. For this offence the historian, Josephus, has reserved his strongest terms of horror and execration ; “for such abominations, even if the Romans had stood aloof, the city would have been swallowed by an earthquake, or swept away by a deluge, or would have perished, like Sodom, in a tempest of fire and brimstone.”

But by his own account, such calamities would have been as tender mercies to the present sufferings of the Jews. A deserter, who at one time had been appointed to pay for the interment of the dead at a particular gate, stated, that from the 14th of April, when the siege began, to the 1st of July, 115,880 bodies had been buried at the public charge, or thrown from the walls, not including those interred by their friends. Others said, that 600,000 of the poorer people had perished ; that when they could no longer bury them, they shut them up in some of the larger houses, and left them there. A measure of wheat was selling for a talent, and the people were raking the very dungheaps for sustenance. Yet still, though dead bodies actually impeded the way of the defenders to the walls, and though the city, like one vast sepulchre, seemed to exhale a pestilential stench, with unbroken resolution which might have become better men, the soldiers both of John and Simon went sternly trampling over those dead bodies as over the senseless pavement, and manned the walls with that wild desperation which familiarity with death is apt to engender.¹

¹ B. J. vi. 1. 1.

The Romans, in the meantime, laboured hard at their military engines. There was great scarcity of timber; they were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance, so that not a tree was left standing within above ten miles of the city. All the delicious gardens, the fruitful orchards, the shady avenues, where, in their days of peace and happiness, the inhabitants of the devoted city had enjoyed the luxury of their delicious climate, the temperate days of spring, and the cool summer nights, were utterly destroyed. It was a lamentable sight to behold the whole gay and luxuriant suburban region turned to a frightful solitude.

At length, the tall and fearful engines stood again menacing the walls. Both the Jews and Romans looked at them with apprehension: the Jews from experience of their tremendous powers; the Romans in the conviction that if these were burned, from the total want of timber it would be impossible to supply their places. Josephus confesses that at this period the Roman army was exhausted and dispirited; while their desperate enemies, notwithstanding the seditions, famine, and war, were still as obstinately determined as ever, and went resolutely and even cheerfully forth to battle. Before the engines could be advanced against the walls, the party of John made an attempt to burn them, but without success; their measures were ill combined, their attack feeble and desultory. For once, the old Jewish courage seemed to fail; so that, advancing without their customary fury, and finding the Romans drawn up in disciplined array, the engines themselves striking down their most forward men, they were speedily repelled, and the Helepoleis advanced to the wall, amid showers of stones and fire and every kind of missile. The engines began to thunder; and the assailants, though sometimes crushed by the stones that were hurled upon them from above, locked their shields over their heads, and worked at the foundation with their hands and with crow-bars, till at length they got out four large stones. Night put an end to the conflict.

During the night, the wall suddenly fell in with a terrific noise; for it happened to stand over that part which John had formerly undermined, in order to destroy the enemy's engines. But when the Romans rushed, in the morning, to the breach, they found a second wall, which John, with true military foresight, had built within, in case of such an emergency. Still this wall was newly made, and comparatively weak. Titus assembled the officers of the army, and made

them an energetic address ; in which, among other topics, he urged the manifest interference of Divine Providence in their favour, in the unexpected falling of the wall. They listened in silence, till at length a common soldier, a Syrian named Sabinus, a man of great courage but slender make and very dark complexion, volunteered to lead a forlorn hope. He threw his shield over his head, grasped his sword, and advanced deliberately to the wall. Only eleven men had courage to follow him. Javelins, weapons of all kinds, and huge stones, came whizzing and thundering around him. Some of his companions were beaten down, but, though covered with darts, he still persisted in mounting, till the Jews, panic-stricken at his boldness, and supposing that he was followed by many more, took to flight. He had actually reached the top of the wall, when his foot slipped, and he fell. The Jews turned and surrounded him. He rose on his knees, still made a gallant defence, wounding many of the enemy ; and at length expired, buried under a thousand spears. Of the eleven, three reached the top of the wall, and were killed by stones ; eight were carried back, wounded, to the camp. This was on the 3rd of July. Two days after, at the dead of night, twenty soldiers of the guard, with a standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, crept silently up the breach, surprised and slew the watch, and gave orders to the trumpeter to blow with all his might. The rest of the sentinels, without waiting to see the number of the assailants, fled in terror. Titus, directly he heard the sound of the trumpet, armed his men and scaled the Antonia. The Jews fled on all sides ; some fell into the mines which John had dug under the Roman embankments ; but Simon and John, uniting all their forces, made a resolute effort to defend the entrance to the Temple. A fierce battle ensued, with spears and javelins ; the troops of both parties were so mingled and confused, that no man knew where he was. The narrow passages were crowded with the dead, so that those engaged were obliged to scramble over heaps of bodies and of armour to get at each other. At length, after ten hours' hard fighting, Titus, contented with the possession of the Antonia, recalled his men. But a Bithynian centurion, named Julian, of uncommon strength and skill in the use of his weapons, sprang forward from the side of Titus, where he was standing, and singly charged the Jews with such extraordinary resolution, that they fled on all sides ; and Julian forced his way, com-

mitting dreadful slaughter as he went on, up to a corner of the inner court of the Temple. Unfortunately his shoes were full of nails, and slipping upon the smooth pavement, he fell with his armour clattering around him. The fugitives turned upon him. A loud shout of terror arose from the Romans in the Antonia, answered by a fierce and exulting cry from the Jews. They surrounded the gallant Julian, and though he covered himself with his shield, and repeatedly struggled to rise, he was overpowered by numbers. Still, however, his breastplate and helmet protected the vital parts, till at length his limbs having been hewn off, he received a mortal wound, and fell dead. The Jews, to the great grief of Cæsar, dragged the body into the Temple, and again drove back the Romans into the Antonia.

It was now the 5th of July.¹ Titus commanded that the fortress of Antonia should be razed to the ground. He had heard that the daily sacrifice was now intermitted, from want of persons to make the offering ; and understanding the deep impression made on all the Jews by the suspension of that rite, he determined to try another attempt on their religious feelings. Josephus was sent to offer free egress to John if he would come forth to fight, that the Temple might escape defilement. Josephus placed himself so as to be heard by all the Jews ; and communicated, in the Hebrew language, the offers of Titus. John replied in words of the fiercest bitterness, imprecating curses on the head of the renegade Josephus ; and concluded, that "he feared not the taking of the city, for it was the city of God." Josephus broke out into a vehement invective, but neither his words, nor the tears or sobs by which he was interrupted, had the slightest effect on John or his soldiers ; they rushed out and endeavoured to seize him. Some few, however, were moved.

There were certain men of distinction, who, from time to time, had seized an opportunity of desertion. Among these were Joseph and four chief priests ; three sons of Ismael, the high priest ; four of Mathias ; one of the other Matthias, whom Simon put to death with three of his sons. Titus had received the fugitives with kindness, promised them his protection, and dismissed them to Gophni. These men were sent for, and, with Josephus, attempted to persuade the people,

¹ There is here a difficulty about the day. This event is commemorated by the Jews on the 17th of July, the day indicated by Josephus, but it cannot easily be reconciled with the history.

if not to capitulate, at least to spare the Temple from inevitable defilement and ruin. But all in vain! The sacred gates were blocked up with balistas and catapults; the peaceful Temple, with its marble courts and gilded pinnacles, assumed the appearance of a warlike citadel. Its courts were strewn with the dead—men with swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, or of their own countrymen, rushed to and fro along the Holy Place, or even the Holy of Holies. Even the Roman soldiers, it is said, shuddered at the profanation. Titus tried a last remonstrance. “You have put up a barrier,” he said, “to prevent strangers from polluting your Temple: this the Romans have always respected;—we have allowed you to put to death all who violated its precincts. Yet ye defile it yourselves with blood and carnage. I call on your Gods—I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness, that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place: and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice.” But John and his Zealots suspected (it may be with justice) the magnanimity of Titus, and would not surrender a place the strength of which was their only trust. Perhaps they had still a fanatic confidence, that, reeking as they were with blood, steeped to the lips in crime, they were still the chosen people of Jehovah; and that yet, even yet, the Power which smote Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and the enemies of the Maccabees, would reveal himself in irresistible terror.

Titus, finding all his efforts of mercy rejected, determined on a night attack: as the whole army could not make the assault, on account of the narrowness of the approaches, thirty men were picked from each century, tribunes appointed over each 1000, and Cerealis chosen to command the whole. Titus himself announced that he would mount a watch-tower which belonged to the Antonia, in order that he might witness and reward every act of individual bravery. They advanced when night was three parts over, but found the enemy on the watch. The battle began to the advantage of the Romans, who held together in compact bodies, while the Jews attacked in small troops or singly. In the blind confusion of the night, among the bewildering shouts on all sides, many fell upon each other, and those who were repelled were mistaken for the assailants, and killed by their own men; so that the Jews lost more by their own swords than by the foe. When day dawned, the combat continued on more even terms;

after eight hours' contest, though the Romans were thus fighting as in a theatre, in view of the emperor, they had not gained a foot of ground; and the battle ceased, as it were, by common consent.

In the meantime, the Romans had levelled part of the Antonia, and made a broad way, by which they could bring their engines to bear upon the Temple. They erected their embankments, though with great difficulty from the scarcity of timber, against four places of the outer court; one opposite the north-east corner of the inner court; one against a building between the two northern gates, one against the western, and another against the northern cloisters. Still the indefatigable Jews gave them no rest; if the cavalry went out to forage, and let their horses loose to feed, the Jews would sally out in squadrons and surprise them. They made one desperate assault on the outposts, near the Mount of Olives, in open day; and, but for a charge of cavalry on their flank, had almost succeeded in forcing the wall. In this contest, a horseman, named Pedanius, stooped down, caught up a Jew, with all his armour, carried him by main strength, and threw him down before the feet of Titus. Titus admired the strength of Pedanius, and ordered the captive to be put to death.

Overborne, exhausted, famine-stricken, still the Jews fought, inch by inch; and, according to the historian, sternly sacrificed, as it were, their own limbs, cutting off every foot that the enemy had taken, as if to prevent the progress of the disease.¹ They set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the Temple, and made a breach of between twenty and thirty feet. Two days after, the Romans, in their turn, set fire to the cloister, and burned above twenty feet more. The Jews looked on calmly, and allowed the flame to spread, till the whole space between the Antonia and the Temple was cleared.

But if the holy precincts were thus to perish by fire, they determined that they should not fall unavenged. Along the whole western cloisters they filled the space between the beams and the roof with dry wood, sulphur, and bitumen; they then retreated from the defence, as if quite exhausted. The more prudent of the assailants suspected some stratagem, but many immediately applied the scaling ladders, and mounted boldly to the roof. At that instant the Jews below set fire to the train; the flames rushed roaring and blazing up among the astonished assailants. Some flung themselves down head-

¹ B. J. vi. 2. 9.

long into the city, others among the enemy; there they lay bruised to death, or with broken limbs: many were burnt alive, others fell on their own swords. In vain they looked to their companions below, in vain they beheld the sorrow of Cæsar himself, who, though they had acted without orders, commiserated their fate. Escape or succour was alike impossible; a few on a broader part of the roof fought valiantly, and died to a man with their arms in their hands. The fate of a youth, named Longus, created general interest. The Jews offered to spare his life if he would go down and surrender; on the other hand, his brother Cornelius, from below, entreated him not to disgrace the Roman character. The youth stabbed himself to the heart. One Artorius escaped by a singular stratagem: he called to one of his comrades, and offered to leave him his whole property if he would catch him as he fell. The man came below, Artorius jumped down, crushed his friend to death in his fall, and escaped unhurt. Thus a great part of the western cloister was burnt, the Romans set fire to that of the north, and laid it in ashes as far as the north-east corner, near Cedron.

In the meantime the famine continued its fearful ravages. Men would fight, even the dearest friends, for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling, like drunken men, from weakness; and entered and searched the same houses twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food was sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leathern coats of their shields—chopped hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet what were all these horrors to that which followed? There was a woman of Peræa, from the village of Bethezob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the city. Day after day she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No one, however, would mercifully put an end to her misery; and her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved on an expedient which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavouring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom—she seized it, cooked it, ate one half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell

of food quickly reached the robbers—they forced her door, and with horrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied with appalling indifference, that she had carefully reserved for her good friends a part of her meal—she uncovered the remains of her child. The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out with a shrill voice, “ Eat, for I have eaten—be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother—or if ye are too religious to touch such food, I have eaten half already, leave me the rest.” They retired pale and trembling with horror. The story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp; where it was first heard with incredulity, afterwards with the deepest commiseration.¹ How dreadfully must the words of Moses have flashed and wrought upon the minds of all those Jews who were not entirely unread in their holy writings!—“ *The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.*”

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the Romans masters of the great court of the Gentiles; on the 8th of August the engines began to batter the western gate of the inner court. For six previous days the largest and most powerful of the battering rams had played upon the wall; the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts. Other troops at the same time endeavoured to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success; nothing therefore remained but to fix the scaling ladders, and storm the cloisters. The Jews made no resistance to the Romans mounting the walls; but as soon as they reached the top hurled them down headlong, or slew them before they could cover themselves with their shields. In some places they thrust down the ladders, loaded with armed men, who fell back, and were dashed to pieces on the pavement. Some of the standard-bearers had led the way; they also were repelled, and the Jews remained masters of the eagles. On

¹ Josephus mars this piteous history by false rhetoric: he makes the mother utter a speech to the child, which he thinks pathetic.

the side of the Romans fell many distinguished soldiers; on that of the Jews, Eleazar, the nephew of Simon. Repulsed on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

In the meantime Ananus of Emmaus, the bloody executioner of Simon, and Archelaus, son of Magadat, deserted to the Romans. Titus at first intended to put them to death, but afterwards relented.

No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side; their courage sank, they stood gasping, motionless and helpless; not a hand endeavoured to quench the flames, or stop the silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day, the fire went on consuming the whole range of cloisters. Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished, and the way through the gates levelled for the advance of the legionaries. A council of war was summoned, in which the expediency of destroying the magnificent building was solemnly discussed. It consisted of six of the chief officer's of the army, among the rest, of Tiberius Alexander, whose offerings had formerly enriched the splendid edifice. Three of the council insisted on the necessity of destroying for ever this citadel of a mutinous people: it was no longer a temple, but a fortress, and to be treated like a military stronghold. Titus inclined to milder counsels; the magnificence of the building had made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was reluctant to destroy what might be considered one of the wonders of the Roman empire. Alexander, Fronto, and Cerealis concurred in this opinion, and the soldiers were ordered to do all they could to quench the flames.¹ But higher counsels had otherwise decreed, and

¹ "Fertur Titus, adhibito consilio, prius deliberasse an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur, ædem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non debere deleri, quæ servata modestiæ Romanæ testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam præberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum imprimis censebant, quo plenius Judæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judæis extitis; radice sublatâ stirpem facile perituram. Ita Dei nutu, accensis omnium animis templum dirutum abhinc annos trecentos triginta et unum." This passage from Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicon*, xxx. ii. 6) might appear of itself

the Temple of Jerusalem was to be for ever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews from exhaustion and consternation remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the outer court. The legionaries locked their shields together and stood the brunt of the onset: but the Jews still came pouring forth in such overbearing multitudes, that Titus himself was forced to charge at the head of some cavalry, and with difficulty drove them back into the Temple.

It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former Temple by the king of Babylon: that day was almost past. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow-white walls and glistening pinnacles of the Temple roof. Titus had retired to rest; when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard, and a man came rushing in, announcing that the Temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but, entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the Temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a small gilded door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or porch.¹ The flames sprang up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their

to be of slight authority, directly contradicting, as it does, the statement of Josephus. But M. Jacob Bernays in a remarkable dissertation (*über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, Berlin, 1861) has shown, to my judgment conclusively, that these are, with but slight modifications, the words of Tacitus, from the lost portion of his History. M. Bernays has clearly proved that Tacitus was one of the chief authorities used by Sulpicius. There are several passages in which he adopts the express words of Tacitus, still extant, almost without alteration. The style of this passage, with the exception of a few words, is very Tacitus, a passage which none but Tacitus could write. For the "nonnulli" Tacitus wrote the names of the counsellors who were for mercy; for "ultra omnia mortalia illustrem," "inter omnes mortales nobilem," or "illustrem." He wrote, too, "supersticio," rather than "religio." The half knowledge and half ignorance of the relations between the Jews and Christians, the bitter prejudice against both, are quite in character with Tacitus. If then this be a fair conclusion, as I doubt not it is, of M. Bernays, it is a curious illustration of the adulatory tone towards his Roman patrons with which Josephus composed his History.

¹ θύρα. It may have been, and is usually described as a window.

swords with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the Temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed: he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire: his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear: they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the Temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers, and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendour filled them with wonder; and as the flames had not yet penetrated to the Holy Place, he made a last effort to save it, and springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the progress of the conflagration. The centurion Liberalis endeavoured to force obedience with his staff of office; but even respect for the emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and to the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw everything around them radiant with gold, which shone dazzlingly in the wild light of the flames; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door: the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat, and the noble edifice was left to its fate.¹

It was an appalling spectacle to the Roman—what was it to the Jew? The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in, with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame: the gilded pinnacles shone like spikes of red light: the gate towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neigh-

¹ The curious reader may find in Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 19, 20, some strange Rabbinical stories of the bitter sorrow of God at the destruction of his Temple. "When God departed from his Temple, he went back, embraced and kissed the walls and the pillars, wept, and said, 'Alas for the peace of my House, of my Holy of Holies!' The angels in vain endeavoured to console the Almighty!!"

bouring hills were lighted up ; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction : the walls and heights of the upper city were crowded with faces, some pale with the agony of despair, others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery as they ran to and fro, and the howlings of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights : all along the walls resounded screams and wailings : men who were expiring with famine, rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful than the spectacle from without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who entreated mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead to carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first into the outer court of the Temple, afterwards into the upper city. Some of the priests upon the roof wrenched off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterwards they fled to a part of the wall, about fourteen feet wide ; they were summoned to surrender ; but two of them, Mair, son of Belga, and Joseph, son of Dalai, plunged headlong into the flames.

No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasures with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes—the plunder which the Zealots had laid up—were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about 6000 unarmed and defenceless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the Temple by a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the Temple, where he would display his Almighty power to save his people. The soldiers set fire to the building : every soul perished.

For during all this time false prophets, suborned by the Zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, as though the appointed Deliverer would still appear. They could not, indeed, but remember the awful, the visible signs

which had preceded the siege—the fiery sword, the armies fighting in the air; the opening of the great gate, the fearful voice within the sanctuary, “Let us depart;” the wild cry of Jesus, son of Ananus—*Woe, woe to the city!* which he had continued from the government of Albinus to the time of the siege, when he suddenly stopped, shrieked out—*Woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone. Yet the undying hopes of fierce fanaticism were kept alive by the still renewed prediction of that Great One, who would at this time arise out of Judæa, and assume the dominion of the world. This prophecy the flattering Josephus declared to be accomplished in the Roman, Vespasian; but more patriotic interpreters still, to the last, expected to see it fulfilled in the person of the conquering Messiah, who would reveal himself in the darkest hour, wither the Roman legions with one word, and then transfer the seat of empire from the Capitol to Zion.¹

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins; they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus as emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy emaciated with hunger came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterwards the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered, that the hour of mercy was past; they were led to execution.

Still the upper city held out, but Simon and John, disheartened by the capture of the Temple, demanded a conference. It was granted, and Titus, stationing himself at the western verge of the hill, addressed them through an interpreter.² He offered to spare their lives on the condition of instant

¹ τὸ δέ ἐπάραν ἀντὸς μᾶλιστὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἦν χρήσμος ἀμφίβολος, δυοῖς ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς ἐνρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἔκεινον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἅρξει τῆς ὀικουμένης. B. J. vi. 5. 4. Compare Tacitus, Hist. v. 13; and Suetonius, Vesp. 4.

² This is the worst, most rhetorical, and most unsuited to the occasion, of all those speeches which Josephus, fondly supposing no doubt that he is following and rivalling Thucydides, ascribes to the emperor; and all this, as he says, to be interpreted to the fierce warriors.

surrender. John and Simon demanded free egress with their wives and children, promising to evacuate the city, and depart into the wilderness. The terms were rejected, and Titus vowed the unsparing extermination of the whole people; his troops had immediate licence to plunder and burn Acra.¹ The archives, the council house, the whole of Acra and Ophla, were instantly set on fire. The insurgents took possession of the palace, where, from its strength, the people had laid up much of their wealth; they drove the Romans back, and put to death 8400 of the people who had taken refuge there, and plundered all the treasures.² They took two Roman soldiers alive; one they put to death, and dragged his body through the city; the other, pretending to have something to communicate to Simon, was led before him, but as he had nothing to say, he was made over to one Ardala, to be put to death. He was led forth with his hands bound, and his eyes bandaged, to be killed in sight of the Romans, but while the Jew was drawing his sword, the prisoner contrived to make his escape. Titus, unwilling to punish him with death after he had thus escaped, but wishing to show that it was unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken alive, had him stripped of his armour, and dismissed him with disgrace. The next day the Romans entirely cleared the lower city, and set the whole on fire. The insurgents, cooped up in the upper city, lay in ambush near the outlets, and slew every one who attempted to desert. Their great trust was in the subterranean passages, in which they hoped to lie hid.

On the 20th of August, Cæsar at length raised his mounds against the steep cliffs of the upper city; he had the greatest difficulty in obtaining timber. But at last his works were ready in two places, one opposite the palace, the other near the Xystus. The Idumæan chieftains now endeavoured secretly to make their terms. Titus reluctantly consented; but the vigilant Simon detected the plot, threw the leaders into prison, and entrusted the defence of the walls to more trusty soldiers. Still the guards could not prevent desertion; though many

¹ The sons and brothers of King Izates, who, whether of their free will or from compulsion, had remained in the city (a singular fact), with several of the heads of the people, now surrendered: their lives were spared; they were sent prisoners to Rome, Titus no doubt anticipating the pride of his triumph.

² This, of all the extravagant and incredible numbers in Josephus, seems the most extravagant and incredible.

were killed, yet many escaped. The Romans, weary of the work of slaughter, spared the people, but sold all the rest as slaves ; though they bore but a low price, the market being glutted, and few purchasers found—40,000 were thus spared, the number sold as slaves was incalculable. About the same time a priest named Jesus, son of Thebuth, obtained his life on condition of surrendering some of the treasures of the Temple which he had secured, two candlesticks, tables, goblets and vessels of pure gold, as well as the curtains and the robes of the High Priests. Another, who had been one of the treasurers, showed a place where the vests and girdles of the priests were concealed, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet thread, and an immense store of cinnamon, cassia, and other spices.

Eighteen days elapsed before the works were completed ; on the 7th of September the engines were advanced to batter down the last bulwark of the besieged. Some did not await the conflict, but crept down into the lower city ; others shrank into the subterranean passages ; others, more manfully, endeavoured to beat down the engineers. The Romans advanced in the pride of victory ; the Jews were weary, famine-stricken, disheartened. A breach was speedily made, some of the towers fell, the leaders did not display their customary valour and conduct ; they fled on all sides. Some who were accustomed to vaunt the most loudly, now stood pale, trembling, inactive ; others endeavoured to break through the Roman works and make their escape. Vague rumours were spread abroad that the whole western wall had fallen, that the Romans were in the city ; the men looked around for their wonted leaders ; they neither saw their active figures hurrying about in the thickest of the fray, nor heard their voices exciting them to desperate resistance. Many threw themselves on the ground and bitterly lamented their fate. Even John and Simon, instead of remaining in their three impregnable towers, where nothing but famine could have reduced them, descended into the streets, and fled into the valley of Siloam. They then made an attempt to force their way through the wall ; but their daring and strength seemed alike broken, they were repulsed by the guard, dispersed, and at length crept down into the subterranean vaults. The Romans ascended the wall with shouts of triumph at a victory so much beyond all hope, easy and bloodless ; they spread through the streets, slaying and burning as they went. In many houses where they

expected rich plunder, they found nothing but heaps of putrid bodies, whole families who had died of hunger ; they retreated from the loathsome sight and insufferable stench. But they were not moved to mercy towards the living ; in some places the flames were actually retarded or quenched with streams of blood ; night alone put an end to the carnage. When Titus entered the city he gazed with astonishment at the massy towers, and recognised the hand of God in a victory which had thus made him master of such fortresses without a struggle. The multitudes of prisoners who pined in the dungeons, where they had been thrown by the insurgents, were released. The city was ordered to be razed, excepting the three towers, which were left as standing monuments of the victory.

The soldiers themselves were weary of the work of slaughter, and orders were issued to kill only those who resisted. Yet the old and infirm, as unsaleable, were generally put to death. The rest were driven into a space of the Temple, called the Court of the Women. There a selection was made ; the noted insurgents were put to death, excepting some of the tallest and most handsome, who were reserved to grace the triumph of Titus. Of the rest, all above seventeen years old were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or distributed among the provinces to be exhibited as gladiators in the public theatres, and in combats against wild beasts. Twelve thousand died of hunger—part from want or neglect of supplies, part obstinately refusing food. During the whole siege the number killed was 1,100,000, that of prisoners 97,000. In fact, the population not of Jerusalem alone, but that of the adjacent districts—many who had taken refuge in the city, more who had assembled for the feast of unleavened bread—had been shut up by the sudden formation of the siege.

Yet the chief objects of their vengeance, the dauntless Simon, son of Gioras, and John the Gischalite, still seemed to baffle all pursuit. The Roman soldiers penetrated into the subterranean caverns : wherever they went, they found incalculable treasures and heaps of dead—some who had perished from hunger, others from their wounds, many by their own hands. The close air of the vaults reeked with the pestilential effluvia ; most recoiled from these pits of death ; the more rapacious went on, breathing death for the sake of plunder. At length, reduced by famine, John and his brethren came forth upon terms of surrender ; his life was spared—a singular instance of lenity, if indeed his conduct had been so atrocious

as it is described by his rival Josephus. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and finally sent to Italy.¹

Many days after, towards the end of October, when Titus had left the city, as some of the Roman soldiers were reposing amid the ruins of the Temple, they were surprised by the sudden apparition of a man in white raiment, and with a robe of purple,² who seemed to rise from the earth in silent and imposing dignity. At first they stood awestruck and motionless: at length they ventured to approach him; they encircled him, and demanded his name. He answered, "Simon, son of Gioras; call hither your general." Terentius Rufus was speedily summoned, and to him the brave, though cruel, defender of Jerusalem surrendered himself. On the loss of the city, Simon had leaped down into one of the vaults, with a party of miners, hewers of stone, and iron workers. For some distance they had followed the natural windings of the cavern, and then attempted to dig their way out beyond the walls; but their provisions, however carefully husbanded, soon failed, and Simon determined on the bold measure of attempting to overawe the Romans by his sudden and spectral appearance. News of his capture was sent to Titus; he was ordered to be set apart for the imperial triumph.

Thus fell, and for ever, the metropolis of the Jewish state. Other cities have risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem might almost seem to be a place under a peculiar curse: it has probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

Terentius Rufus, or Turnus Rufus (as his name appears in the Rabbinical traditions, ever coupled with the most rancorous expressions of hatred, and confounded with the no less obnoxious T. Annus Rufus, the governor of Judæa in the time of Hadrian), executed the work of desolation, of which he was left in charge, with unrelenting severity. Of all the stately city—the populous streets, the palaces of the Jewish kings, the fortresses of her warriors, the Temple of her God—not a ruin remained, except the tall towers of Phasaelis, Mariamne, and Hippicus, and part of the western wall, which was left as a

¹ B. J. vii. 2. 2.

² κατ' ἀντὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν ω̄ τὸ ιερὸν ἦν πρὸσθεν, ἐκ γῆς ἀνεφάνη. This may seem to imply that there was a subterranean connection between the upper city and the sub-structures of the Temple.

defence for the Roman camp. Titus having distributed praises and rewards to his army, and offered sacrifice to his gods, had departed. Wherever he went, miserable gangs of captives were dragged along, to glut the eyes and ears of the conquerors by their sufferings in those horrible spectacles which are the eternal disgrace of the Roman character. At Cæsarea Philippi, 2500 were slain in cold blood, either in combats with wild beasts, or fighting as bands of gladiators. This was in honour of the birthday of his brother Domitian—an appropriate celebration for such an event. Vespasian's birthday was also commemorated at Berytus with the same horrible festivities. One act of mercy alone, towards the Jewish race, marked the journey of Titus. The inhabitants of Antioch, incited by a Jewish apostate, Antiochus, the son of the first man among the Jews in the city, had cruelly persecuted his brethren. This apostate had accused his kindred of a design of setting fire to the whole city. For this many were burnt alive, and the whole community threatened with destruction. An accidental fire happened afterwards to take place, which was again laid to the charge of the Jews. In short, the whole Grecian population was so exasperated against the Jews, that they petitioned Titus for their expulsion from the city, or at least to cancel their privileges.¹ Titus at first gave no answer, but afterwards, on his return from the Euphrates, he refused their demands in these affecting words: "The country of the Jews is destroyed—thither they cannot return: it would be hard to allow them no home to which they can retreat—leave them in peace." As he passed from Antioch to Alexandria, he surveyed the ruins of Jerusalem, and is said to have been touched with pity at the total desolation of that splendid city. For this work of havoc, for the destruction of near a million and a half of human lives, and the reduction of above 100,000 to the most cruel servitude, Titus was considered as entitled to a splendid triumph. If the numbers in Josephus may be depended on, the fearful catalogue of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterminating war, and its previous massacres, stands as follows:²

¹ B. J. vii. 5. 2.

² I have ventured to doubt the vast numbers (in this respect the discrepancies in the sacred books are the most striking and most irreconcilable) in the earlier Jewish history. Josephus, as if it were a strange habit in the people, instead of confirming, in my judgment, by his boundless extravagance, only strengthens the doubtfulness of the whole. In one passage he gravely asserts that the smallest villages in Galilee had 15,000 inhabitants (B. J. iii.

BEFORE THE WAR UNDER VESPASIAN

At Jerusalem, killed by Florus	3,600
At Cæsarea	20,000
At Scythopolis	13,000
At Ascalon	2,500
At Ptolemais	2,000
At Alexandria	50,000
At Damascus	10,000
At Joppa	8,400
Upon the mountain Asamon	2,000
The battle near Ascalon	10,000
The Ambuscades	8,000
	—
	129,500

DURING THE WAR IN GALILEE AND JUDÆA

At Japha	15,000
On Gerizim	11,600
At Jotapata	40,000
At Joppa	4,200
At Tarichea	6,500
At Gamala	9,000
At Gischala	6,000
In Idumæa	10,000
At Gerasa	1,000
Near the Jordan	15,000
	—
At Jerusalem	118,300
	—
Carry forward	1,100,000
	—
	1,347,800

3. 2), besides a great number of cities, πόλεις πυκνά, of course with far larger populations.

The only approach to statistics is the calculation from the number of lambs sacrificed at the Passover, from which he would conclude that three millions of persons attended at Jerusalem during these festivals. (See ii. p. 218). Though it cannot be asserted that these persons were not all together in the capital, that some were coming and going (for all, to keep the law there, must have been present at least at the Great Day), yet we may fairly suppose that many found accommodation in the adjacent villages (as our Lord seems to have passed the nights at Bethany and on the Mount of Olives); and whoever has seen even a modern pilgrimage in the South will make fair allowance for the multitudes which, in such climates, sleep in the open air. Still, taking the circuit of Jerusalem, I cannot conceive the possibility of crowding such numbers, even with the deductions suggested, within the walls.

It is right, however, to add a passage from Strabo confirmatory of the great populousness of part of Galilee. Jamnia and the adjacent villages furnished a levy of 40,000 armed men. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνάνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, ὥστ' εἰ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνέιας, καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν, τῶν κυκλῷ τέτταρας μυριάδα ὄπλικεσθαι. Lib. xvi. p. 759.

Brought forward 1,347,800

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

At Machærus	1,700
At Jardes	3,000
At Masada	960
In Cyrene	3,000
	—
	8,660
TOTAL KILLED	<u>1,356,460</u>

PRISONERS

In Gischala	2,200
Near the Jordan	2,500
At Jerusalem	97,000
	—

TOTAL PRISONERS 101,700

The loss in many skirmishes and battles,—that of Itabyrium, for instance,—is omitted, and we have not the numbers; besides the immense waste of life from massacre, famine, and disease, inseparable from such a war, in almost every district. The number of prisoners is only given from two places besides Jerusalem.

Nothing could equal the splendour of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vests, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilised savages, all the horrors and miseries of war; beautiful countries laid waste, armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, destroyed with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the Law, from the Temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.¹

¹ Was Pliny's remarkable expression that Jerusalem was the most famous city in the East ("in qua fuere Hierosolymæ, longe clarissima urbium Orientis non Judææ modo," l. v. c. viii.) the common sentiment of the times, or a skilful adulation of its conquerors, Vespasian and Titus, his special patrons?

The triumph passed on to the Capitol, and there paused to hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon, the son of Gioras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death.¹

The antiquary still endeavours to trace, among the defaced and mouldering reliefs of the arch raised to Titus, “the Delight of human-kind,” and which still stands in the Forum of Rome, the representation of the spoils taken from the Temple of Jerusalem—the golden table and candlestick, the censers, the silver trumpets, and even the procession of captive Jews.²

¹ B. J. vii. 5. 6.

² On the subsequent fate of these spoils compare a dissertation of Reland, *de Spoliis Templi*; Gibbon, c. xli.; Le Beau, *Bas Empire*, viii. p. 260.

BOOK XVII

TERMINATION OF THE WAR

Fall of Herodion—Machærus—Masada—Fate of Josephus—Agrippa—Berenice.

IT might have been expected that all hopes of resistance, even among the most stubborn of the Jews, would have been buried under the ruins of the capital; that after the fall of Jerusalem, with such dreadful misery and carnage, every town would at once have opened its gates, and laid itself at the mercy of the irresistible conqueror. Yet, when Lucilius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army, he found three strong fortresses still in arms—Herodion, Masada, and Machærus. Herodion immediately capitulated; but Machærus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. Machærus stood on the summit of a lofty crag, surrounded on all sides by ravines of enormous depth, which could not easily be crossed, and could not possibly be filled up. One of these ravines, on the western side, ran down, a distance of nearly eight miles, to the Dead Sea. Those to the north and the south were less deep, but not less impassable; on the east the hollow was 175 feet to the bottom, beyond which arose a mountain which faced Machærus. The town had been built and strongly fortified by Alexander Jannæus, as a check upon the Arabian free-booters. It was a place of great beauty, as well as strength, adorned with noble palaces, and amply supplied with reservoirs of water. Bassus determined to form the siege on the eastern side; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies; sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss. There happened to be a young man, named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valour, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat,

often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his prowess, and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian, serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armour and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazar's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut their way through the posts of the besiegers; a few of the bravest succeeded; of those who remained, 1700 perished. The treaty with the garrison was honourably observed.

Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jardes, where a vast number of fugitives had taken refuge: they attempted to break through, but were repulsed, and 3000 put to the sword. During the course of these successes Bassus died, and Flavius Silva assumed the command in Palestine. Silva immediately marched against Masada, the only place which still held out.¹ Masada was situated on the south-western side of the Dead Sea. Like the other hill fortresses of Palestine, it stood on a high rock, girt with precipitous chasms, the sides of which a goat could scarcely clamber. It was accessible only by two narrow and very difficult paths, from the east and from the west. On the east, the path, or rather a rocky stair, led up from the shore of the Dead Sea, called the Serpent, from its winding and circuitous course. It ran along the verge of frightful precipices, which made the head giddy to look down, it was necessary to climb step by step; if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. After winding in this manner nearly four miles, this path opened on a level space, on which Masada stood, in the midst of a small and highly cultivated plain of extraordinary beauty and fertility. The city was

¹ There is an engraving in Traill's *Josephus* from a drawing of Masada, which gives a striking impression of its sombre grandeur and strength.

girt with a wall, nearly a mile in circuit ; it was twenty-two feet high, fourteen broad, and had thirty-seven lofty towers. Besides this wall, Masada had a strong and magnificent palace, with sixty towers, built by Herod, on the western cliff, and connected, by an underground way, with the citadel. The western ascent was commanded, in its narrowest part, by an impregnable tower.

The city was amply supplied with excellent water, and with provisions of all kinds, wine, oil, vegetables, and dates. According to the strange account of Josephus, the air of Masada was of such a temperature, that, although some of these fruits had been laid up for a hundred years, since the time of Herod, they were still sound and fresh. There were likewise armories sufficient to supply 10,000 men, with great stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. In fact, Masada had been the fortress which Herod the Great had always looked to, as a place of security, either in case of foreign invasion, or the revolt of his own subjects. The town was now as strongly manned as fortified. Eleazar, the commander, was a descendant of Judas the Galilean, and inherited the principles of his ancestor in their sternest and most stubborn fanaticism. To yield to a foreign dominion, was to him and his zealous associates the height of impiety ; death was far preferable to a treacherous dereliction of the sovereignty of God. They acted, to the end, up to their lofty tenets.

Silva having blockaded the town, so that none could make their escape, seized a point of rock, called the White Promontory, to the westward. There he erected his works, a mound, 350 feet high, and above that a second bank of enormous stones ; and at length he brought a battering ram to bear upon the walls. After long resistance, a breach was made ; but the besieged had run up another wall within, of great timbers laid parallel with each other, in two separate rows, the intervening space being filled with earth : this sort of double artificial wall was held together by transverse beams, and the more violently it was battered, the more solid and compact it became, by the yielding of the earth. Silva ordered his men to throw lighted brands upon it : the timbers speedily kindled, and the whole became a vast wall of fire. The north wind blew the flames into the faces of the besiegers, and the Romans trembled for their own works and engines. On a sudden the wind shifted to the south, the flames burned inwards, and the whole fell down, a heap of smouldering ashes.

The Romans withdrew to their camp, to prepare for the attack on the next morning, and stationed strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison. But Eleazar was not a man either himself to attempt flight or to permit others to follow so dastardly a course. He assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. God had evidently abandoned his people; the fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the Temple, too sadly proved this. The sudden change of the wind, on the day before, distinctly announced that they, too, were deserted by his protecting providence. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God than of the Roman; and he proposed that they should set the city on fire, and perish together, with their wives unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, on that noble funeral pile.

His men gazed on each other in wonder. Some were kindled at once with his enthusiasm; others thought of their wives and children, and tears were seen stealing slowly down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more splendid strain. He spoke of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; its joyful escape from its imprisonment in its mortal tenement. He appealed to the example of the Indians, who bear life as a burthen, and cheerfully throw it off.¹ Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the treatment of the conquered by the Romans, the abuse of women, the slavery of children, the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he ended, "un-

¹ Μέγα μὲν οὖν δύναται ψυχὴ καὶ σώματι σύνδεδεμένη· ποιεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆς δργανον ἀσθανόμενον ἀοράτως αὐτὸ κινοῦσα, καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως περαιτέρῳ προάγοντα ταῦς πραξεον. 'Ον μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἀπολυθεῖσα τοῦ καθέλκοντος αὐτὴν βάρους ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ προσκρεμαμένου, χώρον ἀπολάβη τὸν οἰκεῖον, τότε δὴ μακαρίας ὅσχος καὶ παντάχοθεν ἀκωλύτου μέτέχει δυνάμεως, ἀρπάτος μένουσα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις δύμασιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός. This is a fine passage, though one may doubt whether it was uttered by the fierce Sicarians: if it was, they were nobler fellows than Josephus represents them.* But the speech is sadly marred by its length. The long analogy with the Indians is very curious, but very tame. And who reported the speech?† for according to the History all were killed and burned, except two old women and five children who were in the caverns below.

* B. J. vii. 8.

† The reference of Eleazar to the Indians, even as ascribed as it must be to Josephus, is remarkable. One might almost suppose that he had read the Bhagavat Gita. See Wilkins's translation. "How can the man who believeth that this thing is incorruptible, eternal, inexhaustible, and without birth, think that he can either kill it or cause it to be killed?" Compare the whole passage in Wilkins's translation, p. 37, or the original in Schlegel's Bhagavat Gita, Lectio ii. p. xi.

enslaved ; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands, this our wives and children entreat ; God himself has driven us to this stern necessity ; this the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their victory. Let us deny them the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valour."

He was interrupted by the unanimous voice of the multitude, vying with each other in eagerness to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. On their intoxicated spirits no softer feelings had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives, they kissed their children even with tears, and, at the moment, as though they had been the passive instruments of another's will, they stabbed them to the heart. Not a man declined the murderous office. But they thought that they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily drew together their most valuable effects, and, heaping them up, set fire to these sumptuous funeral piles. Then, ten men having been chosen by lot as the general executioners, the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots ; nine fell by each other's hands ; the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the palace, and so, with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart.

One old woman, another female who was a relative of Eleazar and distinguished for her learning, and five children, who had crept into an underground cavern, were all that escaped ; 960 perished. The next morning the Romans advanced to the wall in close array and with the greatest caution. They fixed the scaling-ladders, mounted the wall, and rushed in. Not a human being appeared ; all was solitude and silence, and the vestiges of fire all around filled them with astonishment. They gave a shout as they were wont when they drove the battering ram, as if to startle the people from their hiding-places. The two women and the five children came creeping forth. The Romans would not believe their story, till, having partially extinguished the fire, they made their way into the palace, and, not without admiration, beheld this unexampled spectacle of self-devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judæa. An edict

of the emperor to set up all the lands to sale had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the imperial treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only 800 veterans were settled in Emmaus, about seven miles and a half from Jerusalem. At the same time another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world, for the support of the Temple worship, to the fund for rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, "by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem." Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham levied for the maintenance of a heathen edifice.

Yet, though entirely extinguished in Judæa, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Some of the Assassins (the Sicarii) fled to Egypt, and began to display their usual turbulence, putting to death many of the more influential Jewish residents, who opposed their seditious designs, and exciting the rest to revolt. The Jews assembled in council, and determined to put down these dangerous enemies to their peace, by seizing and delivering them up to the Romans. Six hundred were immediately apprehended; a few, who fled to the Thebais, were pursued and captured. But the spirits of these men were still unsubdued; the most protracted and excruciating torments could not induce one of them, not even the tenderest boy, to renounce his Creed, or to own Cæsar as his Lord. On the news of this commotion, Vespasian sent orders that the temple of Onias in Heliopolis should be closed. Luper, the Prefect, obeyed the order, took away part of the treasures, and shut up the temple. The edict was executed with still greater rigour by Paulinus, the successor of Luper, who entirely stripped the treasury, and made the way to the temple impassable.

The last of these fanatics, having previously endangered the peace of Cyrene, had almost involved in his own fate the few distinguished Jews who had escaped the ruin of their country. A certain turbulent weaver of Cyrene, named Jonathan, pretended to supernatural signs and visions, and led a multitude of the lower orders into the Desert. The chief Jews denounced him to Catullus, the governor of the Pentapolis. Troops of

horse were sent out, the deluded multitude brought back, and the impostor, after having long baffled their search, was apprehended. Before the tribunal of the governor this man accused many of the chief Jews as accomplices in his plot. Catullus listened with greedy ear to his charges, and even suggested the names of those whom he was anxious to convict. On the evidence of Jonathan and a few of his comrades, a man named Alexander, and Berenice his wife, who had been on bad terms with Catullus, were seized and put to death. Three thousand more shared their fate; their property was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Jonathan went still farther; he denounced, as the secret instigators of his revolt, some of the Jews of the highest rank who resided in Rome—among the rest, Josephus the historian.¹

Catullus came to Rome with his witnesses. Vespasian ordered a strict investigation, the event of which was the exculpation of the accused, and the condemnation of Jonathan, who was first scourged and then burnt alive. Catullus escaped animadversion; but Josephus, who spares no opportunity of recounting the judgments of Providence on his own personal enemies, gives a frightful picture of his end. He was seized with a dreadful malady of body and mind. Racked with remorse of conscience, he would rave, and scream out that he was environed by the ghosts of those whom he had murdered. He would then leap out of bed, and writhe and roll on the ground, as though on the rack, or burning alive in the flames. At length his entrails fell out, and death put an end to his agonies.

There were several persons who escaped from the general wreck of their country, whose fate may excite some interest. Josephus, the historian, after his surrender, married a captive in Cæsarea; but in obedience, it may be supposed, to the law which prohibited such marriages to a man of priestly line, he discarded her, and married again in Alexandria. We have seen that he was present during the whole siege, endeavouring to persuade his countrymen to capitulate. Whether he seriously considered resistance impossible, or, as he pretends, recognising the hand of God, and the accomplishment of the prophecies, in the ruin of his country, esteemed it impious as well as vain; whether he was actuated by the baser motive of self-interest, or the more generous desire of being of service to his

¹ Joseph. B. J. vii. cap. ult.

miserable countrymen, he was by no means held in the same estimation by the Roman army as by Titus. They thought a traitor to his country might be a traitor to them ; and they were apt to lay all their losses to his charge, as if he kept up secret intelligence with the besieged. On the capture of the city, Titus offered him any boon he would request. He chose the sacred books, and the lives of his brother and fifty friends. He was afterwards permitted to select 190 of his friends and relatives, from the multitudes who were shut up in the Temple to be sold for slaves. A little after, near Tekoa, he saw a number of persons writhing in the agonies of crucifixion, among the rest three of his intimate associates. He rode off with all speed to entreat their pardon. It was granted ; but two of them expired as they were being taken down from the cross, the third survived. The estate of Josephus lying within the Roman encampment, Titus assigned him other lands in lieu of it. Vespasian also conferred on him a considerable property in land. Josephus lived afterwards in Rome, in high favour with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The latter punished certain Jews, and an eunuch, the tutor of his son, who had falsely accused him ; exempted his estate from tribute, and advanced him to high honour. He was a great favourite with the empress Domitia. He took the name of Flavius, as a dependant on the imperial family.

By his Alexandrian wife Josephus had three sons : one only, Hyrcanus, lived to maturity. Dissatisfied with his wife's conduct, he divorced her likewise, and married a Cretan woman, from a Jewish family, of the first rank and opulence in the island, and of admirable virtue.

At Rome, Josephus first wrote the History of the Jewish War, in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the use of his own countrymen in the East, particularly those beyond the Euphrates.¹ He afterwards translated the work into Greek, for the benefit of the Western Jews and of the Romans. Both king Agrippa and Titus bore testimony to its accuracy. The latter ordered it to be placed in the public library, and signed it with his own hand, as an authentic memorial of the times. Many years afterwards, about A.C. 93, he published his great work on the Antiquities of the Jews, of which the main object was to raise his nation in the estimation of the Roman world, and to confute certain calumnious accounts of their early history, which increased the hatred and contempt in which they were held.

¹ Whiston assigns the Jewish War to about A.C. 75 ; the Antiquities to 93.

With the same view he wrote an answer to Apion, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, who had given currency to many of the ancient fictions of Egyptian tradition concerning the Jews. He likewise published his own Life, in answer to the statements of his old antagonist, Justus of Tiberias, who had sent forth a history of the war, written in Greek with considerable elegance. When he died is uncertain: history loses sight of him in his 56th or 57th year.¹

The last of the royal house of Herod, who ruled in Palestine, king Agrippa, among the luxuries of the Roman capital, where he generally resided, forgot the calamities of his country, and the ruin of his people. He died, as he had lived, the humble and contented vassal of Rome. He had received the honours of the praetorship, and an accession of territory, from Vespasian. In him the line of the Idumæan sovereigns was extinct.

His sister, Berenice, had nearly attained a loftier destiny. She was received with the highest honours at the imperial court, where her beauty and attractions, notwithstanding that she had been twice married, and had no great character for virtue,² so inflamed the heir of the empire, and the conqueror of Judæa, Titus, that Rome trembled lest a Jewish mistress should sit on the imperial throne.³ The public dissatisfaction was so loud and unambiguous, that Titus was constrained to dismiss her. She returned afterwards to Rome, but never regained her former favour. The time of her death, as well as that of her brother, is uncertain.

¹ The view taken by later Jewish writers of the character of Josephus and of his History is thus expressed by Jost:—

"Die Kriegsgeschichte, höchst merkwürdig in ihrer Art, erzählt der eitle, eigennützige und verrätherische Joseph, oft die Thatsachen entstellend, mit schanderhafter Kälte: nach ihm sind die freiheitsliebenden Genossen nur Verbrecher und Räuber, derer Ueberwindung und grausige Behandlung er in behaglicher Genuss seines Sündenlohnes mit sichtlichen Beifall schildert. Er hat mit seinen tibrigen unschätzbarren Geschichtswerken sich selbst ein ewiges Brandmahl aufgedrückt." Judenthum, i. p. 445.

I cannot quite assent to the coldness, though Josephus too often writes like a rhetorician—certainly not to his taking delight in the sufferings of his countrymen.

² The Roman satirist, Juvenal, has given currency to a report of a scandalous connection with her brother.

"Deinde adamas notissimus, et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori."—Satir. vi. 156.

³ "Propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. Berenicem statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam."—Suet. in Tit. vii. Compare Dion Cassius. Aurelius Victor in his Epitome adds further scandal.

BOOK XVIII

BAR-COCHAB

Character of the ensuing History—Re-establishment of Jewish Communities—Origin and Growth of Rabbinism—History to the Time of Trajan—Insurrections in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Palestine—Rabbi Akiba—Bar-cochab—Fall of Bither.

THE political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated ; it was never again recognised as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. Judæa was sentenced to be portioned out to strangers—the capital was destroyed—the Temple demolished—the royal house almost extinct—the High-priesthood buried under the ruins of the Temple. Our history has lost, as it were, its centre of unity ; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world ; and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of their story. We are called back, indeed, for a short time to Palestine, to relate new scenes of revolt, ruin, and persecution. We behold the formation of two separate spiritual states, under the authority of which the whole nation seems to range itself in willing obedience. But in later periods we must wander over the whole face of the habitable globe to gather the scanty traditions which mark the existence of the Jewish people among the different states of Asia, Africa, and Europe—where, refusing to mingle their blood with any other race of mankind, they dwell in their distinct families and communities, and still maintain, though sometimes long and utterly unconnected with each other, the principle of national unity. Jews in the indelible features of the countenance, in mental character, in customs, usages, and laws, in language and literature, above all, in religion ; in the recollections of the past, and in the hopes of the future ; with ready pliancy they accommodate themselves to every soil, every climate, every gradation of manners and civilisation, every form of government ; with inflexible pertinacity they practise their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, eating no animal

food which has not been killed by a Jew; rarely intermarry, except among each other; observe the fasts and festivals of their church; and assemble, wherever they are numerous enough, or dare to do so, in their synagogues for public worship. Denizens everywhere, rarely citizens; even in the countries in which they have been the longest and most firmly established, they appear, to a certain degree, strangers or sojourners; they dwell apart, though mingling with their neighbours in many of the affairs of life. For common purposes they adopt the language of the country they inhabit; but the Hebrew remains the national tongue, in which their holy books are read, and their religious services conducted—it is their literary and sacred language, as Latin was that of the Christian church in the dark ages.

The history of the modern Jews may be comprehended under three heads: 1st, Their literature, which, in fact, is nearly the same with that of their law and their religion, the great mass of their writings being entirely devoted to those subjects:¹ 2. Their persecutions: 3. Their industry and their wealth, in general the fatal causes of those persecutions. With regard to the first point, it would not be consistent with the popular character of our work to enter into it, further than as it has influenced the character and circumstances of the nation. The second will be too often forced upon our notice: at one period the history of the Jews is written, as it were, in their blood; they show no signs of life but in their cries of agony; they only appear in the annals of the world to be oppressed, robbed, tortured, massacred. Yet still, patient and indefatigable, they pursue, under every disadvantage, the steady course of industry. Wherever they have been allowed to dwell unmolested, or still more, in honour and respect, they have added largely to the stock of national wealth, cultivation, and comfort. Where, as has been more usually the case, they have been barely tolerated, where they have been considered, in public estimation, the basest of the base, the very outcasts and refuse of mankind, they have gone on accumulating those treasures which they dared not betray or enjoy. In the most

¹ I have rather expanded the view of the Jewish literature; still, however, avoiding a barren catalogue of the names of writers unknown beyond the sphere of Judaism, and dwelling almost entirely on those who have exercised an influence beyond that circle. The list of Jewish writers must be sought in the Buxtorfs, in Bartolocci, in De Rossi, and other writers, among whom I would name especially the Essays of M. Munk (Paris, 1859) as the latest and among the most learned.

barbarous periods they kept up the only traffic and communication which subsisted between distant countries ; like hardy and adventurous miners, they were always at work under the surface of society, slowly winning their way to opulence. Perpetually plundered, yet always wealthy ; massacred by thousands, yet springing up again from their undying stock ; the Jews appear at all times, and in all regions. Their perpetuity, their national immortality, is at once the most curious problem to the political inquirer ; to the religious man a subject of profound and awful admiration.

It was not long after the dissolution of the Jewish state that it revived again in appearance, under the form of two separate communities, mostly interdependent upon each other : one under a sovereignty purely spiritual ; the other partly temporal and partly spiritual—but each comprehending all the Jewish families in the two great divisions of the world. At the head of the Jews on this side of the Euphrates appeared the Patriarch of the West ; the chief of the Mesopotamian community assumed the striking but more temporal title of Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity. The origin of both these dignities, especially of the Western patriarchate, is involved in much obscurity. It might have been expected that, from the character of the great war with Rome, the people, as well as the state of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution, or, at least, verged rapidly towards total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of the Roman empire were glutted with Jewish slaves. The amphitheatres were crowded with these miserable people, who were forced to slay each other, not singly, but in troops ; or fell in rapid succession, glad to escape the tyranny of their masters by the more expeditious cruelty of the wild beast. And in the unwholesome mines hundreds were doomed to toil for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived before long to offer new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Of the state of Palestine, indeed, immediately after the war, we have little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, drained the country of the Jewish population ; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, introduced a foreign race into the possession of the soil. The immense numbers engaged in

the rebellion during the reign of Hadrian imply, either that the country was not nearly exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid. In fact, it must be remembered, that whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, by famine ; whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judæa, and great part of Idumæa, were wasted, and, probably, much depopulated ; but, excepting a few towns which made resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan escaped the devastation. The dominions of king Agrippa were, for the most part, respected. Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most of the cities on the sea-coast. Many of the rich and influential persons fell off from their more obstinate countrymen at the beginning or during the course of the war, were favourably received, and dismissed in safety by Titus.¹

According to Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel, its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne (Jamnia).² Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the Passover ; he was put to death. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, after having laboured in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterwards became Nasi at Jamnia. It was Rabban Jochanan who, on the awful night when the great eastern gate of the Temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous

¹ "Noch bestanden überall im Reiche, und selbst in Palästina Gemeinden, welche am Kampfe sich nicht betheiligt hatten, römisch-gesinnte, welche keinen Grund zur Verfolgung darboten, oder solche, deren kriegslüstige Männer ihre Kühnheit gebüsst hatten ; noch blieben im Schutz der Römer gemässigte Männer, welche frühzeitig übergetreten waren, und denen Erhaltung ihre Besitzen zugesagt worden ; noch waren stille Bewohner übrig, welche nach Erstickung des Aufstandes keinen Argwohn einflossen. Der Römer war viel zu stolz, um seine Rache weiter auszudehnen, und die Klugheit forderte Schonung derer, welche durch Bestellung des Bodens und andere friedliche Beschäftigungen dem Reiche noch Abgaben eintragen könnten. Von den ohnehin dem Kriege abgeneigten Gelehrten war eher eine Beschwichtigung der Gemüther zu erwarten. Die Religion lebte wieder auf." Jost, Judenthum, ii. 4. (Published since the first editions of this work.)

² I am inclined to think that the permission granted, according to the Rabbins, by Titus, to the Sanhedrin, to depart to Jamnia, Jabne, or Jafne, is another version of the account in Josephus, of the eminent persons who were courteously received by Titus, sent to Gophni, and afterwards recalled, for a short time, to try their influence, with Josephus, in persuading the besieged to surrender.

words of the prophet Zechariah—“*Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.*” He escaped the fury of the Zealots by being laid out on a bier as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua, and R. Eliezar. Jochanan is famous in Jewish tradition: he is the first of the elder Tanaim. Of the various anecdotes and sayings attributed to him, this appears to me the most striking:—His son died; he was inconsolable. His five famous scholars met to comfort him; four of them urged the examples of Adam, of Job, of Aaron, of David, who had suffered the same affliction. “How can the sufferings of others alleviate my sorrow?” The fifth said—“A man had a precious jewel entrusted to his care. He was troubled by the thought, ‘How can I render up this treasure uninjured?’ Thou art in the same case—thou hast had the happiness to restore thy well-trained son uncorrupt to the Giver.”—“My son,” he said, “thou hast truly comforted me.” Jochanan’s dying words were—“Fear God even as ye fear men.” His disciples seemed astonished. He added—“He who would commit a sin, first looks round to discover whether any man sees him; so take ye heed that God’s all-seeing eye see not the sinful thought in your heart.” There is another account of his last words. His disciples addressed him—“Why weepest thou, thou Light of Israel?”—“If they were about to lead me before a king of flesh and blood, who to-day is and to-morrow is in the grave; if he were wroth with me, his wrath were not eternal; if he should put me in chains, his chains were not eternal; if he should put me to death, that death would not be eternal; I might appease him with words or bribe him with gifts. But now they are about to lead me before the King of kings, the Lord Blessed for ever, who lives and remains in *sæcula et sæculorum*. If he is wroth with me, his wrath is eternal; if he casts me into chains, his chains are eternal; if he puts me to death, it is eternal death; him no words can appease, no gifts soften. And further, there are two ways—one to hell, one to Paradise; and I know not which way they will lead me. Is there not cause for tears?”¹ Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father, slain during the siege. With the permission of Titus, he followed

¹ Lightfoot, in the spirit of his time and opinions, says insultingly, “Oh the wretched and failing faith of a Pharisee in the hour of death!” Lightfoot, Academiæ Jasnensis Historiæ Fragm. Works, 8vo Edit. Pitman, i. 446.

Jochanan to Jamnia, and afterwards succeeded him in the presidency.¹

¹ The Sanhedrin, the Rabbins say, had ten flittings.* From Gazith (the chamber in the Temple) to Khanoth (the Tabernæ, or shops, in the outer court)—from Khanoth to Jerusalem— from Jerusalem to Jabneth— from Jabneth to Osha—from Osha to Shepharaam—from Shepharaam to Beth-shaaraaim—from Bethshaaraaim to Sepphoris—from Sepphoris to Tiberias. Its Nasi, or Presidents, on the same authority, were as follows : †—

Ezra.

Simon the Just.

Antigonus of Socho (the master of Sadoc).

Joseph ben Joezer, President. Joseph ben Jochanan, Vice-President.‡

Joshua ben Perachiah — persecuted by Alexander Janneus; fled to Alexandria.§

Judah ben Tabbai, P. Simon ben Shetach, V.P.—according to Lightfoot, many eminent actions were performed by them ;—they hanged eighty witches in one day.||

Shemaiah, P. Abtalion, V.P.—descended from Sennacherib ! — their mothers of Jewish blood. Probably the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus.

Hillel, P. Shammai, V.P.—Hillel was a second Moses : at forty years old he came up to Jerusalem; forty years he studied the law; forty years he was president.¶

Simeon, son of Hillel—supposed by some to be the Simeon who took our Saviour in his arms ; but there is considerable chronological difficulty.

Gamaliel, son of Simeon (the teacher of St. Paul)—with him the honour of the law failed, purity and Pharisaism died.**

Simeon, his son, slain at Jerusalem.††

Jochanan ben Zaccai.

Gamaliel of Jabneh, son of Simeon.

Simeon, son of Gamaliel, first Patriarch of Tiberias.

Judah, son of Simeon.

Gamaliel, son of Judah.

* Jost, Judenthum, ii. 16 *et seqq.*

† Jost writes thus: "Wenn daher berichtet wird, dass das Synedrion nach verschiedenen Orten gewandert sei, so hat man nicht einen fortwährend gesetzgebenden Körper zu denken, der bloss dem Ort gewechselt habe, sondern einen nach Unterbrechungen wieder neu zusammen-getretenen" (ii. 87).

‡ Lightfoot, Fall of Jerusalem, Section iv.

§ On Joshua ben Perachiah—Jost, Israeliter, iii. p. 79, &c. On Simon ben Shetach, p. 89.

|| Compare Jost, Geschichte, iii. 91, for the whole story, and the "Anhang" to the passage. It is worth observing that though Jost has complained that the printing in Lightfoot's works, especially of the Chaldaic, is very incorrect, yet he fully appreciates the profound erudition of our great Talmudist. "Der gelehrte Engländer in seine Sammlung die in Hinsicht der Gelehrsamkeit die Bewunderung der Nachwelt verdient." Anhang, iii. p. 167.

¶ The school of Hillel and the school of Shammai established a permanent and distinctive influence over the Jewish mind. The great distinction was, that Hillel always adhered to the milder and more merciful, Shammai to the more strict and severe interpretation of the Law.

** Jost seems to give this saying as relating to the young Gamaliel of Jamnia.

On Jochanan ben Zacchai—Jost, Judenthum, ii. p. 16 *et seqq.*

†† Rabban Simeon, the President of the Council, was caught in Jerusalem as in a trap, and lost his life. Lightfoot, Fall of Jerusalem, Section iii.

That this school of Gamaliel¹ had any legitimate title to the dignity of the Sanhedrin, may be reasonably doubted ; but it seems clear, that the great school of Jamnia obtained considerable authority, and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of the members of the ancient Sanhedrin, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked up to with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. The Romans would regard with contemptuous indifference the establishment of this kind of authority. Like Pilate, or Gallio in the Acts, they would leave to the conquered people to settle among themselves "*questions relating to their law.*" But these points were of vital interest to the Jew : they far surpassed in importance all sublunary considerations ; on these depended the favour of their God, their only refuge in their degradation and misery ; and with unexampled, though surely not reprehensible pertinacity, the more they were depressed, the more ardently they were attached to their own institutes. They were their only pride—their only treasure—their only patrimony, now that their Temple was in ashes, and their land had been confiscated. The enemy could not wrest them away ; they were the continual remembrancers of the glories of the past, the only consolation and pledge of blessing for the future.² It is indeed a strange transition in Jewish history from the wild contests of the fanatic Zealots, to the disputations of learned expounders of the Law—from the bloody tribunals of Simon Bar Gioras, John of Gischala, and Eleazar the Zealot, to the peaceful scholars at the feet of Gamaliel—

¹ Jost, true to his own system, makes Gamaliel the *founder* of a new Sanhedrin. To Gamaliel is attributed a table which showed the phases of the moon (p. 25, note).

■ From the *Capita Patrum* in the Mischna, Part iv., may be seen the profound reverence, attachment, almost adoration of the Law. "He who learneth in the Law, in the name of the Law, he is worthy of many things, not only of many things, of the whole world. . . . He loves God, he loves men ; he makes God to rejoice, he makes men to rejoice. The Law clothes him with humility and fear. It makes him fit to become just, pious, upright, faithful. It removes him far off from sin, approaches him to innocence. Men derive from the Law all that is useful, counsel, wisdom, prudence, fortitude, as it is written, 'With me is counsel, with me is understanding and power ;' and the Law gives to him the kingdom, and the dominion, and the searching out of judgment, and the secrets of the Law are revealed to him, and he is made as a perennial fountain, and as a river which waxes more and more strong. And he becomes modest and patient, and pardons him who affects him with ignominy. Such a man the Law magnifies, and sets him above all work." Mischna, iv. p. 48. This almost deification of the Law should be studied to understand St. Paul's argument when contrasting it with the Gospel.

from the din of arms, the confusion of besieged cities, the miseries of famine, massacre, and conflagration, to discussions about unclean meats, new moons, and the observance of the Sabbath.¹ But of all things it is most strange, that a people apparently occupied in these scholastic triflings, should, in sixty years, spring up again in a revolt scarcely less formidable to the ruling powers, or less calamitous to themselves, than the great Jewish war under Titus.

Gamaliel,² the last of the Gamaliels, the son of Judah, the president of the school in Jamnia, or, as the Jews assert, the Nasi of the Sanhedrin, was deeply learned, but proud and overbearing. He studiously depressed his rivals in learning, R. Eliezer, son of Hyrcan, and R. Joshua, son of Hananiah. It was a question, whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was a lawful offering. Joshua decided in the affirmative. Gamaliel not merely annulled his sentence, but inflicted a humiliating penance on Joshua, making him stand up while himself was lecturing. A scholar asked Joshua, whether evening prayer was a duty or a free-will offering. Joshua decided for the latter. Another contradiction and another penance ensued, till at length the indignant scholars determined to throw off the yoke, and Gamaliel was formally deposed. Much difficulty arose about his successor. R. Joshua, his great rival, was passed by, and the choice lay between R. Akiba, a man whose fiery and impetuous character afterwards plunged himself and the nation in the darkest calamities, and R. Eliezer, a young man of noble family, said to be descended from Ezra. The choice fell on Eliezer. He hesitated to accept the dignified office. "Why?" he was asked. "Because I have not a grey beard;" and immediately his beard began to sprout, and grew, on the instant, to the most orthodox length and venerable whiteness.³ Other schools were gradually established. Eliezer,

¹ Lightfoot, Fall of Jerusalem, Sect. iv. Compare Jost, Geschichte, iii. 283, and Judenthum, ii. 25 *et seqq.*

² It was a saying, it should seem, of this Gamaliel, son of Judah the Prince: "He who multiplies flesh multiplies woes; he who multiplies riches multiplies cares; he who multiplies woes multiplies witches; he who multiplies women-servants multiplies wickedness; he who multiplies men-servants multiplies robbery; he who multiplies the land multiplies life; he who multiplies schools multiplies wisdom; he who multiplies counsel multiplies the Law; he who multiplies justice (or almsgiving) multiplies peace; he who gains to himself a good name gains himself; he who gains the Law gains eternal life." Mischna, Capita Patrum, iv. p. 416.

³ For Eliezer Akiba had the highest respect. R. Eliezer dying, at Cæsarea, desired to be buried at Lydda, whom R. Akiba bewailed as well with blood as with tears. "For when he met his hearse between Cæsarea and Lydda,

son of Hyrcan, taught in Lydda; Joshua, son of Hananiah, in Pekun; Akiba, in Baar-brak. Of all these Rabbins, or Masters of the Law, stories are told, sometimes puerile, sometimes full of good sense and profound moral wisdom, sometimes most absurdly extravagant; and characteristic incidents, which bear the stamp of truth, occur in the midst of the most monstrous legends.¹ But all these show the authority of Rabbinism—for so that system of teaching may be called—over the public mind;—of Rabbinism, which, supplanting the original religion of the Jews, became, after the ruin of the Temple and the extinction of the public worship, a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in the character of modern Judaism. Indeed it is absolutely necessary, for the distinct comprehension of the later Jewish history, to enter into some farther consideration of the origin, growth, and nature of that singular spiritual supremacy assumed by the Rabbinical oligarchy, which, itself held together by a strong corporate spirit, by community of interest, by identity of principle, has contributed, more than any other external cause, to knit together in one body the widely-dispersed members of the Jewish family, and to keep them the distinct and separate people which they appear in all ages of the world. It is clear that, after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, the Mosaic constitution could be but partially re-established. The whole building was too much shattered and its fragments too widely dispersed, to reunite in their ancient and regular form. Palestine was a dependent province of the great Persian empire; and neither the twelve confederate republics of older times, nor the monarchies of the later period, could be permitted to renew their existence. But in no respect was the original Mosaic constitution so soon or so entirely departed from, as in the distinctions and endowments of the great learned aristocracy, the tribe of Levi; in no point was it more impossible to

he beat himself in that manner that blood flowed down upon the earth. Lamenting, thus he spake, 'O my father, my father! the chariot and horsemen of Israel! I have much money, but I want a moneyer to change it.' "The gloss is this, "I have very many questions, but now there is no man to whom I may propound them." Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. x. p. 38.

¹ Some of the Rabbins refused to eat flesh, or drink wine, after the destruction of the Temple. "Shall we eat meat when meat offerings are forbidden, or drink wine when wine offerings are no more made in the Temple?" "By that rule," answered the shrewd R. Joshua, "you must abstain from bread, for the shew-bread is no more set out—from fruits, for the first fruits are no longer offered—from water, for there is now no water by the altar. Go: exact no duties from the people which the many cannot discharge." Jost, Geschichte; also Judenthum, ii. 72.

reinstate the polity on its primitive model. To ascend no higher, the tribe of Levi seem to have lost all their possessions in the provinces of Israel on the separation of the kingdoms. On the return from the Captivity, the Levites are mentioned as distinct from the priests, and are present, as it were, giving authority at the public reading of the Law.¹ But they were by no means numerous, perhaps scarcely more than sufficient to furnish the different courses to minister in the Temple. At all events they were no independent or opulent tribe; their cities were gone; and though they still retained the tithe, it was so far from supporting them in great affluence, that when the higher class encroached upon the rights of the lower order, the latter were in danger of absolute starvation. In fact, they were the officiating priesthood, and no more; bound to be acquainted with the forms and usages of the sacrificial ritual; but the instruction of the people, and the interpretation of the Law, by no means fell necessarily within their province. On the other hand, the Jews who returned from the Captivity brought with them a reverential, or rather a passionate attachment to the Mosaic Law. This it seems to have been the prudent policy of their leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, to encourage by all possible means, as the great bond of social union, and the unfailing principle of separation from the rest of mankind. The consecration of the second Temple, and the re-establishment of the state, was accompanied by the ready and solemn recognition of the Law. By degrees attachment to the Law sank deeper and deeper into the national character; it was not merely at once their Bible and their Statute Book, it entered into the most minute detail of common life. But no written law can provide for all possible exigencies; whether general and comprehensive, or minute and multifarious, it equally requires the expositor to adapt it to the immediate case which may occur, either before the public tribunal, or that of the private conscience. Hence the Law became a deep and intricate study. Certain men rose to acknowledged eminence for their ingenuity in explaining, their readiness in applying, their facility in quoting, and their clearness in offering solutions of the difficult passages of the written statutes.² Learning in the Law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage. Public and private

¹ Ezra and Nehemiah *passim*, especially Nehemiah iv. v. vii.

² See at the end of Jost, *Judenthum*, i., the 613 Laws, 248 Commandments, 365 Prohibitions.

affairs depended on the sanction of this self-formed spiritual aristocracy. In an imperfect calendar the accurate settling of the proper days for the different fasts and festivals was of the first importance. It would have been considered as inevitably tending to some great national calamity, if it had been discovered that the new moon, or any other movable festival, above all if the Passover, had been celebrated on a miscalculated day. The national sacrifice, or that of the individual, might be vitiated by an inadvertent want of conformity to the strict letter of the ritual. Every duty of life, of social intercourse between man and man, to omit its weightier authority as the national code of criminal and civil jurisprudence, was regulated by an appeal to the Book of the Law. Even at every meal, the scrupulous conscience shuddered at the possibility, lest by some neglect, or misinterpretation of the statute, it might fall into serious offence. In every case the learned in the Law could alone decide to the satisfaction of the inquirer.

Moreover, by degrees, another worship, independent of the Temple, grew up—that of the Synagogue. The nation still met in the great Temple, for the purpose of national expiation or thanksgiving. The individual went there to make his legal offerings, or to utter his prayers in the more immediate presence of the God of Abraham. But besides this he had his synagogue—where, in a smaller community, he assembled, with a few of his neighbours, for Divine worship, for prayer, and for instruction in the Law. The latter more immediately, and gradually the former, fell entirely under the regulation of the learned interpreter of the Law, who, we may say, united the professions of the clergy and the law—the clergy, considered as public instructors; for the law-school and the synagogue were always closely connected, if they did not form parts of the same building.¹ Thus there arose in the state the curious phenomenon of a spiritual supremacy, distinct from the priesthood; for though many of these teachers were actually priests and Levites, they were not necessarily so—a supremacy which exercised the most unlimited dominion, not formally recognised by the constitution, but not the less real and substantial; for it was grounded in the general belief, ruled by the willing obedience of its subjects, and was rooted in the very minds and hearts of the people, till at length the maxim was openly

¹ On the manner in which the Sanhedrins or Courts were ultimately connected with the Academies or Schools, compare Vitringa.

promulgated, "The voice of the Rabbi, the voice of God." Thus, though the High Priest was still the formal and acknowledged head of the state, the real influence passed away to these recognised interpreters of the Divine word.¹

The circumstances of the Jewish history concurred in depressing the spiritual authority of the priesthood; and, as in such a community spiritual authority must have existed somewhere, its transfer to the Rabbins, though slow and imperceptible, was no less certain. During the reign of the Asmoneans the High-priesthood became a mere appendage of the temporal sovereignty; but the Pharisaic, or learned party, were constantly struggling for superiority with the throne, which nominally united both the religious and worldly supremacy. Herod ruled as a military despot; but it was not the priesthood, the chief dignity of which he filled with his own dependants, but this body of men, learned in the law of the Fathers, which alone resisted the introduction of Grecian manners and customs, and kept alive the waning embers of Judaism. We have seen that, in the zenith of his power, he dared not exact an oath of allegiance, from his dread of a most influential class zealously attached to the Law. The Sanhedrin was, in general, the organ by which they acted, as the seats of that half-senatorial, half-judicial body, were usually filled by the most learned and influential of the Rabbins, or teachers. It is probable that general opinion would point them out as the fittest persons to fill the places of the twenty-three judges, appointed, according to Josephus, in every considerable town. Still their power was more deeply rooted than in the respect paid to any court or office: it consisted rather in the education and daily instruction of the people, who looked up to them with implicit confidence in their infallibility.²

¹ The learned treatise of Vitrina De Synagogâ Vetere not only gives his own views on all the questions relating to the growth and constitution of the Synagogue, but also those of most of the learned scholars before or during his time, especially Selden and Altingius. Vitrina is in agreement on the whole, though not throughout and in every particular, with Jost, Herzfeld, and the modern writers.

² On the Sopherim, the Scribes, the chief instructors of the people, during the centuries which followed Ezra, till their teaching assumed a definite form, compare Jost, i. 93. Their power and influence from the time of Ezra downwards were gradually developed. They read, translated, and expounded the Law in the Synagogues. "Natürlich wurde nunmehr mancher stehende Gebrauch durch die Schrift begründet und wohl auch mancher verwerfliche Gebrauch oder Begriff berichtigt. Daraus entwickelte sich denn der späterhin allgemein anerkannte Grundsatz." *Die Aussprüche der Sopherim seien wichtig*.

The ideal Sopher or Scribe (the reader of the Gospel knows these Scribes only on their darker side) may be read in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. The great bulk of the Jews were employed in commerce or in handicraft. They could not read, still less study the Law ; the Scribe was therefore absolutely necessary for the instruction and edification of the people. “*The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure : and he that hath little business shall become wise. The husbandman, the carpenter, the smith, the potter, all these trust to their hands, and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited. But they cannot sit in the council, nor on the judges' seat, they shall not be found where parables are spoken. . . . But he that giveth his mind to the Law of the Most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of the ancients, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men : and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. . . . He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes : he will travel through strange countries ; for he hath tried the good and evil among men. . . . When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding. . . . He shall show forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the Law of the Covenant of the Lord. . . . Many shall commend his understanding ; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out ; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation. Nations shall show forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise. If he die, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand : and if he live, he shall increase it. Yet have I more to say, which I have thought upon ; for I am filled as the moon at the full.*”¹

But besides the interpretation of the written statutes, according to the rules of plain common sense or more subtle reason, the expounders of the Law assumed another ground of authority over the public mind, as the depositaries and conservators of the unwritten or traditionary law. This was not universally acknowledged—and, from the earliest period, the great schism, in Jewish opinion, was, on this important

tiger als die der Thora. Thus in almost all cases the interpretation overrode the written Law. All these comments were afterwards (see below) embodied in the Mischna.

¹ This striking climax shows the estimate in which the Learned were held. Eccles. xxxviii. xxxix.

point, the authority of tradition. But the traditionists were far superior in weight and numbers—and, by the mass of the people, the Masora, or unwritten tradition, received, as the Rabbins asserted, by Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down, in regular and unbroken descent, through all the great names of their early history, the heads of the Sanhedrin its successive conservators, till it finally vested in themselves, was listened to with equal awe, and received with equal veneration with the statutes inscribed by the hand of the Almighty on the tables of stones. This was generally called Masora, or *Tradition*, or Cabala¹—the *received* doctrine of the schools—thus uniting, as it were, the sanctity of tradition in the Church of Rome, with the validity of precedent in our law courts.

Hence the demolition of the Temple, the final cessation of the services, and the extinction of the priesthood, who did not survive their occupation—events which, it might have been expected, would have been fatal to the national existence of the Jews as destroying the great bond of union, produced scarcely any remarkable effect. The Levitical class had already been superseded as the judges and teachers of the people; the Synagogue, with its law school, and its grave and learned Rabbi, had already begun to usurp the authority, and was prepared to supply the place of the Temple with its solemn rites, regular sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. Hence the remnant of the people, amid the general wreck of their institutions, the extinction of the race, at least the abrogation of the office of High Priest, and even the defection of the representative of their late sovereign Agrippa, naturally looked round with eagerness to see if any of their learned Rabbins had escaped the ruin; and directly they found them established in comparative security, willingly laid whatever sovereignty they could dare to offer at their feet. Their Roman masters had no tribunal which they could approach;

¹ The term Cabala is usually applied to that wild system of Oriental philosophy which was introduced, it is uncertain at what period, into the Jewish schools; in a wider sense, it comprehended all the decisions of the Rabbinical courts or schools, whether on religious or civil points—whatever, in short, was considered to have been ruled by competent judges; but in its more exclusive sense it meant that knowledge which was traditionally derived from the hidden mysteries contained in the letters of the Law, in the number of times they occurred, and in their relative position. Even Maimonides uses Kabala as synonymous with oral tradition. The figurative meaning of all the anthropomorphic expressions for God may be taught to the simplest. "Easque per Kabbalam et oralem traditionem tradere parvulis et mulieribus, indoctis et imperitis, est necessarium." More Nevochim, i. c. xxxv.

the administration of their own law was indispensable; hence, whether it assumed the form of an oligarchy, or a monarchy, they submitted themselves with the most implicit confidence, and in the most undoubting spirit, to the Rabbinical dominion.

The Jews, though looked upon with contempt as well as detestation, were yet regarded, during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors, with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of 800 men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city by the fond and religious zeal of its former inhabitants. The Christian Hegesippus relates that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the house of David—in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house, or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. This barbarous inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian; nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the government of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms, levied according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was exacted with unrelenting rigour;¹ and, if any denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were employed against persons of age and character, to ascertain the fact. Suetonius, the historian, had seen a public examination of this nature before the tribunal of the procurator.² Still it may be doubted whether these persecutions, which, perhaps, were chiefly directed at the Judaising Christians, oppressed the Jewish people very heavily in their native land. It is impossible, unless communities were suffered to be formed, and the whole race enjoyed comparative security, that the nation could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which it assumed in the time of Hadrian.

The reign of Nerva gave a brief interval of peace to the Jews with the rest of the world. The Jews, if not released

¹ Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἔτάχθη, τοὺς τὸ πάτρια ἔθη περιστέλλοντας, τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. Dion Cassius, lxvi. 7. Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὅπου δήποτε οὖσι Ιουδαιοῖς ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἔκαστον κέλευσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις νεῶν συνετέλουν. Joseph. B. J. vii. 6. 6. Though the mode of levying the tax was mitigated by Nerva, it continued to later times. Καὶ νῦν Ιουδαιῶν τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς ('Ρωμαιοῖς) τελοῦντων. Origen. ad. Afric.

² In Domitian. c. xii.

from the payment to the Capitoline Temple, were not so ignominiously treated as in the reign of Domitian. No man who did not openly acknowledge himself to be a Jew was subject to the fiscal regulation.¹ In the reign of Trajan either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt, as frantic and disastrous as that which had laid their city and Temple in ashes. In every quarter of the world, in each of their great settlements, in Babylonia, Egypt and Cyrene, and in Judæa, during the sovereignty of Trajan and his successor, the Jews broke out into bold and open rebellion—not without considerable successes—and were finally subdued, only after an obstinate struggle and enormous loss of life.²

The wise and upright Trajan was not superior to the intolerant religious policy of his predecessors. From the memorable letter of Pliny, it is manifest that the existing laws, though not clearly defined, were rigid against all who practised foreign superstitions. It is by no means improbable that its descent from Judaism, of which Christianity was long considered a modification, tended to increase the hostility against the unoffending Christians, which their rapid progress had excited.³ If, even under a man of the temper and moderation of Pliny, and by the express rescript of the emperor, all the Christians obtained, was not to be “hunted

¹ Eckhel agrees with Spanheim that the famous coin of Nerva, with the epigraph

“*Fisci Judaici calunnia sublata,*”

does not mean the abolition of the tax, but the prohibition of the delations and insulting usage of ascertaining the liability to it. “*Non ipsam fiscam Judaicam, quod censuere varii, a Nerva abolitam dici, sed tantum ejus calumniam sublatam esse, hoc est ab eodem fiscali debito solvendo immunes in postremum mansisse, quicunque se haud erant Judæos professi, nec inde pro Judæis in fiscales tabulas relati.*” Eckhel, iv. p. 148.

The whole question of Jewish taxation is worked out with great labour and general accuracy, in the article *Juden Geschichte*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopædia*, I. xxvii.

² Gibbon attributes all these insurrections to the unprovoked turbulence and fanaticism of the Jews. But his mind, notwithstanding its boasted liberality, was by no means exempt from the old vulgar prejudices against the Jews; heightened, perhaps, by his unfriendly feeling, not more philosophical, to the religion from which Christianity took its rise.

³ Salvador, though of course as a Jew from an opposite point of view, concurs with me in connecting, as I have done in other works, the hostility of the Roman Government towards the Christians, shown in the persecutions during the reign of Trajan, with the commotions of the Jews in the East. “Jews and Christians were still, to a certain extent, confounded in the popular mind; and fear, political jealousy, and hatred do not sharpen the powers of just discrimination.” Salvador, ii. 514.

out with the implacable zeal of an inquisitor"; if scenes like those, so strikingly described in the acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, were by no means unfrequent: we may fairly conclude that the odious Jews, under worse governors, or where the popular feeling was not repressed by the strong hand of authority, would be liable to perpetual insult, oppression, and persecution. The Rabbinical traditions¹ are full of the sufferings of the people during this melancholy period, but they are so moulded up with fable,² that it is difficult to decide whether they rest on any groundwork of truth. This, however, is certain, that during the war of Trajan with Parthia, when the Roman legions were probably withdrawn from the African provinces, and a few feeble garrisons alone remained to maintain the peace, intelligence was received that the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene had taken up arms, and were perpetrating the most dreadful atrocities against the Greek inhabitants of those districts. The cause of this insurrection is unknown; but when we remember the implacable animosities of the two races, which had been handed down as an inheritance for centuries, it is by no means surprising, that, directly the coercive authority of the Roman troops was withdrawn, a violent collision should take place.³ Nor is it improbable

¹ Many of these traditions may be read in Eisenmenger, *Das Entdecktes Judenthum*. This curious book was written in avowed and bitter hostility to the Jews, but the quotations are copious and full, and there is no reason to suspect their accuracy. See below.

² It is related that, unfortunately, the birthday of a prince fell on the anniversary of the fatal 9th of August; and while the whole Roman empire was rejoicing, the Jews alone were bewailing, in ill-timed lamentations, the fate of their Temple. Again, while the imperial family were in the deepest mourning for the loss of a daughter, the unlucky Jews were celebrating with noisy mirth their Feast of Lamps. The indignant empress exclaimed, "Before you march against the barbarians, sweep this insolent people from the face of the earth." Trajan, in Syria, surrounded a vast number of Jews with his legions, and ordered them to be hewn down. He afterwards offered to their wives, either to share the fate of their husbands, or to submit to the embraces of his soldiery. "What thou hast done to those beneath the earth, do to those who are upon it:" such was the answer of the women. Their blood was mingled with that of their husbands; and the sea that broke upon the shores of Cyprus was tinged with the red hue of carnage. If there be any truth in this legend, that sea recoiled before long from those shores in a tide, which showed still more visible signs of unrelenting vengeance. But, independent of the improbability of the whole story, and its inconsistency with the character of the emperor, the family of Trajan made a great figure in this, as in other Jewish legends; yet it is almost certain that he had no children.—*Hierosolym. Talmud. Socra*, quoted by Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iii. p. 218.

³ Compare *Der Judische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian*, von D. Friedrich Munter, Altona, 1821. This valuable tract has been translated in an American journal, under the direction of Dr. Robinson, the traveller.

that the Greeks, who had been suffering grievous exactions from a rapacious Roman governor, might take up their old quarrel, and, in the absence of the Romans, endeavour to indemnify themselves by the plunder of their more industrious, perhaps more wealthy, neighbours. On which side hostilities began, we know not; but the Jews, even if they only apprehended an attack, had horrible reminiscences of recent disasters, or traditions, not very remote, of the days of Caligula; and might, not unnaturally, think that there was wisdom in endeavouring to be the first in the field; that it was better to perish with arms in their hands, than stand still, as in former times, to be tamely pillaged and butchered. All Egypt, both Alexandria and the Thebais, with Cyrene, arose at once.¹ In Egypt the Jews had at first some success; but the Greeks fell back on Alexandria, mastered the Jews within the city, and murdered the whole race. Maddened by this intelligence, as well as by the memory of former cruelties, the Jews of Cyrene, headed by Lucuas and Andrew, by some supposed, though improbably, two names of the same man, swept all over Lower Egypt, where they were joined by a host of their countrymen, and penetrated into the Thebais, or even farther, and exacted the most dreadful retribution for the present and the past. Horrid tales were told of the atrocities they committed. Some of their rulers they sawed asunder from head to foot; they flayed their bodies, and clothed themselves with the skins, twisted the entrails and wore them as girdles, and anointed themselves with blood.² We are even told that this people, so scrupulous in the refusal of all unclean food, nevertheless feasted on the bodies of their enemies. With barbarity for which they could quote better precedent, they are said to have thrown their enemies to wild beasts, and forced them to fight on the theatres as gladiators: 220,000 fell before their remorseless vengeance.³ Whether these can-

¹ Look back to the outbreak in the Cyrenaica under Jonathan, at the close of the war under Vespasian.—Euseb. H. E. iv. 3.

² In the Book Zemach David, quoted by Eisenmenger, *Das Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 654–5, it is written that at this time they killed a multitude of people countless as the sands of the sea. In the Book Moor Enaim, on the authority of Rabbi Asariah, they killed above 200,000 in Egypt; in Cyprus they did not leave one of the Gentiles (Gojim) alive. It adds that the emperor Trajan sent his general, Hadrian, against them, who destroyed them, so many as were never heard of or seen in the days of Nebuzaradan or of Titus.

³ Münter supposes that they may have turned the usual atrocities of the Romans against themselves, have seized the amphitheatres, and forced their prisoners to fight with wild beasts or gladiators (p. 15). This is hardly possible.

nibal atrocities were true or not, that they should be propagated and credited, shows the detestation in which the race was held. LUPUS, the Roman governor, meanwhile, without troops, sat an inactive spectator of this devastation; while LUCUAS, the Jewish leader, is reported to have assumed the style and title of king.

The flame spread to CYPRUS, where the Jews were numerous and wealthy.¹ One ARTEMIO placed himself at their head; they rose and massacred 240,000 of their fellow-citizens; the whole populous city of SALAMIS became a desert. The revolt in CYPRUS was first suppressed; HADRIAN, afterwards emperor, landed on the island, and marched to the assistance of the few inhabitants who had been able to act on the defensive. He defeated the Jews, expelled them from the island, to whose beautiful coasts no Jew was ever afterwards permitted to approach. If one were accidentally wrecked on the inhospitable shore, he was instantly put to death.² MARTIUS TURBO was sent by sea for the purpose of expedition, with a considerable force of horse and foot to the coast of CYRENE. As far as the campaign can be traced, it seems that he marched against ANDREW, and, after much hard fighting, suppressed the insurrection in that province, and then turned upon EGYPT, where LUCUAS still made head. LUCUAS, according to a tradition preserved by ABULFHARAGI, attempted to force his way by the Isthmus of SUEZ; and some, at least, of his followers found their way to PALESTINE.³ The loss of the Jews, as might be expected, was immense; their own traditions report, that as many fell in this disastrous war, as originally escaped from EGYPT under MOSES—600,000 men.⁴

CYPRUS was scarcely subdued, and the war was still raging in EGYPT, when tidings arrived that the JEWS of MESOPOTAMIA were in arms.⁵ Probably the EASTERN JEWS had found that, by the conquests of TRAJAN, they had changed masters for the

¹ HEROD the FIRST farmed the copper mines in CYPRUS. JOSEPH. ANT. XVI. 2.

² EUSEB. H. E. IV. 6. DION CASSIUS, *loc. cit.*

³ This seems confirmed by a passage in APPIAN, B. C. II. 90, who incidentally mentions the destruction of a Heathen temple near MOUNT CASIUS during the exterminatory war (*ἔξολλυντα τὸ ἐν Αιγύπτῳ Τουδαῖων γένος*) waged by TRAJAN *at this time* against the JEWS.

OROSIOUS describes the Jewish insurrection in his vague way. They had so utterly desolated LIBYA, that the emperor HADRIAN was obliged to send colonists to people the desert which they had left (LIB. VII.).

⁴ So much destruction was caused by this war in ALEXANDRIA, that in the CHRONICON EUSEBIANUM (MEDIOL. 1818) it is said, "HADRIANUS ALEXANDRIAM A JUDEÆIS LABEFACCIATAM REPARAVIT." See on the COINS MÜNTER, p. 21.

⁵ EUSEB. H. E. *loc. cit.*

worse. Under the Parthian kings they had lived in peace, unmolested in their religion, sometimes making proselytes of the highest rank—in the case of Izates, even of kings ; and they were oppressed by no exclusive taxation. The Jews of Africa and Syria might have looked with repining envy on their more prosperous brethren in Babylonia. The scene of the great Captivity was now become the only dwelling of Jewish peace and Jewish independence ; while the land of milk and honey flowed with the bitter streams of servitude and persecution. Even if the Babylonian Jews did not, as gratitude and policy would equally have urged, during the war between Rome and her Eastern rival, manfully take arms in favour of their protectors against the enemies and oppressors of their race—if they left the armies of Parthia to fight their own battles, and quietly waited to be transferred to the conqueror ; yet, when they were included, by the victories of Trajan, within the pale of Roman oppression—visited in their turn by that fierce soldiery which had trampled on the ruins of Jerusalem—made liable, perhaps, to a capitation tax for the maintenance of a heathen temple,—it was by no means surprising if they endeavoured to shake off the galling and unwonted yoke. Their insurrection was soon suppressed by the vigour of Lusius Quietus, a man of Moorish race, and considered the ablest soldier in the Roman army. The commission of Quietus was not only to subdue, but to expel the Jews from the whole district. The Jews defended themselves with obstinate courage, and, though overpowered, still remained in Mesopotamia.¹ The immediate appointment of L. Quietus to the government of Judæa, seems to intimate some apprehension of commotions in that province, which might be kept down by the terrors of his name.

In the next year (A.C. 117) Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. For the Mesopotamian Jews alone this was a fortunate occurrence ; for as the prudent Hadrian abandoned all the conquests of his predecessor in the East, and re-established the Euphrates as the boundary of the Roman empire, they fell again under the milder dominion of their Parthian sovereigns. The new emperor was not likely to entertain very favourable sentiments towards his Jewish subjects. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible scenes which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus ; he

¹ Euseb. H. E. iv. 2 : ὁ καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάμπολυ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει. Eusebius quotes as his authority the great writers of the time.

had seen the voluptuous Idalian groves reeking with blood, or unwholesome with the recent carnage of their inhabitants; the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation. It is not improbable that the same mischiefs might seem to be brooding in Palestine. Hadrian himself visited Judæa and Egypt. Extant coins establish this fact. The famous letter to Servianus, in which he casts his mockery impartially on Jews, Samaritans, and Christians, was written in Alexandria;¹ but sterner measures followed, how far from suspicous, not without ground, of meditated revolt and insurrection, does not appear. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism: it interdicted circumcision,² the reading of the Law, and the observance of the Sabbath. It was followed by a blow, if possible, more fatal: the intention of the emperor was announced to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the foundation of a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of their fallen Temple. A town had probably risen by degrees out of the ruins of Jerusalem, where the three great towers and a part of the western wall had been left as a protection to the Roman garrison:³ but the formal establishment of a colony implied the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to the *stranger*.⁴ The

¹ "Nemo illic archesynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes." I understand Hadrian's implied meaning to be, that they were alike what we call quacks and charlatans. Vopisci Saturninus, H. A. S., p. 966. Compare Juvenal, vi. 543.

² Spartian speaks of this with true Roman contemptuousness: "Moverunt ē tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur 'mutilare genitalia.'" Hadr. c. 14.

³ The devotion of a city to perpetual desolation, so as never to be again inhabited by man, was marked by a peculiar ceremony in the Roman religion, the drawing a ploughshare over its whole site: "Nam ideo ad diruendas vel exaugurandas urbes aratum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu, quo conditæ, subvertantur." Serv. ad Æneid. iv. p. 527. "Cur perirent funditus, imprimaretque muris hostile aratum." Hor. Od. i. 16. That it was also an Eastern custom, compare Jer. xxvi. 8. It was probably by application of this prophecy that some of the Jews asserted this to have been done by Titus. But the sentence of Josephus seems conclusive against this as an historical fact; and this devotion of the site of the city to perpetual desolation does not seem to have been consummated as to Jerusalem after the capture by Titus.

⁴ ἐσ δὲ τὰ Ιεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφέσης οἰκισάντος, ήν καὶ Ἀλίαν Καπιτολίναν ὡνμασε, καὶ ἐσ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἔτερον ἀντεγέραντος, πόλεμος οὗτε μικρὸς οὐτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη (lxix. 12). I follow Dion's distinct statement, in preference to the loose one of Eusebius, that Ælia was founded *after* the siege. Nothing could be more according to the policy of Rome than to fix a colony, as a garrison, in a place of such importance as Jerusalem, the strength of which had so severely tried

Jews looked on with dismay, with anguish, with secret thoughts of revenge, at length with hopes of immediate and splendid deliverance. It was an opinion deeply rooted in the hearts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. They were now sounding the lowest depths of misery. They were forbidden, under penalties sternly enacted and rigidly enforced, to initiate their children into the chosen family of God. Their race was in danger of becoming extinct; for even the blood of Abraham would little avail the uncircumcised. Their city was not merely a mass of ruins, inhabited by the stranger, but the Pagans were about to make their permanent residence upon the site of Sion, and a temple to a Gentile idol was to usurp the place of the Holy of Holies.

At this momentous period it was announced that the Messiah had appeared. He had come in power and in glory: his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Balaam. Bar-cochab, the Son of the Star, was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob." Wonders attended upon his person: he breathed flames from his mouth, which, no doubt, would burn up the strength of the proud oppressor, and wither the armies of the tyrannical Hadrian. Above all, the greatest of the Rabbins, the living oracle of divine truth, whose profound learning was looked up to by the whole race of Israel, acknowledged the claims of the new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his fortunes; he was called the standard-bearer of the Son of the Star. Rabbi Akiba was said not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the Rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. For forty years he had lived a simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Calba Sheva. Love made him the wisest of his age. He became enamoured of his master's daughter: the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married, and Akiba left his bride im-

the Roman arms, especially after the rebellions in the time of Trajan. The designed Temple to Jupiter is in character with, and perhaps a first beginning of, that system, so widely carried out by the Antonines, of rebuilding and *Romanising* the vast ancient temples in the East, as at Baalbec, Petra, and in Egypt.

mediately, and spent twelve years in study, under the tuition of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with 12,000 disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter. They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by 24,000 disciples; and the father, at length appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on Akiba and his wife sufficient property to enable them to live in splendour. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said.¹ He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the Law; and it is boldly averred, that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses. He first committed the traditions to writing, and thus laid the groundwork for the celebrated Mischna, or Comment on the Law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was "that everything is ordained of heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with some of his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for, to heighten their grief, they beheld a jackal prowling upon the Hill of the Temple. Akiba only observed, that the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God.² The end of

¹ Pirke Aboth, quoted by Jost (*Geschichte*, p. 206). See in the same book the further account of Akiba's life, with the Talmudic authorities. Jost, in his later work (*Judenthum*, ii. c. vi. p. 59), is much more copious: "The characteristics of Akiba were, matchless acuteness in penetrating the obscure passages of the traditions; he was rigorous on all actors of injury, severe on moral questions; his learning was a 'well-ordered treasury.'"

Geiger quotes the following: "If Shaphan had not arisen at his time (that of Hezekiah), if Ezra had not arisen at his time, and Akiba at his, the Law of Israel had been forgotten; the Word, which was spoken at the right time, outweighs all words" (p. 150).

A saying of Akiba would show that he was superior to some of the prejudices of his race: "R. Akiba dicebat, Quicunque sepelitur in reliquis terris perinde est ac si sepeliretur in Babyloniam. Quicunque sepelitur in Babyloniam perinde est ac si sepeliretur in terrâ Israel. Quicunque sepelitur in terrâ Israel perinde est ac si sepeliretur sub altari, quia tota terra Israel conveniret ut esset locus altaris. Quicunque autem sepelitur sub altari perinde est ac si sepeliretur sub throno gloriæ, quia dicitur, Jer. xvii. 2, 'Thronus gloriæ altitudo a primo, locus sanctuarii nostri.'" Quoted in *Menschen Talmudien*, p. 226.

Other sayings of Akiba, in Eisenmenger, i. 10, and 25.

² Jost (*Judenthum*, p. 66) has another striking story. "Akiba had a firm conviction that Jerusalem and the Temple would be speedily restored. He visited Rome with three of his disciples. These were so overpowered by the splendour and strength of the Capitol, that they burst into tears. To their

these lofty hopes must have severely tried the resignation of Akiba. He was yet in the zenith of his fame, though now nearly 120 years old, the period of life to which his great prototype, Moses, attained (his biographers have no doubt conformed his life to that model); he is said, also, by some, to have been the head of the Sanhedrin, when Bar-cochab, or Coziba, announced his pretensions as the Messiah. Akiba had but newly returned from a visit, or from a flight, to his Mesopotamian brethren, and whether the state of affairs at Nahardea and Nisibis had awakened his hopes and inflamed a noble jealousy, which induced him to risk any hazard to obtain equal independence for his brethren in Judæa; or whether there was any general and connected plan for the re-assertion of Jewish liberty, he threw himself at once into the party of the heaven-inspired insurgent. "Behold," said the hoary enthusiast, in an assembly of the listening people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand." "Akiba," said the more cautious R. Jochanan, "the grass will spring from thy jawbone, and yet the Son of David will not have come." The period of the first appearance of the pretended Messiah is by no means certain, even his real name is unknown;¹ he is designated only by his title, Bar-cochab, the Son of a Star, which his disappointed countrymen, afterwards, in their bitterness, changed to Bar-cosba, the Son of a Lie. He is said to have been a robber;² he had learned a trick of keeping lighted tow, or straw, in his mouth, which was the secret of his breathing flames, to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his partisans.³

astonishment, Akiba smiled. He asked, 'Why do ye weep?' 'Ought we not to be in pain when we behold the Idolaters living in magnificence and peace, while the footstool of our God is a prey to the flames, and a haunt of wild beasts?' 'Good,' Akiba replied, 'and therefore did I smile. If it fares so well with God's enemies, must not his obedient children expect a far better doom?'

¹ Jost is inclined to connect the travels of Akiba with the general insurrection: "Und in verschiedenen Zeiten der Bewegung, welche eine Reihe von Jahren dauerte, und trotz grosser Niederlagen der Anführer sich wiederholte, bis Bethar gänzlich zerstört wurde, finden wir ihn in den Gegenden, wo der Aufstand zunächst ausbrach" (p. 67). He was in Cilicia, Cappadocia, perhaps Galatia, in Arabia and Africa. See also p. 76.

² Basnage, p. 342; but he cites no authority. Jost asserts that his early life was quite unknown (p. 244).

³ So the slave Eunus, in the servile war in Sicily: "Idque ut divinitus fieri probaret in ore abdita nuce, quam sulphure et igne stipaverat, leniter inspirans, flammarum inter verba fundebat." Florus, iii. 19. "Atque ut ille Barchochebas auctor seditionis Judaicæ stipulam in ore suo accensam anhelitu ventilabat ut flammæ evomere videretur." We can hardly understand how

He seems to have been a man of no common vigour and ability; but, unhappily, this second Jewish war had no Josephus, and the whole history of the campaigns, where the Jews manifestly gained great advantages, and in which the most able general of Rome, Severus, found it expedient to act on the defensive, and reduce the province rather by blockade and famine than by open war, can only be made out from three short chapters of Dion Cassius,¹ occasional brief notices in other authors, and the Legends of the Talmud. Lusius Quietus, the able conqueror of Mesopotamia, suspected of ambitious designs on the empire, had been deprived, first of his kindred Moorish troops, then of his province, and finally of his life. By a curious coincidence, the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of Terentius Rufus; the prefect in Palestine at the commencement of the revolt under Bar-cochab was T. Annus, or Tynnius, called, by the Rabbins, Tyrannus, or Turnus Rufus, the Wicked.² Thus, the two men who were the objects of the deepest detestation to the Jews, are perpetually confounded. Rufus is said, by the command of Hadrian, to have driven the plough over the ruins of Jerusalem.³ At the first threatening of the revolt, probably after the visit of Hadrian to the East, in the year 130 (A.C.), Rufus poured all the troops at his command into Judæa; he seized and imprisoned Akiba: but either his forces or his abilities were unequal to the crisis. The Romans could not believe that, with the memory of the former war still on the lips of the fathers of the present generation, the Jews would provoke the danger of a second exterminating conflict. But for some time the insurgents had been busily employed in laying up stores of arms. By degrees, they got possession of all the strong heights, raised walls and fortifications, dug or enlarged subterranean passages and caverns both for retreat and communication, and contrived, by holes from above, to let light and air into those secret citadels, where they deposited their arms, held their councils, and concealed themselves from

such things could be thought miraculous. Heronym. Apol. ii. ad Rufinum. Maimonides, on the other hand, asserts (Münter, note p. 48) "Sapientes nullum ab eo signum vel miraculum petierunt." See the traditions about Bar-cochab, Eisenmenger, ii. 654.

¹ Or rather Xiphilin. There is a passage about the war in Moses of Chorenæ, the Armenian historian, c. 57.

² Jost, Anhang, p. 180.

³ See note 3, p. 132.

the vigilance of the enemy. Multitudes crowded openly, or stole in secret, to range themselves under the banner of the Messiah. Native Jews and strangers swelled his ranks. It is probable that many of the fugitives from the insurgents in Egypt and Cyrene had found their way to Palestine, and lay hid in caves and fastnesses. Even many who were not Jews, for the sake of plunder and the licence of war, united themselves with the rebels. No doubt, some from the Mesopotamian provinces came to the aid of their brethren. The whole Jewish race throughout the world was in commotion; those who dared not betray their interest in the common cause openly, did so in secret, and perhaps some of the wealthy Jews in the remote provinces privately contributed from their treasures. Bar-cochab, if we may believe the Rabbins, found himself at the head of 200,000 men, a statement somewhat invalidated by the addition, that there was not a soldier who could not, putting his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon by the roots. Those who had denied or disguised their circumcision, hastened to renew that distinguishing mark of their Israelitish descent, and to entitle themselves to a share in the great redemption. The Christians, alone, stood aloof, and would lend no ear, nor pay respect to the claims of another Messiah, a man of robbery and bloodshed, of earthly pretensions, and the aspirant founder of a temporal kingdom. Bar-cochab is reported to have revenged himself by the most cruel persecutions on those most dangerous opponents to his claim as the Messiah.¹

The first expedition of Bar-cochab was to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. As we have before observed, probably some sort of rude town had grown up amid the wreck of the city, even if no preparations had been made for the foundation of *Ælia*. Pious pilgrims, no doubt, stole in secret to pay their adorations on the sacred hill; and some would think it worth while to venture all hazards, if their last remains might repose within the circuit of the Holy City. With what triumph must they have crowded to the same spot, when the conquering banner of the Messiah was unfolded, for here Bar-

¹ Eusebius, quoting Justin Martyr: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ Ἰουδαικῷ πολέμῳ, Βαρχωχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασέως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανούς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῦντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ βλασφημοῖσιν, ἐκέλευεν, ἀγεσθαι.* H. E. iv. 8. Justin Martyr was nearly contemporary with these events, and, as born in Palestine, of good authority. Compare his *Apolog.* c. 31.

cochab openly assumed the name of king, and is said to have issued coins with his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date.¹ Still the Jews avoided a battle in the open field. Turnus Rufus revenged himself with the most unrelenting cruelties on the defenceless. According to Eusebius, he put to death thousands of men, women, and children. But the obstinate courage and activity of the Jews were unbroken; they pursued their deliberate system of defence, so that, on the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, they were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, and 985 villages. But Severus had learned the art of war against desperate savages in Britain. He ventured on no general battle with an enemy now perhaps grown to an overwhelming force;² but he attacked their strongholds in detail, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the greatest distress by famine. Yet the Romans experienced, on their side, considerable losses, for Hadrian, whether with the army or in the neighbourhood, did not adopt the customary form in his despatches to the senate, "I rejoice if all is well with you and your children; with myself and the army all is well."³ In Jerusalem the insurgents were disheartened and confounded by the sudden falling in of some vast subterranean vaults, where, according to tradition, the remains of Solomon were buried. It was reported that this had been the treasure-house, as well as the sepulchre, of the Jewish kings, and stories were current that John Hyrcanus and Herod had successively

¹ There is no historical account of this event, though there seems little doubt of the fact. It is, however, denied, I know not on what grounds, by some modern Jewish writers. Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 79, note. Tychsen and others have concluded, from extant coins, that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, it was from 132 to 135. The coins, however, are of very doubtful date and authority.

There is a long note of Heinichen, on Eusebius, H. E. iv. p. 300, on the whole subject of the war. Heinichen is of the same opinion with me, that the foundation of a new city by Hadrian on the site of Jerusalem was the cause of the war. "Quod vero ad conditum Æliae spectat, tantum abest ut condita fuerit ab Hadriano post partam de Judæis victoriam. Immo bellum Judaicum ex Æliae conditu originem cepit."

² ὁ δὲ ἀντικρος μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἑναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπογνώσιν αὐτῶν ὅρων. Dion Cassius.

³ A fragment of Fronto addressed to M. Antoninus on the Parthian war shows how terrible were the reminiscences of the Jewish war, which is compared with that of the Parthians and of the Britons. "Nonne a Parthis consularis æque vir in Mesopotamiâ trucidatus? Quid avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum a Judæis, quantum ab Britannis cæsum?" Epist. p. 107.

violated the cemeteries, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Now their sudden fall not only made the defences insecure, but was considered as of awful omen.¹ The Romans, probably after a hard contest,² made themselves masters of Jerusalem, and razed every building that remained to the ground: it was then, perhaps, not before, that the plough was passed by Rufus over the devoted ground.³

At length the discipline of the Roman troops, and the consummate conduct of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither alone remained, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents. The situation of this city is not certainly known; it is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea.⁴ How long Bither stood out after the siege was actually formed, is equally uncertain. When affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect (thus write the Rabbins), Eliezer, the son of Hamadai, enjoined the besieged to seek their last resource, prayer to the God of their fathers. All day long the zealous Rabbi was on his knees. As long as he prayed, like Moses during the battle with the Amalekites in the Desert, so long the Jews assumed new courage, and fought with unconquerable fury.⁵ A Samaritan undertook to silence

¹ This was called the *μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος*—the very brief account in Dion Cassius does not indicate the situation of this tomb of Solomon, but the incident must have been of great importance, as being the only fact in the siege thought worthy of record. Cedrenus adds, *σημεῖον δὲ γέγονε τῆς ἀλώσεως αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ τοῦ Σολομῶντος σημεῖον* (melius *μνημεῖον*) *αὐτόματον διαλύθηναι.* —Edit. Bonn. i. 438.

² The whole war appears to have lasted at least three years—132 A.C. to 135.

³ Appian, B.C., speaks of the different destructions of Jerusalem, by Ptolemy king of Egypt, by Titus, and in his own time by Hadrian: *καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὐθις ἐπ' ἔμοι.* The war was related at length in the Samaritan Book of Joshua: “*Obsidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ per Adrianum fusè pertexitur*”—apud Fabric. Cod. Epig. V.T. p. 887. It does not appear at this length in the later edition of that book. Euseb. Dem. Evang. vi. 18: *μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Αὐτοκράτορα κινήσεως αὐθις Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενομένης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἡμίσιον πολιορκηθὲν αὐθις ἐξελαύνεται, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεύρῳ πάμπαν ἄβατον γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.* Chrysostom, Orat. iii. in Judæos, says that Hadrian, *τὰ λεῖψαν ἀφανίσας πάντα, raised his own statue on the ruins.* This may, however, be mere oratory. Jerome is the authority for the plough-share driven over the Temple: “*aratum Templum in ignominiam gentis oppressæ, a Tito Annio Rufo*” (In Zechariam c. 8), but Jerome confounds the two Tituses. See other passages from the Byzantines (of no authority) in Münter, p. 70-1.

⁴ Jost says that it was a mountain city, not belonging to Judæa, not far from the sea, between Cæsarea and Diospolis, but he cites no authorities (see, however, Itinerarium Antonini). Judenthum, ii. p. 79.

⁵ Jost, Geschichte, iii. p. 251, with authorities.

The reader curious about these extravagances may find them, with quota-

by treachery the devout and prevailing Rabbi. He stole up to him where he was kneeling in prayer on a conspicuous eminence, and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. The vigilant Bar-cochab demanded what was the object of his message. The Rabbi could not answer. The Samaritan, after long pretended reluctance, declared that it was an answer to a secret message confided to him by the Rabbi, about capitulation. Bar-cochab commanded the Rabbi to be executed on the spot. This barbarous measure alienated and dispirited his followers. Bither was at length stormed, Bar-cochab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. It was again on the fatal 9th of Ab¹ (August), the anniversary of the double destruction of Jerusalem, that Bither fell; it was razed to the ground.²

Of the massacre the Rabbins tell frightful stories, but their horror is mitigated by their extravagance. More are said to have fallen at Bither than escaped with Moses from Egypt. The horses waded up to their bits in carnage. Blood flowed so copiously, that the stream carried stones weighing four pounds into the sea, according to their account, forty miles distant. The dead covered eighteen square miles, and the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their ground for seven years. A more trustworthy authority, Dion Cassius,³ states, that during the whole war the enormous number of 580,000 fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease, and fire. The whole of Judæa was a desert; wolves and hyænas went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate; they were reduced to slavery by thousands.

tions at length from the Rabbinical writings, in the *Pugio Fidei* of Raimond Martin, p. 258 *et seqq.*, Edit. du Voisin. Throughout there is utter confusion between this war and that under Vespasian and Titus. Rabbi Jochanan said that there were 80,000 pair of trumpeters, each of whom commanded many hosts. Bar-cochab had 200,000 men, who, to prove their boldness and courage, had cut off one of their fingers. "How," said the wise man, "will you try the prowess of these mutilated men? He who cannot ride full speed and pluck up, as he passes, a cedar of Lebanon by the roots, may be discharged."

¹ The Jewish day of mourning has always been kept on the 9th, though it seems from Josephus that the 10th was the real day of the destruction.

² The absurd statements of the Rabbinical authorities as to the size and populousness of Bither are hardly worth notice except as illustrations of the extraordinary amplifying power of Jewish writers as to numbers. According to the Tract *Gittin* (Eisenmenger, ii. 656) there were 400 synagogues, each synagogue had 400 schoolmasters, each schoolmaster 400 scholars. According to *Echa Rabbathi* (*ibid.*) there were 500 schoolhouses, in the smallest not less than 300 scholars. See another monstrous story—Jost, *Anhang*, iii. p. 185.

³ Dion Cassius, *in loc.*

There was a great fair held under a celebrated Terebinth, which tradition had consecrated as the very tree under which Abraham had pitched his tent.¹ Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as horses. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others transported to Egypt. The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic.² He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and of the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. This is in another place related more at length: "In the midst of his tortures Akiba remembered the moment when the Schema ('Hear O Israel,' &c.) ought to be repeated. He spoke it with devotion, and a glad countenance. T. Annus Rufus . . . beheld him and said, 'Akiba, thou art either become obtuse, or by your stubbornness wouldest provoke still sharper sufferings. Why dost thou smile?' Akiba answered, 'I have had the happy lot almost entirely to fulfil the verse in our daily devotions, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength," for I have yielded myself up entirely to the love of God, and willingly made sacrifice of all my possessions. One thing alone was wanting, to show my love by the offering up of my life; I rejoice that this last trial is come, and I will endure it.'"³ In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flayed alive, and then put to death. The most furious persecution was commenced against all the Rabbins, who were considered the authors and ringleaders of the insurrection. Chanania, the son of Theradion, was detected reading and expounding the Law; he was burned with the book which he was reading. It was forbidden to fill up the number of the great Synagogue, or Sanhedrin, but Akiba, just before his death, had named five new members; and Judah, the son of Bavah, secretly nominated others in a mountain glen, where he had taken refuge. Soldiers were sent to surprise Judah; he calmly awaited their coming, and was transfixed by 300 spears.

¹ Hieronym. in Zechariam c. 8.

² Beræoth, l. 59. Erubin, s. 8, quoted by Jost, iii. 253.

³ Jost might well call this martyrdom. Judenthum, i. p. 69. Chiarini, ii. 336, has another version.

Hadrian, to annihilate for ever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of establishing a new city on the site of Jerusalem, peopled by a colony of foreigners.¹ The city was called *Ælia Capitolina*; *Ælia* after the prænomen of the emperor, *Capitolina* as dedicated to the Jupiter of the Capitol.² An edict was issued, prohibiting any Jew from entering the new city on pain of death, or approaching its environs, so as to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height.³ More effectually to keep them away, the image of a swine was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Christians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and *Ælia* became the seat of a flourishing church and bishopric.

¹ The Chronic. Alexandrinum, after a description of the sale of the Jewish captives under the terebinth, contains an account of buildings erected by Hadrian in *Ælia*, among them a theatre. Edit. Bonn. i. p. 474.

² This fact strengthens my utter disbelief in the erection of a Temple of Venus over the sepulchre of Christ. Hadrian had no special hostility to the Christians. I am glad to find myself in perfect agreement with Bishop Münter: "Er (Hadrianus) war übrigens kein Feind und Verfolger der Christen" (p. 92). Münter suggests that the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, presented by them to Hadrian at Athens, were intended to aid him in discriminating between Christians and Jews. I cannot lay great stress on Moses of Choren, who not merely represents Hadrian as not unfriendly but as settling the Christians in his new city: "Atque ipse Hierosolymam a Vespasiano, Tito, et ab se devastatam instauravit, et ab nomine suo *Æliam* nominavit, cum ipse Adrianus Sol esset appellatus, atque ibi Ethnicos, locavit et Christianos, quorum Episcopus erat Marcus." Mos. Chor. Hist. c. 57. Jost dates from the war of Bar-cochab the distinction drawn by the Romans between the Jews and Christians: "Die erste bedeutende Trennung beider zeigte sich in dem letzten Kriege unter Barcochba, der gegen die Christen Gewalt brauchte" (iv. p. 13).

³ This prohibition is mentioned by many writers. Justin Martyr, *Apolog.*; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 16; Dem. *Ev.* viii. 18; Tertullian, in *Jud.* xv.; Sulpic. Sever. ii. 45, cited at full length, in Heinichen's note on *H. E.* i. p. 298; *Talmud. Bab. Taan.* p. 14; *Mischna*, cited by Jost, 258.

BOOK XIX

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST, AND THE PRINCE
OF THE CAPTIVITY

Re-establishment of the Community—Patriarch of Tiberias—His Power and Dominions—Jews in Egypt—Asia Minor—Greece—Italy—Spain—Gaul—Germany—Origin and Nature of the Rabbinical Authority—The Worship of the Synagogue—Early History of the Patriarchate—Civil Contests—Contests with the Babylonian Jews—Relation with Rome—The Prince of the Captivity—Jews in China.

FOR the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extinguish, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. Hadrian's edict had interdicted circumcision, keeping the Sabbath, instruction in the Law—all the outward acts and usages of the race. These offences were to be punished at the will of the prefect with fine, even with death.¹ It might have appeared impossible that anything like a community should again revive within Palestine; still more so, that the multitudes of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmixed race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, the usual fate of small bodies of strangers settled in remote and unconnected regions. In less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organised communities: one under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Gibbon has briefly stated the growth of the former of these principalities with his usual general accuracy, as regards facts, though the relation is coloured by his sarcastic tone, in

¹ Jost quotes Die Hadrians Verfolgung, in Frankel's "Monatschrift," 1852, p. 80.

which the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race is strongly marked. "Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honours, and to obtain, at the same time, an exemption from the burthensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. Now synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic Law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreaching the idolaters in trade;¹ and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom."²

¹ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 7, traces, of course in a more friendly tone, the growth of this love of wealth, the natural result of the commercial spirit.

² According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, King of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.—Gibbon's Note. The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are possibly more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the

Unfortunately it is among the most difficult parts of Jewish history to trace the growth of the patriarchal authority established in Tiberias, and its recognition by the whole scattered body of the nation, who, with disinterested zeal, and I do not scruple to add, a noble attachment to the race of Israel, became voluntary subjects and tributaries to their spiritual sovereign, and united with one mind and one heart to establish their community on a settled basis. It is a singular spectacle to behold a nation dispersed in every region of the world, without a murmur or repugnance, submitting to the regulations, and taxing themselves to support the greatness, of a supremacy which rested solely on public opinion, and had no temporal power whatever to enforce its decrees. It was not long before the Rabbins, who had been hunted down with unrelenting cruelty, began to creep forth from their places of concealment. The death of Hadrian, in a few years after the termination of the war, and the accession of the mild Antoninus,¹ gave them courage, not merely to make their public appearance, but openly to re-establish their schools and synagogues. The school of Jamnia,² called the Vineyard, because the scholars stood in regular rows, was reopened, and the Jewish youth crowded to the feet of their acknowledged teachers.³ Of the Rabbins who were considered legitimate members of the Great Sanhedrin, there escaped the storm, Simon the son of

stories in the Talmud are not history, in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and, perhaps, embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed. Rabbi Jehuda the Holy prophesied that the destroyers of the second Temple should be conquered by the Persians. He grounded this on Jer. xl. 20 : "Therefore hear the counsel of the Lord that he hath taken against Edom." Jost, iv. 129. See a curious passage (Eisenmenger, i. 237) from Aben-Ezra on Isaiah lxiii. 1, also ii. 69, a passage predicting the destruction of Rome by the Israelites, manifestly post-Mohammedan : "In Talmud namque in locis innumeris quandoque Esau, quandoque Edom, quandoque Seir, quandoque etiam filii Esau vel Edom, vocati sunt Romani, et Roma mons Seir, atque mons Esau." R. Martin, Pugio Fidei, p. 319. See quotations. Basnage has much, too much, of this Idumæan descent of the Romans, from Abarbanel and other late writers, lvii., cviii.

¹ Basnage has heaped together all the romances about the connection of the elder Antoninus with the Jews, invented by later writers. He had been nursed on Jewish milk, circumcised himself, was a pupil of Rabbi Jehuda the Holy (lib. viii. 1). They were not worth refutation.

² Lightfoot, Academiæ Jafnensis Historiæ Fragmenta, and Jost, Geschichte, iv. 29. This school seems to have removed to Ussa or Oscha, the site of which is unknown.

³ Jost, Geschichte, iv. 25, from Sanhedrin, 14.

Gamaliel, who had an hereditary title to the presidency (he is said to have been the only young scholar who escaped the wreck of Bither) : five who had been named by Judah the son of Bavah, Judah the son of Ilai, Simon the son of Jochai, R. Jose,¹ R. Elasar, R. Nehemiah, and lastly, R. Meir.² The first pious care of the Rabbins was to obtain permission to perform funeral rites for their brethren ; this indulgence was long celebrated by a thanksgiving in their daily prayers ; their next was to obtain an abrogation of the persecuting edicts.³ For this purpose Simon Ben Jochai, and a youth of great promise, were sent to Rome. This journey is adorned with the customary fables. They obtained the favour of the emperor by a miraculous cure of his sick daughter. It is certain, however, that Antoninus issued an edict which permitted the Jews to perform the rite of circumcision ;⁴ but, as though he apprehended that the religion of this despised people might still make proselytes, they were forbidden to initiate strangers into the family of Israel.⁵ Still it should seem that in Palestine they were watched with jealous vigilance.⁶ A story is related of the fall of the school in Jamnia (Jabne), which shows as well the unruly spirit of the Jews, as the rigorous police of the Romans. Simon Ben Jochai, who appears to have been by no means a safe person to be entrusted with a mission

¹ The Talmud describes these teachers as Jose B. Halepha, the deep thinker ; Judah B. Ilai, the holy ; Meir, the judicious ; Simon ben Jochai, the Cabbalist ; Simeon ben Gamaliel, the Nasi. Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. p. 32. In his later work, *Judenthum*, ii. 87 *et seqq.*, Jost is not much more full on their specific characters and sayings, though he adduces other instances of their learning and wisdom.

² Of R. Meir it is reported in the Talmud that he was not of Jewish descent, but sprung from the Impostor who set himself up for Nero (after the death of that emperor) in the East. He was a scholar of Akiba.

³ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 44.

⁴ Digest. xviii. viii. 11 : "Circumcidere Judæis filios suos tantum, rescripto Divi Antonini permittitur, in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur." A law of this period was necessary to prohibit Jews from making and circumcising converts. "Cives Romani, qui se Judaico ritu vel servos suos circumcidendi patiuntur, bonis ademptis in insulam perpetuo relegantur ; medici capite puniantur."

"Judæi si alienæ nationis comparatos servos circumciderint, aut deportantur aut capite puniuntur." Jul. Paulus, Rec. Sent. v. 22, *De Seditiosis*.

⁵ Perhaps the confusion between the Jews and Christians, whose rapid progress excited great alarm, might be the real cause of this limitation ; or it might be aimed at the Judaising Christians, who insisted on circumcising their new converts ; though, after all, it is by no means improbable that Judaism still made proselytes from the heathen.

⁶ It is impossible to date the vague sentence in Capitolinus, who, among the victories of Antoninus Pius, writes, "Judæos rebellantes contudit per præsides et legatos." H. A. S. p. 133. Vit. Anton.

to Rome, makes a prominent figure in the narrative.¹ During a public debate, at which R. Jehuda, R. Jose, and R. Simon Ben Jochai were present, the topic of discussion was the national character of their Roman masters. The cautious Jehuda turned the dangerous subject to their praise, on those points on which a Jew might conscientiously admire his oppressors. "How splendid," he exclaimed, "are the public works of this people! In every city they have built spacious market-places for the public use, for the commerce and for the amusement of the inhabitants. They throw noble bridges over rivers, and thus unite separate provinces, and facilitate the mutual intercourse of distant regions. How beautiful are their baths, which contribute as much to the health as to the enjoyment of the people!" Thus spoke R. Jehuda, the president. The fiery Simon Ben Jochai sprang up, and cried aloud, "Why this adulatory encomium on heathens? For what purpose are all these works erected, but to gratify their own rapacity and to facilitate their exactions? Why do they build spacious market-places, but for the assembling together of harlots to gratify their licentiousness? Their baths are erected only for their own sensual delights; their bridges, that their collectors of tribute may pass from land to land. *We* occupy ourselves in Divine lore; *we* study eternal and disregard temporal advantages."²

The consequence of this imprudent speech was a formal accusation before the authorities. Simon was adjudged to have forfeited his life. R. Jose, because he had maintained a suspicious silence, was banished. R. Jehuda alone obtained

¹ Jost in his *Judenthum* places this embassy under the reign of M. Aurelius. But compare the Anhang (*Israeliter*), iv. 226. A Christian bishop is a rival for the cure, by dispossession, of the princess Lucilla. According to Baronius, sub. ann. 163, Lucilla was the daughter of M. Aurelius.

² This remarkable story from the Talmudic Treatise Schabbath, cited by Jost, is curious on account of the boldness of what the Jews said, and not less from their prudent silence. They cannot have been ignorant of the magnificent heathen temples which were erected or restored, if not in Palestine, all around it, during the reigns of the Antonines. To this the costliness and splendour, as well as the noble, if debased, architecture, still bear witness. To that time belong, as well as many temples in Egypt, the temples of Baalbec, probably of Palmyra, of Petra, Gerasa, and those other cities beyond the Jordan visited by Mr. Cyril Graham. On this remarkable subject the history of the Antonines (in truth almost a total blank) gives no information, and it has not been worked out with sufficient accuracy by architects, the masters in the history of their art, from the buildings themselves. Capitolinus, after reciting the magnificent buildings of Antoninus at Rome, adds, "Multas etiam civitates adjuvit pecuniâ, ut opera vel nova facerent, vel vetera restituerent." In Antonin.

a general licence to teach. Simon fled, but the school was suppressed. Another proof of the perpetual apprehension of insurrection is thus related:—The trumpet blast, which was sounded at the commencement of the month Tisri, awakened the suspicion of a governor, ignorant of Hebrew customs: it was reported to be a signal for general revolt. The governor was appeased by a prudent arrangement of Simon, the son of Gamaliel,¹ who ordered that the trumpet should sound, not at the commencement, only in the middle of the prayers, thus clearly forming part of the service.

Nor was the reign of the philosophic M. Aurelius without danger to, perhaps not without well-grounded suspicion of, the Jews. The victories of Avidius Cassius over Vologeses, king of Parthia, and the capture of Ctesiphon, after a long siege, brought the Mesopotamian Jews once more under the dominion of Rome. Seleucia, in which there were many Jews, capitulated; but, in violation of the terms, four or five thousand were put to the sword. Cassius assumed the purple in Syria; the Jews are supposed to have joined his standard, for Marcus Aurelius, though he displayed his characteristic lenity towards the Roman insurgents, punished the intractable Jews with the repeal of the favourable laws of Antoninus Pius. Their conduct seems to have ruffled the temper of the philosophic emperor, who declared that they were more unruly than the wild Sauromatæ and Marcomanni, against whom he was engaged in war.²

Yet these severe laws were either speedily annulled, or never carried into execution. The Rabbinical dominion gradually rose to greater power; the schools flourished; perhaps in this interval the great Synagogue or Sanhedrin had its other migrations, from Osha to Shepharaam, from Shepharaam to Bethshaaraim, from Bethshaaraim to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias, where it fixed its pontifical throne, and maintained its supremacy for several centuries. Tiberias, it may be remembered, was a town built by Herod Antipas, over an ancient cemetery, and therefore abominated by the more scrupulous Jews, as a dwelling of uncleanness. But the

¹ Jost, iv. 52.

² "Ille (M. Aurelius), cum Palæstinam transiret *fætentium* Judeorum et tumultuantum tædio percitus dolenter dicitur exclamasse, O Marcomanni! O Quadi! O Sauromatæ! tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni?" Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 5. Inquietiores must be the right reading, not inertiores. The "*fætentium*" is rather of the time of Ammianus than of M. Aurelius.

Rabbins soon obviated this objection. Simon Ben Jochai,¹ by his cabalistic art, discovered the exact spot where the burial-place had been ; this was marked off, and the rest of the city declared, on the same unerring authority, to be clean. Here, then, in this noble city, on the shore of the sea of Galilee, the Jewish pontiff fixed his throne ; the Sanhedrin, if it had not, as the Jews pretend, existed during all the reverses of the nation, was formally re-established. Simon, the son and heir of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the Patriarch of the Jews, and Nasi or President of the Sanhedrin. R. Nathan was the Ab-beth-din ; and the celebrated R. Meir, the Hachim, or Head of the Law. In every region of the West, in every province of the Roman empire, the Jews of all ranks and classes submitted, with the utmost readiness, to the sway of their Spiritual Potentate. His mandates were obeyed, his legates received with honour, his supplies levied without difficulty, in Rome, in Spain, in Africa. At a somewhat later period, probably about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Christian writer, Origen, thus describes the power of the Jewish Patriarch : "Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didrachm, how great, by the permission of Cæsar, is the power of their Ethnarch ! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king. For they secretly pass judgments according to their Law, and some are capitally condemned, not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the emperor. This I have learned, and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."²

Here, then, it may be well to take a survey of these dominions of the Western Patriarch, to ascertain, as far as possible, the origin and condition of the different settlements of Jews in Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, the constitution of their societies, and the nature of the authority exercised by the supreme pontiff.

It will have been seen, in many incidental notices, that long before the dissolution of the Jewish state, and before the promulgation of Christianity, this people were widely dispersed over the whole face of the globe. The following passage of Philo, in his letter of Agrippa, which might be confirmed by other quotations from Josephus, describes their state in his own days (the reign of Caligula) : "Jerusalem is the city of

¹ Jost, iv. 69.

² Origenes ad Africanum Epist. cxiv.

my ancestors, the metropolis, not only of Judæa, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlesyria ; and into more distant regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greatest part of Asia Minor, as far as Bithynia, and the remotest shores of the Euxine ; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and those the best, parts of the Peloponnesus : and not only are the Continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates ; for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon and the Satrapies of the rich adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants.”¹ The events of Jewish History in Palestine tended to increase rather than to diminish the number of those who were either dragged away as captives, or sought peace and security from the devastation of their native land in the less troubled provinces of the empire. Even where they suffered most, through their own turbulent disposition or the enmity of their neighbours, they sprang again from their undying stock, however it might be hewn by the sword or seared by the fire. Massacre seemed to have no effect in thinning their ranks, and, like the fore-fathers in Egypt, they still multiplied under the most cruel oppression. In Egypt and Cyrene, indeed, they had experienced the greatest losses, but on the visit of Hadrian to Alexandria, he found the city and country still swarming with Jews. The origin and history of the Egyptian, as well as of the Syrian Jews, have been already traced. The Jews of Asia Minor owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great, who settled vast numbers in the different cities in that region. From Asia Minor they probably spread to Greece and to the Islands. The clearest notion of their numbers in all this part of the world, including Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, may be formed from the narrative of the Apostolic journeys. Whatever city Paul enters, he seems to find a synagogue and

¹ Many passages in Josephus illustrate and confirm this statement of Philo. The following, quoted from Strabo, is of perhaps higher authority than the statement of any Jew :—καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ἥδης εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης, διὸ οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φύλον, μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Strabo enlarges on their vast numbers in Egypt and Cyrene. Οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος, διὸ μοῦραν ὑμετέραν ἔχων—from the speech of Agrippa, B. J. ii. 16. 4. Compare B. J. vii. 3, as to the vast numbers in Syria, especially in Antioch. Proselytes were numerous in Antioch.

a number of his countrymen, many of whom were powerful and opulent. I need only name the cities of Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamus, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is probable that in Asia Minor, and in Alexandria, the later Jews first generally adopted their commercial habits; but their condition was much more secure in the former country than among the fiery inhabitants of the factious Egyptian city. Many public decrees are extant,¹ not only of the Roman authorities, particularly Julius Cæsar, which secure important privileges to the Jewish residents in Asia Minor, but likewise local ordinances of the different cities, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Miletus, highly favourable to these foreign denizens, and seeming to show that the two races lived together on terms of perfect amity. In some of the occurrences related in the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews, in those times, appear a considerable and influential, by no means the proscribed and odious, race which they were held to be in other quarters. The public decrees usually gave them the title of Roman citizens, a privilege to which many of the Jews (the well-known instance of St. Paul will occur to every one) had undoubtedly attained. It was their great object to obtain exemption from military service. In other times they do not seem to have objected to enrol themselves in the armies of their rulers. Some are said to have been in Alexander's army; and an improbable story is told, by a doubtful authority, Hecatæus, of their refusing, and obtaining an exemption from being employed in building an idolatrous temple in Babylon. The striking story of Mosellama is more authentic.² But most likely, having betaken themselves to the more lucrative occupations of peace, at later periods they pleaded that it was contrary to their religion to fight, or to work, or even to march on the Sabbath, and that they could not partake of the same meat with the other soldiers; their plea seems to have been admitted. Of their wealth we have a curious evidence. Their contributions to the Temple were so ample as to excite the jealous rapacity of the Roman

¹ Read the elaborate dissertation of Krebs, *Decreta Romanorum pro Judæis facta*, Lipsiæ, 1768.

² While some Greek soldiers were watching with superstitious anxiety the flight of a bird, which was to be of good or evil omen, they were horror-struck to see it fall, transfixed by the arrow of their Jewish comrade. The Jew calmly answered, "How much must yonder bird have known of the secrets of futurity, which knew not how to avoid the arrow of Mosellama the Jew?"

governor. Cicero, in a memorable oration, vindicates Flaccus for not having permitted the provinces to be drained of their wealth for such a purpose, and holds up his example to other governors, complaining that Italy itself suffered by the exportation of so much wealth.¹

The origin of the Jews in Italy, or rather in Rome, is very obscure. It is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem. These slaves were publicly sold in the markets; yet, if we are to believe Philo, they were emancipated almost without exception by their tolerant masters, who were unwilling to do violence to their religious scruples. Is it not more probable that there were some, if not many, opulent commercial Jews already in Rome, who, with their usual national spirit, purchased, to the utmost of their means, their unhappy countrymen, and enabled them to settle in freedom in the great metropolis? The passage in Cicero alluded to above, is conclusive evidence to the wealth of the Jewish community in Italy. They were among the mourners, the most sincere mourners, at the obsequies of Julius Cæsar.² They wailed for many nights around his entombment. No doubt their detestation of Pompey, the first Roman violator of their sanctuary, would deepen their respect for his rival and conqueror. However they obtained their freedom, it is certain that a vast number of Jewish libertines or freed-slaves inhabited Rome. Tacitus states their number at 4000.³ It appears from

¹ Cic. pro Flacco. Comp. ii. p. 50.

² "Præcipue Judæi qui noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt." Suet. Jul. c. 84.

³ If credit is to be given to a reading in Valerius Maximus, as it is found in two Epitomators, Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus, the Jews were of much older date in Rome. The old reading was, "Idem (C. Cornelius Hispalla, prætor peregrinus) [Hispalla lived in the consulship of M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Calpurnius, A.U. 615, B.C. 139] qui Sabazii Jovis cultu simulato mores Romanos inficere conati sunt, domos suas repetere coegit."

The Epitomators read:—

Paris.

"Idem Judæos qui Sabazii Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit."

Nepotianus.

"Judæos quoque qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit, arasque privatas a publicis locis abjecit."

If this reading be genuine, we find the Jews not merely settled in Rome, but a dangerous and proselyting people, three-quarters of a century before the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey. But this fact requires, in my judgment, much better authority. The age of Julius Paris is altogether uncertain; he

Josephus, as we have seen, that 8000 were present when Archelaus appeared before Augustus, and a vast number poured out to welcome the false Alexander. They formed the chief population of the Transtiberine region.¹ They shared (that is, the less wealthy) in the general largess of corn which was distributed among the poorer inhabitants of the city: by a special favour of Augustus,² if the distribution fell on a Sabbath, their portion was reserved. They were expelled by Tiberius, and a great number drafted off as soldiers to the unwholesome island of Sardinia;³ by Caligula they were oppressed; by Claudius once more expelled, or at least their synagogues closed on account of the feuds between the Jews and Christians.⁴ Yet here, as elsewhere, oppression and persecution seemed not to be the slightest check to their increase. They had a sort of council, or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dispute. To this, no doubt, either in

has been placed as early as Hadrian (Kemf. *Præf.* p. 66). Nepotianus is not earlier than the fourth century. But both are post-Christian writers. The fact itself is sufficiently startling. And what have the Jews to do with Jupiter Sabazius—a Phrygian god? Some indeed have suggested Sabati; others D. Sabaoth. The private altars of the Jews erected in public places is a manifest absurdity. I have no hesitation in rejecting the whole as a flagrant anachronism, introduced into the text of Valerius, after the time when the Jews, either of themselves or as connected with the Christians, had become much more familiar to the general ear. See the new edition of Valerius, by Kemf, Berlin, 1834. The Epitomators were first published by Cardinal Mai.

¹ "Hoc quod *Transstiberinus* ambulator,
Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis
Permutat vitreis."—MART. i. 42.

This was the case in the time of Caligula: *τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥωμής ἀποτομὴν ἦν οὐκ ἡγύνει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερώθεντες* αἰχμαλώτοι γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἐλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες.

Philo, Leg. ed. Mangey, ii. p. 560.

It is amusing to see the malicious satisfaction with which Basnage attempts

to prove against his Roman Catholic opponents that they were possessors of

the Vatican.

² It seems to have been the amusement of the idle youth of Rome to visit the Jewish synagogue. The well-known passage in the ninth satire of Horace will occur to the classical reader. Though I have some doubts whether the Judaism of the poet's friend, Fuscus Aristius, has not been inferred on insufficient grounds.

³ "Si ob gravitatem cœli interirent, vile damnum," writes the contemptuous historian.

⁴ "Judæos impulsore Chreste assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit." Suet. Claudius.

Dion gives a milder edict. They were not expelled, on account of their numbers: *τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους, πλεονασάντας αὐθίς, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἀν ἄνευ παραχῆς, ὑπὸ τοῦ δχλον σφῶν τῆς πολεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἔξηλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δῆ πατρίων νόμῳ καὶ βίᾳ χρησαμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροιζέσθαι.* L. ix. 6.

the synagogue or law court attached to it, St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct. The numbers of the Jews in Rome were doubtless much increased, but their respectability as well as their popularity much diminished, by the immense influx of the most destitute as well as of the most unruly of the race, who were swept into captivity by thousands after the fall of Jerusalem. The change appears to be very marked. The language of the incidental notices which occur about the Jews in the Latin authors, after this period, seems more and more contemptuous, and implies that many of them were in the lowest state of penury, the outcasts of society. Juvenal¹ bitterly complains that the beautiful and poetic grove of Egeria was let out to mendicant hordes of Jews, who pitched their camps like gipsies, in the open air, with a wallet and a bundle of hay for their pillow, as their only furniture. Martial² alludes to their filth, and, what is curious enough, describes them as pedlars, vendors of matches, which they trafficked for broken glass.³

¹ “ Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.”—S. iii. 12.

See also the passage about the Jews, xiv. 96 *et seqq.*

² More foetid

“ quam jejunia sabbatariorum.”—iv. 6, 7.

“ A matre doctus nec rogare Judæos,
Nec sulfuratæ lippus institor mercis.”—xii. 57.

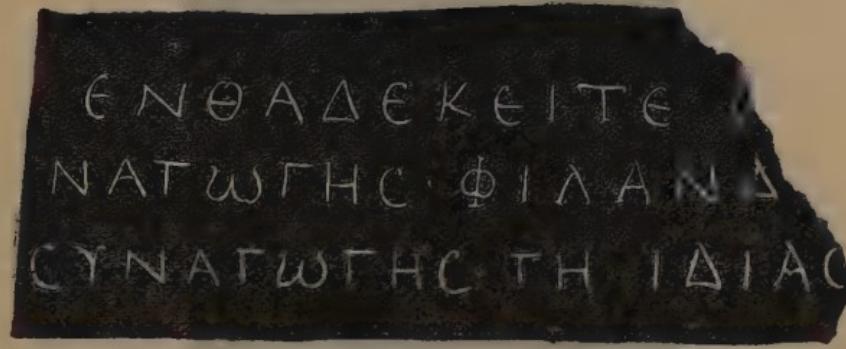
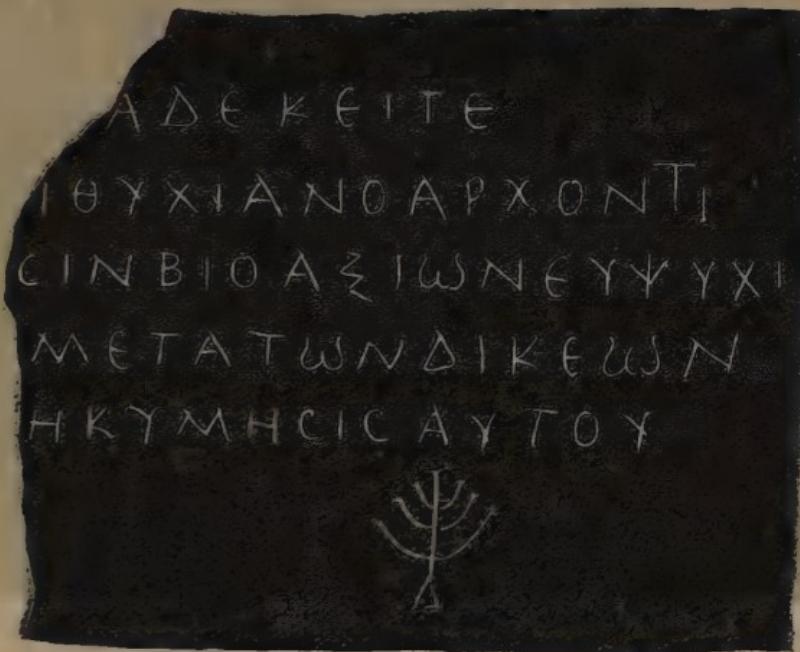
Compare vi. 94; vii. 30, 35, 82.

So too Statius:—

“ Illic agmina confremunt Syrorum,
Hic plebs scenica, quique communitis
Permutant vitreis gregale sulphur.”—*Silvae*, i. iv. 72.

³ Another curious illustration of the numbers of Jews in Rome is to be found in their catacombs. There can be no doubt, as observed by a late writer, Mr. Burgo*n*, “ that the motive of burying in a catacomb was in the first instance neither heathen nor Christian, but Jewish.” Burgo*n*, Letters from Rome, p. 130. The Jews had a religious horror of burning the dead. The catacombs, whatever their origin, would bear a strong likeness to the caves in the rocks, in which, from Abraham to the burying place of Nicodemus, they had been wont to inter their ancestors. The chapter of Bosio (xxii.) is full on the Jewish catacomb near the Porta Portese, conveniently situated for the Trans-tiberine Jews. It is curious that another Jewish catacomb has been recently discovered at no great distance from their settlement, alluded to by Juvenal, near the fountain of Egeria. In this, all the inscriptions, I believe, as far as yet discovered, have been in Greek, except one or two Latin. Of the older Jewish inscriptions Mr. Burgo*n* cites four in Greek. In Bosio may be seen the seven-branched candlestick from the catacomb near the Porta Portese. Nor is it only at Rome that Jewish catacombs have been discovered. At Venosa there have been found some very remarkable ones, with many inscriptions, twenty-four in Hebrew. They bear the seven-branched candlestick and a pigeon with an olive branch. “ The Latin and Greek inscriptions are

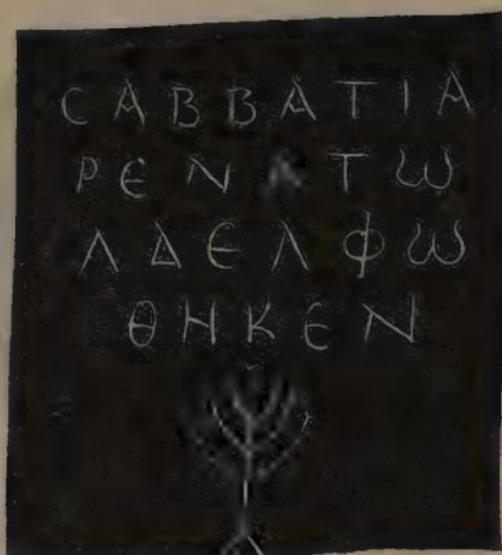
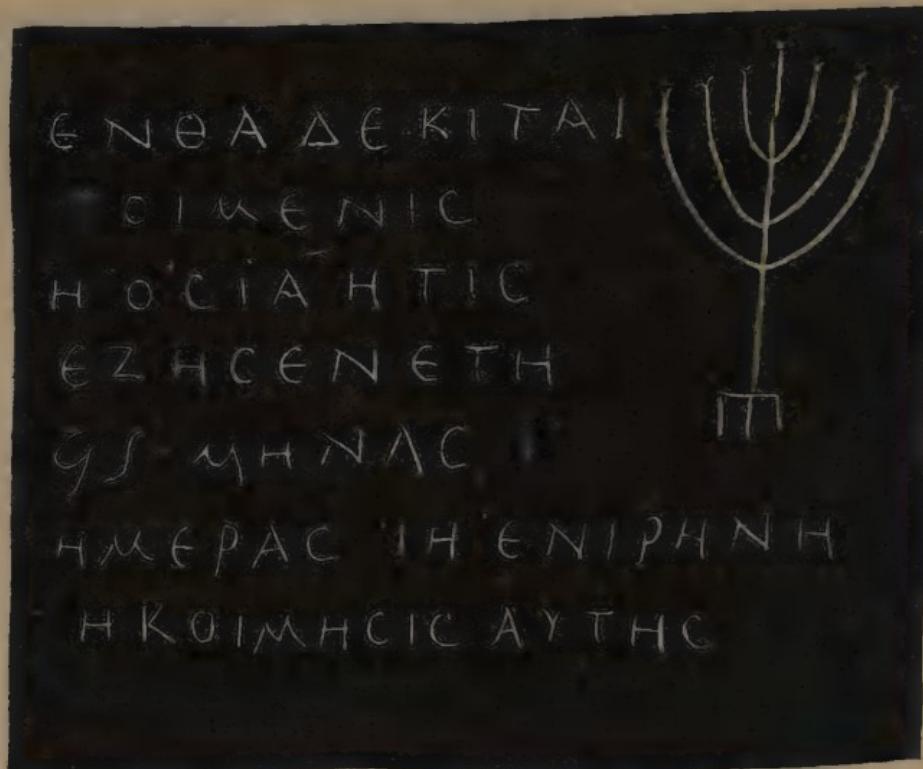
Of their establishment in the other provinces in the Roman Empire, we have no certain information. In the Middle Ages the most extraordinary fables were invented concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain. Those relating to the latter country may serve as a specimen. There



JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATACOMBS—ROME.

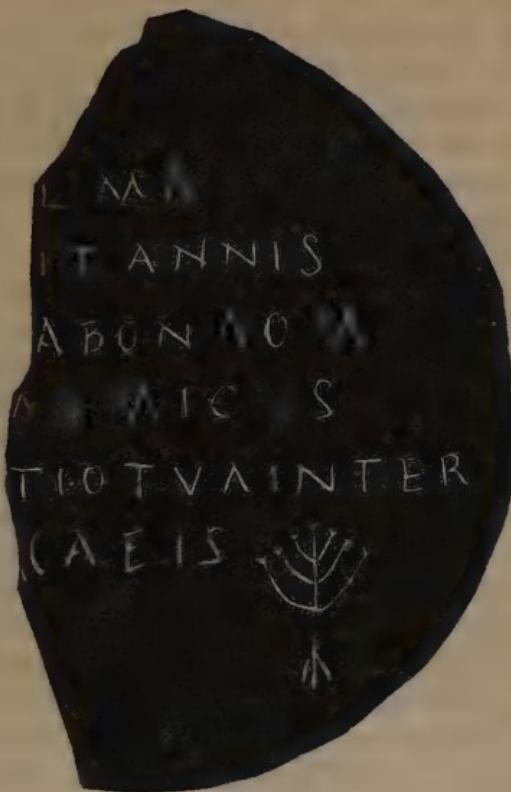
misspelt, but the Hebrew ones are more correct; they generally consist of a prayer for the repose and blessing of the dead." Others are well known at Naples, also in other places (Lavello and Oria) in that kingdom. Murray's Handbook for Southern Italy, p. 382.

By the favour of Signore Visconti I am able to insert one or two of the inscriptions from the newly-discovered catacomb, and some of the rude emblems, perpetually found in the Jewish catacombs.



JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS—ROME: FROM THE WORK OF SIGNORE VISCONTI.

they claimed descent from maritime adventurers in the time of Solomon, or from a part of their race transported to that



JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CATACOMBS.¹

¹ Later excavations have brought to light other curious circumstances concerning this Jewish catacomb. See Cimitero degli Antiche Ebrei, per Rafælli Garrucci, Romæ, 1862. I. Before the entrance of the actual cemetery, there appears to have been a synagogue or proseucha (p. 5), closely resembling the mortuary chapels or places of worship of the early Christians. II. Of forty-three inscriptions, twelve only were in Latin (p. 63), thirty-one Greek, a singular illustration of the prevalence of Greek among the early Christians. But "the Latin proper names are double the number of the Greek; the Greek, again, twice as many as the Hebrew or Aramaic." Is not this easily accounted for? A large proportion of the Jews were freedmen, who, as usual, took the name of the master who had emancipated them. There is not a single Hebrew or Aramaic epitaph, but the words **ישראל שלום** and **על שלום** frequently occur (p. 26).

Moreover, if Signore Garrucci is right in his conclusions, there were seven synagogues of the Jews in different quarters of the city, each with its special name, the prototypes of the Christian tituli or parishes of Rome. Each had its archon or archontes, the archisynagogi, or presbyters—elders (p. 53), &c.

country when Nebuchadnezzar¹ conquered Spain!² Hebrew derivations were found for many of the Spanish cities, which proved, to the satisfaction even of later antiquaries,³ the early settlement of the Jews in that region; forgetting entirely the close affinity of the Phœnician and Punic dialects with the Hebrew, and the successive occupation of (at least maritime) Spain by these kindred nations. In fact, the Jews spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as free men with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Some, no doubt, made their livelihood by reputable traffic or industry, and attained to opulence; others were adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained their subsistence. The heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unsocial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more destitute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling; many, half impostors and half enthusiasts, gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative advancement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.⁴

Yet, in some points, all of Hebrew blood, rich and poor, high and low, concurred, in their faithful attachment to their synagogue, their strict subordination to their religious teachers, and through their synagogue and teachers to the great spiritual head of their community, the Patriarch of Tiberias. While the Temple stood, these scattered settlements of the Jews were

¹ In the *Études sur les Juifs d'Espagne* (translated by J. G. Magnabal, from the Spanish of J. Amador de los Rios, Paris, 1861), these fables are related, and rejected as utterly unhistoric. The curious reader may find the letter said to have been written by the Head of the Synagogue at Toledo, reproving the High Priest Eleasar . . . Annas and Caiaphas with the unjustifiable death of our Saviour.

² These fables were probably invented for the purpose of excusing themselves with the Christians, as, having long before been separated from the nation, they could not have borne any part in the guilt of the Crucifixion of Christ. When the Christians took Toledo, this plea was urged; perhaps it was invented at that time.

³ i.e. Escalone from Ascalon, Toledo from Toledoth, "the Generations," &c.

⁴ "Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt."—Juv. vi. 547.

colonies of a nation ; after its fall, they became independent communities, yet held together by their unchangeable usages, by the worship in the synagogues, by the Law and the interpreters of the Law (the Rabbins), by their schools of learning, by aversion, not without ground, for the idolatries and vices, as well as the hatred, of the heathen.¹ Wherever Jews resided, a synagogue might be, and usually was, formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Patriarch.

¹ Among the tracts in the Mischna, one of the most historically curious and instructive is the Avoda Sara on foreign worship. It is directed exclusively against idolatry, and manifestly belongs to a period when Heathenism, not Christianity, was the enemy and antagonist of Judaism. It is the Law of a people dwelling among, and in constant intercourse with, idolaters. Three entire days before the great festivals of the heathen, and three after, it was prohibited to Israelites to have commerce, either of buying or selling, lending or borrowing with them, lest the Jew should contribute to the worship of false gods. The great festivals were the Calends, the Saturnalia, the commemoration of conquests, the days of the inauguration of the birth and of the death of the emperor. All funeral pomp, of burning, or apotheosis, was idolatrous ; where this did not take place it was not idolatrous. It was prohibited to have intercourse with the heathen on days of private worship, as when a man began to shave his beard to commemorate his escape from shipwreck or from prison. If a city celebrated a festival, the Jew might have intercourse with the heathen in the suburbs, and there only ; if the suburbs, only in the city. Certain things might not be sold to idolaters—citrons, large white and some other kinds of figs, frankincense, white fowls (if these were sold, the sellers were to cut off a claw, as the heathen would not offer mutilated victims) ; neither bears nor lions, nor any hurtful things, arms, or military engines, chains, or fetters. They were not to aid in building basilicas or scaffolds for execution, neither circuses nor theatres ; as to baths, not the niches or shrines which contained images ; neither to work ornaments for idols, such as chains, earrings, rings. (But R. Elieser said these might be sold, if a fair price were paid !) They might not let houses or fields to the heathen in Judæa ; in Syria or elsewhere they might. No Jewish woman might remain alone with an idolater. They might buy medicines of the heathen, but not allow idolaters to mix up medicines for them. These are but a few of the subtle provisions which went into the most minute questions of food, the use of the same vessels and furniture, even of personal contact. The Jew might drink milk if he saw it drawn by a pagan (he must see it, lest the animal should be unclean). He might not sit under the shade of a tree worshipped by an idolater ; trees by the public wayside did not make unclean ; wood might not be used cut from a sacred tree unless the tree had been profaned. There were certain rules by which a pagan was considered to have rendered even an idol profane. If *he sold or purchased it, it became profane*. I conclude this brief summary of these singular provisions with this story :—The senators of Rome asked the Jews, “If God, the one true God as you assert, is not within those things which we worship as idols, why does he not utterly destroy them ?” “No doubt,” answered the Jews, “he would so destroy them, if they were things of which the world has no great need. But idolaters worship the sun, the moon, and the stars. Were it just that, on account of fools, God should make desolate the world ?” They rejoined, “But why does he not destroy those things of which we make idols, which the world needs not ?” The Jews answered, “The idolaters would only be confirmed in their superstition : they would say there must be divinity in those things left for our worship, all other things being destroyed.”

These legates were called apostles. The office probably existed before the fall of Jerusalem. The apostles collected the contributions for the Temple. They had authority to regulate all differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet in every synagogue, commanding the payment of the tribute: its final day of settlement was on the last of May. On the return of these legates they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as counsellors, and held a distinguished rank among the people. The early Christians accuse the Jews of having sent messengers throughout the world, for the purpose of anathematising them in their synagogues, and uttering a solemn curse upon the name of Jesus Christ. It is by no means unlikely that these ordinary legates received instructions to warn all the faithful Israelites against this detested innovation, and to counteract by every means in their power the progress of the new religion. No doubt the rapid growth of Christianity tended to strengthen the power of the synagogue, by constantly keeping alive the vigilance, and inflaming the zeal, of the more steadfast and ardent adherents to the Law. Indeed the point which mitigates, more than any other, our compassion for the sufferings of the Jews, is the readiness with which they joined the heathen in the persecution of the Christians. Too often the Jews, though themselves eating the bitter bread of slavery, and instructed in the best school for the humarer feelings, adversity, were seen rejoicing by the stake of the expiring Christian. In the beautiful description of the death of Polycarp, there is a frightful incident of the Jews shouting for the execution, and busy in keeping the wood around the body of the holy martyr.¹

The worship of the synagogue, with its appendant school or law court, where lectures were given, and knotty points of the Law debated, became the great bond of national union, and has continued, though the monarchical centre of unity in Tiberias disappeared in a few centuries, to hold together the

¹ Polycarp. Martyr. c. xii., xiii. *et seqq.* There is a curious passage in the account of the martyrs of Palestine, by Eusebius, recently discovered in Syriac, and translated by Dr. Cureton. It describes the Jews of Lydda (Diospolis), when witnessing several martyrdoms of Christians, surprised to hear the Christians, being Egyptians, called by Jewish names, Elias, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Daniel. One of the martyrs prayed for the Jews and Samaritans who stood around. Cureton, pp. 37, 38.

scattered nation in the closest uniformity. The worship of the synagogue is extremely simple.² Wherever ten Jews were found, there a synagogue ought to be formed. The Divine Presence, the invisible Shechinah, descends not but where ten are met together; if fewer, the Divine Visitant was supposed to say, "Wherefore come I, and no one is here?" It was a custom, therefore, in some of the more numerous communities, to appoint ten "men of leisure," whose business it was to form a congregation.³ The buildings were plain; in their days of freedom it was thought right that the house of prayer to God, from its situation or its form, should overtop the common dwellings of man; but in their days of humiliation, in strange countries, the lowly synagogue, the type of their condition, was content to lurk undisturbed in less conspicuous situations.⁴ Even in Palestine the synagogues must have been small, for Jerusalem was said to contain 460 or 480; the foreign Jews, from the different quarters of the world, seem each to have had their separate building, where they communicated in prayer with their neighbours and kindred. Such were the synagogues of the Alexandrians, the Cyrenians, and others. Besides the regular synagogues, which were roofed, in some places they had chapels or oratories open to the air, chiefly perhaps where their worship was not so secure of protection from the authorities; these were usually in retired and picturesque situations, in groves, or on the seashore. In the distribution of the synagogue, some remote resemblance to the fallen Temple was kept up. The entrance was from the east: in the centre stood an elevated tribune or rostrum, in the place of the great altar, where prayer, the only permitted sacrifice, and if from an humble and contrite heart, doubtless most acceptable to their Almighty Father, was constantly offered, and the Book of the Law was read. At the west end stood a chest, in which the Book was laid up, making the place, as it were, an humble Holy of Holies, though now no longer separated by a veil, nor protected by the Cherubim and

¹ This is chiefly compiled from Lightfoot, *Vitrina de Syn. Vet.*, Jost, and other authorities.

² On the Liturgies or forms of prayer, read Jost, i. 173 *et seqq.*

³ Such seems the simple solution of a question on which learned volumes have been written.

⁴ We shall see hereafter that in their days of splendour in the Spanish peninsula, and perhaps in some other countries, they aspired to higher architectural grandeur.

Mercy Seat. Particular seats, usually galleries, were railed off for the women.

The chief religious functionary in the synagogue was called the angel, or bishop. He ascended the tribune, repeated or chanted the prayers, his head during the ceremony being covered with a veil. He called the reader from his place, opened the book before him, pointed out the passage, and overlooked him that he read correctly. The readers, who were three in number on the ordinary days, seven on the morning of the Sabbath, five on festivals, were selected from the body of the people. The Law of course was read, and the prayers likewise repeated, in the Hebrew language.¹ The days of public worship in the synagogue were the Sabbath,² the second and fifth days of the week, Monday and Thursday. There was an officer in the synagogues out of Palestine, and probably even within its borders, called an interpreter, who translated the Law into the vernacular tongue, usually Greek in the first case, or Syro-Chaldaic in the latter. Besides the bishop, there were three elders, or rulers, of the synagogue, who likewise formed a court or consistory for the judgment of all offences. They had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging;³ from Origen's account, the Patriarch of Tiberias had assumed the power of life and death. But the great control over the public mind lay in the awful sentence of excommunication. The anathema of the synagogue cut off the offender from the Israel of God; he became an outcast of society. The first

¹ In the earlier times there can be no doubt that the version of the LXX. was read in the Greek or Hellenist synagogues (Basnage, viii. 1). But the gradual withdrawal of the Jews within themselves, the disputes with the Christians, who almost invariably cited the LXX. (read Justin Martyr against Trypho), first limited this usage, as the Gemara states, to the five Books of the Law, afterwards proscribed it; and the old adage, "he who teaches his son Greek, is as he who eats swineflesh," became an orthodox maxim. The Hellenists from a respectable class of brethren became an odious sect. But the later Jews were too wise rigidly to confine their prayers, however they might keep their Scriptures in their inviolable sanctity, to a learned language.

² For the thirty-nine things forbidden on the Sabbath, see Jost, Judenthum, i. 178. They were chiefly works of husbandry, sowing, ploughing, reaping, &c.; of handicrafts, spinning, weaving, &c.; hunting, killing game, &c.; writing two letters, or effacing them to write them again; building; putting out or lighting fires. To these prohibitions the *wise* added many others: playing with nuts or almonds, climbing, riding, or whatever gave cause for forbidden work.

³ The scourging with forty stripes save one was long in the power of the synagogue. "Has any Montanist," demands the orthodox writer against the Montanists (Euseb. v. 16), "ever been scourged or stoned in the synagogue of the Jews?" The adventurer Acosta, in the seventeenth century, describes his own scourging in Amsterdam. Bayle, Acostæ.

process, usually, was the censure; the name and the offence of the delinquent were read for four succeeding Sabbaths, during which he had time to make his peace with the congregation. At the end of that period the solemn Niddui, or interdict, was pronounced with the sound of trumpets,¹ which for thirty days separated the criminal from the hopes and privileges of Israel. For more heinous offences, and against contumacious delinquents, the more terrific Cherem, or the still more fatal Shammata, the excommunication, was proclaimed. The Cherem inflicted civil death, but, on due repentance and reparation for the crime, the same authority which denounced, might repeal the Cherem—the absolved offender was restored to life. But no power could cancel the irrevocable Shammata. Some indeed have doubted whether the last sentence was ever pronounced, or even was known to the Law.² Prudence would certainly have advised the disuse of a practice which might drive the desperate offender to seek that consolation in another faith which was irrevocably denied him in his own: the Church would have opened its gates to receive him who was doomed to perpetual exile from the Synagogue. The sentence of excommunication was couched in the most fearful phrases. The delinquent was excommunicated, anathematised, accursed—by the Book of the Law, by the ninety-three precepts, by the malediction of Joshua against Jericho, by that of Elisha against the children who mocked him, and so on through all the terrific threatenings of the ancient law and history. He was accursed by the mysterious names of certain spirits of deadly power. He was accursed by heaven and earth, by the Seraphim, and by the heavenly orbs. “Let nothing good come out of him, let his end be sudden, let all creatures become his enemies, let the whirlwind crush him, the fever and every other malady and the edge of the sword smite him, let his death be unforeseen, and drive him into outer darkness.” Excommunication, as we have said, inflicted a civil death; how far, at least in the milder form, it excluded from the synagogue, seems not quite clear. But no one, except his wife and children, might approach the moral leper—all others must avoid him the distance of a toise. If there were a dead body in his house, no one might inter it;

¹ Compare Vitringa on the blowing of trumpets at the time of excommunication, i. 204; on the general subject, p. 743 *et seqq.*; Eisenmenger, i. 119.

² Vitringa questions the use of the Shammata.

if a child were born, the father must circumcise it. Public detestation was not appeased by death. No one mourned him who died excommunicated ; his coffin was stoned, and a heavy slab was placed over his remains by the hands of justice, either as a mark of infamy, or to prevent him from rising again at the last day. No doubt these spiritual terrors were often abused by the domineering Rabbi ; but it is as little to be questioned that they exercised a high moral influence. The excommunication smote the adulterer, or the unnatural father, who, in their striking language, more cruel than the ravens, neglected the children whom God had given.

The influence of the Rabbins was not grounded on the public services of religion alone. The whole course of education was committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence.¹ In all those interesting epochs of domestic life in which the heart is most open to impressions of reverence and attachment, the Rabbi, even where the ancient Levite had no office, had made himself an indispensable part of the ceremony. When the house rejoiced in the birth of a man child, though circumcision was not necessarily performed in the synagogue, nor was the operator usually of that order, yet ill-omened and unblest was the eighth-day feast which was not graced by the presence of a Rabbi. In marriages the Rabbi joined the hands, pledged the cup, and pronounced the seven prayers of benediction over the wedded pair. The Rabbi attended the sick man, and consoled him with the assurance of the certain resurrection of all faithful Israelites to their exclusive Paradise, and he was present at the interment of the dead. Nor was this all : by degrees the whole life of the Jew was voluntarily enslaved to more than Brah-

¹ The following is considered the authorised course of Jewish education. As soon as the children can speak, they are taught certain religious axioms ; from three or four to six or seven they learn their letters ; at that age they go to school, and are taught to read the Pentateuch ; at ten they commence the Mischna ; at thirteen and one day they are considered responsible, and are bound to keep the 613 precepts of the Law ; at fifteen they study the Gemara, i.e. the Talmud ; at eighteen they marry ; at twenty they enter into business.

"Filius quinque annorum ad Biblia. Filius decem annorum ad Mischna. Filius tredecim annorum ad præcepta. Filius quindecim annorum ad Talmud. Filius decem et octo annorum ad nuptias. Filius viginti annorum ad sectandum (divitias). Filias triginta annorum ad robur. Filius quadraginta annorum ad prudentiam. Filius quinquaginta annorum ad consilium. Filius sexaginta annorum ad senectutem. Filius septuaginta annorum ad canitatem. Filius nonaginta annorum ad foveam. Filius centum annorum (reputatus est) quasi mortuus sit, et transierit ex hoc mundo." Mischna, Capita Patrum, iv. p. 481.

minical or monkish minuteness of observance. Every day, and every hour of the day, and every act of every hour, had its appointed regulations, grounded on distorted texts of Scripture, or the sentences of the Wise Men, and artfully moulded up with their national reminiscences of the past or their distinctive hopes of the future,—the divine origin of the Law, the privileges of God's chosen people, the restoration to the Holy City, the coming of the Messiah. The Jew with his early prayer was to prevent the rising sun, but more blessed he who encroached upon the night to lament, before the dawn, the fate of Jerusalem.¹ His rising from his bed, his manner of putting on the different articles of dress, the disposition of his fringed tallith, his phylacteries on his head and arms, his ablutions, his meals, even the calls of nature were subjected to scrupulous rules—both reminding him that he was of a peculiar race, and perpetually reducing him to ask the advice of the Wise Men, which alone could set at rest the trembling and scrupulous conscience. Nor was it enough that the all-seeing eye of God watched with jealous vigilance the minutest acts of His Chosen. Rabbinical authority peopled the air with spirits of beneficent or malign aspect: the former might be revolted by the least uncleanness, the latter were ever ready to take advantage of every delinquency. The Wise Men alone were well acquainted with the nature, the orders, the powers, or the arts of these mysterious beings; and thus a new and unbounded field was opened for their interference. Such was the character of the Rabbinical dominion as it was gradually, though perhaps not as yet perfectly, developed. The Rabbins slowly withdrew into a spiritual order; they stood aloof from the worldlings (the Amhaarez); they avoided all familiar intercourse with them, they would not degrade themselves to intermarriage with them; they expected to be treated with reverence, would hardly return the common salutation.² Such (for this dominion now assumed a monarchical form) was the kingdom of the Patriarch of Tiberias, in its boundaries as extensive as that of Rome, and founded on the strongest basis, the blind and zealous attachment of its subjects.³

¹ It was ruled, and there is something deeply pathetic in the rule, "that the Jew should rise early in the morning; his first thoughts and prayers should be on the desolation and restoration of Jerusalem. God hears the prayers of those who rise by night to weep for Jerusalem." Buxtorf, *De Synagoga*.

² Jost, iv. 133, gives several pages of instances of their haughtiness, to which R. Jehuda was not superior.

³ Jost, iv. 75.

Before long the Sanhedrin of that city began to assume a loftier tone; their edicts were dated as from Jerusalem, their school was called Sion.¹ But into this spiritual court, as into that of more splendid and worldly sovereigns, ambition and intrigue soon found their way. The monarch could not brook any constitutional limitation to his state or authority; the subordinate officers, the aristocracy of this singular republic, were eager to usurp the rights of the throne. The first collision was on the all-important point of etiquette. No sooner was Simon, son of Gamaliel, quietly seated in the Patriarchate, than he began to assert or enlarge his prerogative. His Ab-beth-din, R. Nathan, and his Hachim, R. Meir, enjoyed a larger share of his state than he was willing to concede. When any one of these heads of the spiritual senate entered, the whole assembly was accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till he was seated. This equality of respect was galling to the pride of Simon; he determined to vindicate the superior dignity of his chair, and took an opportunity of moving, in the absence of the parties concerned, that the whole assembly should rise only on the entrance of the Patriarch, on that of Ab-beth-din two rows, on that of the Hachim only one. The next time that R. Nathan and R. Meir made their appearance, this order was observed. The degrading innovation went to their hearts. They dissembled their resentment, but entered into a secret conspiracy to dethrone or to humiliate the unconstitutional despot. "He," said R. Meir, "who cannot answer every question which relates to the Word of God, is not worthy to preside in the great Sanhedrin. Let us expose his ignorance, and so compel him to abdicate. Then you shall be Patriarch, and I your Ab-beth-din." In secret council they framed the most intricate and perplexing questions to confound the despot. Happily for him, their conversation was overheard by a learned and friendly member of the Sanhedrin, who began to discuss in a loud tone, so as to be heard by Simon in the neighbouring chamber, the points on which it was agreed to attack and perplex the overbearing Patriarch. At the next sitting, the rebels, Nathan and Meir, advanced to the charge with their formidable host of difficulties. To their confusion, Simon, forewarned, repulsed them on all points, and unravelled, with the utmost readiness, the most intricate questions. Simon triumphed, the rebellious Ab-beth-din and Hachim were

¹ Chiefly from Jost, Geschichte der Israeliter, with his authorities.

expelled from the Sanhedrin. But still they kept up the war, and daily assailed the Patriarch with a new train of difficulties, for which they required written answers. At length the civil contest ended, through the intervention of the more moderate. The ex-Ab-beth-din and ex-Hachim were reinstated; but, on the momentous point whether the whole Sanhedrin rose on their entrance, or only two rows, I deeply regret that I must leave the reader in the same lamentable ignorance with myself.

Not content, or rather flushed with this advance towards unlimited monarchy in his own dominions, the high-minded Simon began to meditate schemes of foreign conquest.¹ The independence or equality of the head of the Babylonian community haunted him, as that of the Patriarch of Constantinople did the early Popes; and a cause of quarrel, curiously similar to that about the time on which Easter was to be kept, speedily arose. The schools of Babylonia and Palestine fell into an open schism concerning the calculation of the day for the Paschal feast. Simon determined to assert the superiority of the Patriarchate of Tiberias over his disobedient brethren. The scene is in the highest degree characteristic. It must, however, be premised, that it is by no means certain at what time the Princes of the Captivity commenced their dynasty. In the following story, Ahia appears as the head of the community; but probably the Prince had not yet obtained the influence, or assumed the state, which, during the first fifty years of the third century, distinguished the Jewish sovereign of the East. Hananiah, who taught at Nahar-pakod, and Judah ben Bethuriah, were the most eminent of the learned teachers in the schools of Babylon; and to humble their pride and bring them into subordination to the seat of learning in Tiberias, was the great object of the mission which was despatched by the Patriarch. The two legates were furnished with three letters. They delivered the first to Hananiah, which bore the superscription, "To your Holiness." Delighted with their recognition of a title considered of high importance, Hananiah courteously inquired the reason of their coming,— "To learn your system of instruction." Still more flattered, Hananiah received the ambassadors with the utmost cordiality, and commended them to the people, as worthy of every honour, both as descendants of the High Priest (for the Patriarch of

¹ Jost, Geschichte der Israeliter, iv. 59 *et seqq.*, with Talmudic authorities. Compare Judenthum, ii. p. 168 *et seqq.*

Tiberias claimed his lineage from Aaron) and for their own personal merit. When the treacherous legates had secured their ground in the good opinion of the people, they began to controvert the judgments of Hananiah, to animadvert on his opinion, and to lessen him by every means in the public estimation. Hananiah, enraged at this abuse of his kindness, summoned a second assembly of the people, and denounced the legates as traitors and ignorant men. The people replied, "That which thou hast built, thou canst not so soon pull down; the hedge which thou hast planted, thou canst not pluck up without injury to thyself." Hananiah demanded their objections to his system of instruction. They answered, "Thou hast dared to fix intercalations and new moons, by which great inconformities have arisen between the brethren in Babylonia and Palestine." "So did Rabbi Akiba," said Hananiah, "when in Babylon." "Akiba," they rejoined, "left not his like in Palestine." "Neither," cried the desperate Rabbi, "have I left my equal in Palestine." The legates produced their second letter, which ran in these mysterious words: "That which thou leftest a kid, is grown up a strong-horned goat;" it meant that the Sanhedrin, which he left without power, had regained all its authority. Hananiah was struck dumb. R. Isaac, one of the deputies, saw his time: he mounted the tribune, from which the Law was usually read. "These," he said, naming them, "are the holy days of God—these the holy days of Hananiah!" An indistinct murmur ran through the synagogue. R. Nathan, the second deputy, arose and read the verse of Isaiah, "Out of Sion goeth forth the Law, and the Word of God from Jerusalem." Then, with a bitter intonation, "Out of Babylon goeth forth the Law, the Word of God from Nahar-pakod!" The assembly was in an uproar. "Alter not the Word of God," was the universal cry. The legates followed up their advantage and produced their third letter, which threatened excommunication against the factious opponents of their authority. They added these emphatic words: "The learned have sent us, and commanded us thus to say: 'If he will submit, well; if not, utter at once the interdict. So likewise set the choice before our brethren in foreign parts. If they will stand by us, well; if not, let them ascend their high places; let Ahia build them an altar, and Hananiah [he was of Levitical descent] sing at the sacrifice; and let them at once set themselves apart and say, We have no portion in the Israel of God.'" From all sides an instantaneous

cry arose, "Heaven preserve us from heresy! We have still a portion in the Israel of God." The authority of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias was universally recognised. Judah ben Bethuriah, as well as Hananiah, was forced to bow to the yoke; and till the political separation of the Babylonian from the Western Jews, on the restoration of the Persian monarchy (for the province had now been again brought under the Roman dominion by the conquests of Verus), the Patriarch of Tiberias maintained his uncontested supremacy over the whole Jewish commonalty. In the preceding history, both in the object and the manner in which it was conducted, we are almost tempted to inquire whether it is not a scene borrowed from the annals of the Papal Church.

But before we describe the re-establishment of the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, in all the state and splendour of an Oriental sovereign, far outshining, at least in pomp, his rival sovereign in Tiberias, we return to the West to trace the history of the Palestinian Jews, as connected with that of their Roman masters.¹ During all the later conflicts with Rome, the Samaritans had escaped by quiet submission the miseries which had so perpetually fallen on their more unruly brethren; they had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship for their fidelity. During the first establishment of the Rabbinical dominion at Tiberias, its chiefs had displayed an unprecedented degree of liberality towards their once detested neighbours. Though they sarcastically denominated them "the proselytes of the lions," yet they would inhabit the same city, sleep in the same house, eat at the same table, and even partake of animals which they had killed. This unusual mildness rested on the authority of R. Akiba, and seems to strengthen the suspicion that it was grounded on policy, and that the enterprising Rabbi had laid a deliberate scheme of uniting in one league all who claimed Jewish descent. But this amity between the two hostile sects was but transient. One Rabbi declared it was better to use water for an offering than Samaritan wine. Another, in their own city, openly accused them of worshipping idols on Gerizim; he hardly escaped with his life. Political circumstances increased the jealousies, which at last broke out into open hostilities; and opportunities occurred in which they might commit mutual acts of violence, without the interference of the ruling powers.

In one of the great contests for the empire, they espoused

¹ Jost, iv. p. 79 *et seqq.*

opposite parties. The Samaritans, unfortunately for themselves, were on the losing side. Pescennius Niger had assumed the purple in Syria. The Jews presented a petition for the reduction of their taxation. "Ye demand," said the stern Roman, "exemption from tribute for your soil—I will lay it on the air you breathe."¹ The Samaritans took up arms for Niger, the Jews threw themselves into the party of Severus. That able general soon triumphed over all opposition, and severely punished the partisans of his rival: the Samaritans forfeited their privilege of Roman citizenship. The presence of the emperor overawed the conflicting factions, though Severus himself was in great danger from a daring robber of the country, named Claudius, who boldly rode into his camp, saluted and embraced him, and, before orders could be given for his seizure, had escaped.² Severus celebrated a Jewish triumph, probably on account of the general pacification of the province. His laws were favourable to the Jews. The edict of Antoninus was re-enacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes.³ The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and they were exempt from burthens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of the Holy City, and their general condition is thus described by Tertullian, who wrote during the reign of Severus: "Dispersed and vagabond, exiled from their native soil and air, they wander over the face of the earth, without a king, either human or divine; and even as strangers, they are not permitted to salute with their footsteps their native land."⁴

The Jews and Christians contest the honour of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla.⁵

¹ Spartian, Pescennius Niger, H. A. S. p. 377; Eusebii Chronicon, ccii.

² Spartiani d. Severus.

³ "Judæos fieri vetuit."

⁴ Tertullian, Apologet. xxii. Tertullian, it must be remembered, writes as an orator, not as a historian.

⁵ Jost, in his Geschichte der Isräeliten seit der Zeit der Maccabäer, conceives that the strange stories in the Jewish writers, about the intercourse between one of the Antonines (most assert the first, the Pious) and the head of the Sanhedrin of Tiberias, and his secret Judaism, are grounded on this tale of Caracalla. I take the opportunity of expressing my obligation to this work, which has been of the greatest use in the composition of this last volume of my History. I differ from Jost, who is a pupil of Eichhorn, on many points, particularly on the composition of the older Scriptures, but I gladly bear testimony to the high value of his work, which, both in depth of research and arrangement, is far superior to the desultory, and by no means trustworthy, volumes of Basnage. (*Note in former editions.*) The later

If this tyrant indeed sucked the milk of Christian gentleness, his savage disposition turned it to gall.¹ According to the Rabbinical legends, he was so attached to his Jewish playmates, as to have shed tears when one of them was whipped by order of the emperor. Indeed for several reigns Judaism might boast its influence on the imperial throne. Among the strange medley of foreign superstitions with which the filthy Heliogabalus offended even the easy and tolerant religion of his Roman subjects, he adopted the Jewish usages of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh.² And, in the reign of the good Alexander Severus, that beautiful oasis in the desert of this period of the imperial history, the Jews enjoyed the equal protection and the favour of the virtuous sovereign. Abraham, as well as Christ, had his place in the emperor's gallery of divinities, or men worthy of divine honours. Alexander was even called the Father of the Synagogue.³

In the meantime, the Patriarchal throne had been ascended by the most celebrated of the Rabbinical sovereigns. Jehuda, sometimes called the Nasi or Patriarch, sometimes the Holy, sometimes emphatically the Rabbi, succeeded his father, Simon, son of Gamaliel. Jehuda is said to have been born on the day on which R. Akiba died; an event predicted, according to his admirers, in the verse of Solomon—“*One sun ariseth, and one sun goeth down.*” Akiba was the setting—Jehuda the dawning sun. He was secretly circumcised, in defiance of the law of Hadrian. His whole life was of the most spotless purity; hence he was called the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy. R. Jehuda was the author of a new constitution to the Jewish people. He embodied in the celebrated Mischna, or Code of Traditional Law, all the authorised interpretations of the Mosaic Law, the traditions, the decisions of the learned,

book of Jost (*Geschichte des Judenthums*) is the more mature work of an indefatigable and eminently fair writer. Of course, as a Jew, he presents the doctrines and usages of his race in a favourable light, but he always fully deserves a respectful and candid hearing.

¹ The Jews confounded the best and first with the last and worst of the Antonines. Lightfoot and Selden were misled by David Ganz. The chronology makes any intercourse between Antoninus Pius and Jehuda the Holy impossible. See also Basnage, who gives, as said above, all the stories about Antoninus Pius, viii. p. 3.

² Dion Cassius, lxxix. 11.

“Dicebat præterea Judæorum et Samaritanorum religiones, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.” Lamprid. Heliogab., H. A. S. p. 462.

³ Lamprid. Alexander Severus, H. A. S. p. 540.

and the precedents of the Courts or Schools.¹ It is singular that this period is distinguished by the labours of the great Roman lawyers in the formation of a Code of Jurisprudence for the whole empire. It might seem as if the Jews, constituting thus, as it were, an *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state, were ambitious of providing themselves with their own Pandects, either in emulation of their masters, or lest their subjects might discover the superior advantage of a written code over the arbitrary decisions of the Rabbinical interpreters of their original polity.² The sources from which the Mischna was derived, may give a fair view of the nature of the Rabbinical authority, and the manner in which it had superseded the original Mosaic Constitution. The Mischna was grounded, 1. On the Written Law of Moses. 2. On the Oral Law, receiyed by Moses on Mount Sinai; and handed down, it was said, by uninterrupted tradition. 3. The decisions or maxims of the Wise Men.³ 4. Opinions of particular individuals, on which the schools were divided, and which still remained open. 5. Ancient usages and customs. The distribution of the Mischna affords a curious exemplification of the intimate manner in which the religious and civil duties of the Jews were interwoven, and of the authority assumed by the Law over every transaction of life.⁴

¹ "From Moses, our Teacher, to our Holy Rabbi, no one had united in a single body of doctrine what was publicly taught as the Oral Law; but in each generation the Prince of the Sanhedrin, or the Prophet of his day, notes down in writing for his own use, and as an aid to his memory, the traditions which he had heard from his teachers; but in public he taught them only orally. In the same manner each transcribed that which best pleased him in the Commentaries and Expositions of the Law. As for those points on which changes took place as regards the judicial forms, they were derived rather from reason than tradition, and depended on the authority of the great Consistory. Such was the form of proceeding until our Rabbi the Holy (Jehuda), who first collected all the traditions, the judgments, the sentences, the expositions of the Law, heard by Moses our Master, and taught in each generation." Moses, Maimonides, Preface to Mischna. The Mischna is derived from the Hebrew *תְּבִרְךָ*, the repetition; in Greek *δευτέρωσις*.

² The Mischna was accepted in Babylonia as of equal authority with that which it had acquired in Palestine. It is the foundation of the Babylonian as of the Jerusalem Talmud.

³ Jost acknowledges that, excepting a few sayings ascribed to the pre-Asmonean times, there is nothing older in the Mischna than the age of Herod: "Die in diese Werk niedergelegten Lehrsätze reichen nicht über das Herodaïsche Zeitalter heraus, einige wenige Sätze ausgenommen, die den vor-Herodaïschen Lehrern zugeschrieben werden" (iv. 105).

⁴ The Mischna was published by Surenhusius (Amsterdam, 1698) in excellent print and with acknowledged accuracy. It contains the Mischna, with the commentaries of Bartenora and Moses Maimonides, and notes by Guisius, Surenhusius himself, and other modern Hebraists.

The Mischna commenced with rules for prayer, thanksgiving, ablutions ; it is impossible to conceive the minuteness or subtlety of these rules, and the fine distinctions drawn by the Rabbins. It was a question whether a man who ate figs, grapes, and pomegranates, was to say one or three graces (p. 23). The schools of Shammai and Hillel differed on the points, whether the believer having washed his hands, he should put the napkin on the table, or on a cushion ; whether he should sweep the house and then wash his hands, or wash his hands and then sweep the house (29). But there are nobler words. "These are the things of which man has the usufruct in this life, the reward in the life to come : honour rendered to father and mother ; beneficence ; the propagation of peace among men. But the doctrine of the Law is like all these." Against the tithing of "mint, anise, and cummin," may be set the rigid and generous provisions by which the corner of the field is set apart for the poor (*De Angulo*). There is a whole book (*De Heterogeneis*) as to what things may be sown together, or mingled together, and what may not ; the strictest rules about the divisions in fields and gardens ; the most ordinary, and what might seem the most unimportant, questions of cultivation are subject to the severest regulations, and are controverted between the schools. There is one on the Sabbatarian year, as if still rigidly observed by the cultivators of the soil, which it presumes that the Jews will for ever continue to be. The second book, which treats on the Sabbath, the festivals, and fasts, displays the whole religious life of the Jew. On the Sabbath, of course, there are the most precise and rigorous definitions of the innocence and guilt of every act, almost of every thought. This is characteristic of the tenet and of the people. If on the Sabbath one extinguishes a light from fear of the Gentiles, or of robbers, or on account of an evil spirit, or on account of a rich man who is asleep, he is guiltless ; if he does it to save his oil or his candle, he is guilty (i. p. 13). Throughout, as in all priest-ridden races (for the Rabbins were essentially a priesthood), there was the same strange admixture of the loftiest piety with the lowest superstition ; there are solemn and imposing rites preserving the sacred memory of the wonderful events in their history, hedged round with the most puerile and servile provisions. The history of the Mosaic Law, intricate enough, as perhaps was necessary to keep asunder a half-barbarous people, is woven into an inextricable network

of decrees, which left nothing to the free and enlightened conscience, and therefore nothing ennobling or praiseworthy in man. God, from a wise taskmaster, sank to a petty tyrant. In the third book are the rules on marriage and divorce, on the charge of idolatry, on vows and Nazaritism. The Levirate law is treated as of perpetual obligation ; the learned, however, seem to have been disposed to mitigate its force, and to multiply the causes which justified either party in eluding it. The Mischna fully admits polygamy. If a man leaves many wives, the Law determines that one only can claim the Levirate right.¹ The first of two wives takes precedence, and her children inherit. Yet these are rare instances, and the impression of the whole book is that the usage of the Jews was monogamy. The fourth book treats, I. of Injuries. It is remarkable that the injuries or damages are almost exclusively those of an agricultural people ; their chief causes are—*a*, wells, as, if left open, dangerous to life or limb ; *b*, the ox, as goring or hurting man or beast ; *c*, trespass of men or cattle (De Pascuis) ; *d*, fire, as consuming standing crops. II. The Treatise Sanhedrin is full of historical matter on the origin and power of those courts. Smaller crimes were adjudged by three, the greater by twenty-three, the greatest by the whole seventy-one. Every Israelite has a portion in the world to come, except those who deny the resurrection of the dead, and the Epicureans. Three kings and four private men have no share in eternal life : Jeroboam, Ahab, Manasseh ; Balaam, Ahitophel, Doeg, Gehasi. This tract assumes the power of capital punishment. This is of four kinds, stoning, burning, slaying by the sword, strangling. There are rules for each. The other punishments in this, and in the smaller tract (De Poenis), are exile, fine, flagellation. Two treatises follow, on Oaths and on Witnesses. The fifth book is on sacrifices, offerings, vows, and the measurements of the Temple. It is remarkable only for the elaborate minuteness of its provisions. Finally, the sixth is on the somewhat difficult subject of uncleanness and ablution ; it is rigid and particular to the utmost repulsiveness.

As the object of this great work was to fix, once for all, on undoubted authority, the whole Unwritten Law, some of the more zealous Rabbins reprobated this measure of Jehuda

¹ Si multas reliquerit mulieres uni ex illis tantum imponetur extractio calcei aut leviratio." This is the comment of Maimonides, fol. i. In the law of marriage—" si quis duas duxerit uxores, et mortuus est " (91-95).

the Holy, as tending to supersede or invalidate their own personal power. But the multiplication of written statutes enlarges rather than contracts the province of the lawyer; a new field was opened for ingenuity, and comment was speedily heaped upon the Mischna, till it was buried under the weight, as the Mosaic Law had been before by the Mischna. The interpreters of the Mischna assumed a particular name, the Tanaim. In fact, the acknowledgment of the Mischna as a sort of new constitution, powerfully contributed to the maintenance of the Rabbinical authority after the fall of the Patriarchate and the extinction of the Schools. It threw back the Written Law into a sort of reverential and mysterious obscurity. Never was such honour paid to the Books of Moses as by the Rabbins of Tiberias, or such labour employed in their preservation: every letter was counted, every dot, every iota sanctified, as perhaps of the deepest import. But they were dark oracles, whose profound meaning could not be caught by the vulgar ear; while from the formal, and as it were constitutional, recognition of the Unwritten Law, as embodied in the Mischna, it became the popular and practical code, until the more voluminous Talmud superseded, in its turn, the Mischna. Those ponderous tomes were at once the religious and civil institutes of the Jewish people, and swayed the Jews with an uncontested authority, in like manner as the Acts of the Saints and the Canon-law the nations of Christian Europe.

In the meantime the rival throne in Babylonia, that of the Prince of the Captivity, was rapidly rising to the state and dignity which perhaps did not attain its perfect height till under the Persian monarchs. There seems to have been some acknowledged hereditary claim in R. Hona, who now appears as the Prince of the Captivity, as if his descent from the house of David had been recognised by the willing credulity of his brethren: at least, if any reliance is to be placed in a speech attributed to R. Jehuda, that if R. Hona were to make his appearance, he should do homage to him.¹ Such submission would not, it may be thought, have been extorted from the Patriarch of Tiberias, even from the modest

¹ Another version of this story shows the Rabbi in not so humble a light. To the wish of R. Jehuda, the learned Haja replied, "He is here."—R. Jehuda turned pale.—"His corpse is here." It might seem that the feeling that all true Jews ought to be buried in the Holy Land extended to the chiefs of Babylonia. Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 116.

and humble R. Jehuda, unless general opinion had invested the rival chieftain with some peculiar sanctity. The Prince of the Captivity might recall in his splendour, particularly during his inauguration, some lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy under the ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingly mingled with allusions to the present state of degradation. The ceremonial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual Heads of the people, the Masters of the learned schools, the Elders, and the people, assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendour, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The Prince was seated on a lofty throne. The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha were on his right hand and his left. These chiefs of the learned men, having laid their hands upon the Prince, with the sound of trumpets and other music, then delivered an address, exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power; he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty, for he was prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying-on of hands, and the sound of trumpets, and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath all the principal people assembled before his house, he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the synagogue.¹ Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he read the first line; afterwards he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and he set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations and prayers to God that, under the new Prince, he would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The Prince gave his blessing to the people, and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice, lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs,

¹ There is a description of the installation of the Resch-Glutha in the Schevet Judah: "Die Jovis in sacram ædem frequenter conveniebant, ubi dum Academiæ rectores Principi manus suas imponerent, alii interea tubis, alii vero cornibus accinebant, cuncti autem bene ominantes festâ voce acclamabant, 'Noster vivat Princeps vigeatque æternum! Ille Princeps noster, ille exulum caput est, exulum caput est Israelitarum,' &c. &c." (p. 302).

for he prayed for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The Prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately Oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose, and continued standing till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native Sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the invidious distinction; he walked in humble and submissive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendour: he was arrayed in cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews, who met him on the way, paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers, as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the Prince approached the imperial throne, he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him and placed him on the left hand of the Sovereign. After the first salutation, the Prince represented the grievances or discussed the affairs of his people.

The Court of the Resch-Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counsellors, and cupbearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which, in ancient times, was paid for the Temple in Jerusalem.¹ His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. Asinai and Asilai, it will be recollectcd, were weavers. It is said, indeed, in the usual figurative style, of a Jew merchant of Babylon, that he had 1000 vessels on the sea, and 1000 cities on land. They prided themselves on their learning as well as

¹ Jost supposes that when the Jewish settlements passed under the Parthian and Persian dominion, the Jews continued to pay to their own Prince the Temple tribute, exacted from them by the Romans (iv. 267).

on their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.¹

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts is uncertain. The limits of Persia form an insuperable barrier to our knowledge, and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mohammed found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones ; but this subject will come under our notice when we consider the influence of the progress of Mohammedanism as connected with the History of the Jews. All other accounts of Oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure,² so entirely or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed ; but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice, the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequent, to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, but unfortunately the Father Gozani, who had the best opportunity of obtaining accurate information both as to their history and the manuscripts of the Law which they possessed, was ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was inferred from their tradition, in my opinion, somewhat hastily, that Jews had been settled in the country 249 years before the Christian Era. More authentic statements fixed their introduction into the empire towards the close of the reign of Mingti, of the dynasty of Han, who reigned from 58 to 75 A.C. They were originally 70 *sings*, or families, and settled in the cities of Nimpo, Ninghin, Hamtcheu, Peking, and Caifong-fou. Only seven remained in the middle of the seventeenth century, all

¹ Jost, both in his *Israeliter* and *Judenthum*, enlarges on the succession of famous Doctors who maintained the renown of the Babylonian Schools, their ambition to surpass the Resch-Glutha in power and influence, their internal jealousies and rivalries, and their rivalries with the Palestinian teachers. The Mischna was received and acknowledged as of equal authority in Nahardea and Pumbeditha as in Tiberias.

² That there were Parthian as well as Elamite (Persian) and Mesopotamian Jews, is clear from the Acts of the Apostles ; the traditions of Christianity assert the early propagation of the faith in those regions, which intimates, I am inclined to think, that the Jews were numerous ; but little is known which is either distinct or certain.

in the latter city, the capital of Honan. They came from Si-yu, the west country, and their Hebrew language betrayed evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They could not have been of the earlier dispersion, for they had the Book of Ezra, and highly reverenced his name. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success, and some of them, as was attested by extant inscriptions, had been highly honoured with the imperial favour, and had attained the rank of Mandarins. One of these inscriptions, bearing date in 1515, praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity, in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy, and in the army, and their punctual observance of their own religious ceremonies: it assures them of the emperor's high esteem. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius, and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers with religious reverence, on tablets inscribed with their names. In other respects they were strict Jews: they observed the Sabbath, lighting no fire, and preparing their food on the preceding day: they practised circumcision on the eighth day: they intermarried only among themselves. They believe (so writes the Jesuit) in Purgatory, Hell, Paradise, the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment; in Angels, Cherubim and Seraphim. They neither make, nor attempt to make, proselytes. Their sacred edifice (a remarkable fact) resembles much more the Temple than the modern synagogue. It is situated in an open space, among pavilions or avenues of trees. It consists of a nave and two aisles; the centre is divided into a Holy Place, and a Holy of Holies, which is square without and circular within; here are deposited the Books of the Law,¹

¹ Notice d'un Manuscrit du Pentateuque conservé dans la Synagogue des Juifs de Caï-fong Fou. Notices et Extraits des MS. de la Bibl. du Roi, vol. iv.

The learned Baron de Sacy has clearly shown that the existing copies of the sacred writings among the Chinese Jews, imperfect as they are, are not older than the year 1620 A.C. Their former sacred books had been destroyed, first by an inundation of the great Yellow River in 1446, afterwards by a fire about 1600, and lastly, those they possess were greatly damaged by a second inundation in 1642.

Compare J. de Guignes, Mémoires de l'Académie, t. xlviii. See also, in Trigaultii de Christianâ Expeditione apud Sinas, a curious account of an interview between a Chinese Jew and Father Ricci the Jesuit, p. 118. The Jew recognised the Hebrew characters in a printed Bible, but could not read them. The Jews, it was said, had ten or twelve families in Pekin, with a synagogue, which they had just repaired at the cost of 10,000 pieces of gold. They had the Pentateuch wrapt up and kept with great care; they had possessed it.

and the sacred chamber is entered only by the Chief Priest. The Chief Priest is not distinguished by any splendour of apparel, only by a red belt of silk, which passes over his right and under his left shoulder. They chant the sacred Scripture and their prayers, as Father Gozani had heard the Jews in Italy. They entertain distinct though remote hopes of the coming of the Messiah.

Such, in a brief outline, is the history of one branch of this extraordinary people, thus, in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the Old World, resisting the common laws by which nations seem to be absorbed into each other. However opposite the institutions, the usages, the manners of the people among whom they dwell; whether the government be mild or intolerant, the Jews, equally inflexible and unsocial, maintain their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The same principles operate on the banks of the Yellow River, and on those of the Tiber or the Seine. The Jew, severed for ages from all intercourse with his brethren, amid the inaccessible regions of the Celestial Empire, in most respects, remains as he would have remained, if he had continued to inhabit the valleys of Palestine, under the constant and immediate superintendence of the national chief of his religion, the Patriarch of Tiberias.

they said, five or six hundred years. In Hamcheu, they said, they had many more Jews, with their synagogues. In other places in China they were dying out from want of synagogues.

In a memoir of Ignatius Kugler, reprinted by De Murr (*Halæ ad Salam*), it appears that the Chinese Jews called the Pentateuch the Canonical Book: but they had Esther, as well as Ezra, and the Book of the Maccabees. They had not Job, Proverbs, Canticles, or Ecclesiastes. They were said to date from the Seleucidæ! (?)

See also an excellent memoir in Brotier's Notes on Tacitus.

Barrow conceived it possible that the Jews may have introduced silk into China. "Many of them, indeed, forsake the religion of their forefathers, and arrive at high employments in the State. Few among them, I understand, except the Rabbis, have any knowledge of the Hebrew language; and they have been so long intermingled with the Chinese, that the priests at the present day are said to find some difficulty in keeping up their congregations. So different are the effects produced by suffering instead of persecuting religious opinions" (p. 438). Barrow concludes, from their knowing no Jesus but the son of Sirach, that they were the followers of Alexander's army!—a curious illustration of the common fault of intelligent travellers writing about that of which they know nothing. Those Jews of whom Barrow wrote may be, for all which appears, very modern immigrants.

The best recent summary of this question with which I am acquainted is in Delitzsch (*Zur Geschichte der Judischen Poesie*, von Franz Delitzsch, Leipsic, 1836), especially a note (p. 59) describing the Synagogue, and a passage about their Book of Prayer. Their language is a jargon of mingled Hebrew and Chinese. See on their present low state the concluding chapter of this work.

BOOK XX

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

Effects of the Great Revolutions in the World, from the fourth to the eighth century—Restoration of the Persian Kingdom and Magian Religion—Jews of Mesopotamia—Babylonian Talmud—Establishment of Christianity—Attempts at Conversion—Constantine—Julian—Rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem—Theodosius and St. Ambrose—Conflicts between Jews and Christians—Conversions in Minorca and Crete—Tumults in Alexandria—Fall of the Patriarchate.

THE middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into their two communities, under their Papacy and their Caliphate. The great events which succeeded during the five following centuries, to the end of the seventh or the middle of the eighth, which operated so powerfully on the destinies of the whole world, in the East as well as in the West, could not but exercise an important influence over the condition, and, in some respects, the national character of the Jews. Our History will assume, perhaps, its most intelligible form, if we depart in some degree from a dry chronological narrative, and survey it in relation to the more important of these revolutions in the history of mankind. 1st, The restoration of the Magian religion in the East, under the great Persian monarchy which arose on the ruins of the Parthian empire. 2ndly, The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire. 3rdly, The invasion of the Barbarians. 4thly, The rise and progress of Mohammedanism.

I. The first of these points we have in some degree anticipated. The Prince of the Captivity probably rose to power in the interval between the abandonment of the Mesopotamian provinces by Hadrian, about 118 A.C., and the final decay of the Parthian kingdom, about 229 A.C., when that empire, enfeebled by the conquests of Trajan, and by the assumption of independence in the Persian province, held, but with a feeble hand, the sovereignty over its frontier districts. But his more splendid state seems to have been assumed after the accession of the Persian dynasty.

The reappearance of the Magian religion as the dominant faith of the East, after having lain hid, as it were, for centuries among the mountains of Iran, is an event so singular, that it has scarcely received the notice which it deserves in history. It arrested at once the progress of Christianity in the East, which was thrown back upon the western provinces of Asia and upon Europe, not without having received a strong though partial tinge from its approximation to that remarkable faith. The great heresiarch Manes attempted to blend the two systems of belief—an attempt the less difficult, as many among the more successful of the early heretics had already admitted into their creed the rudiments of Oriental philosophy, which formed the groundwork of Magianism. But Manes met the fate of most conciliators; he was rejected, and probably both himself and his proselytes violently persecuted by both parties.¹ In what manner the sovereigns of Persia, and their triumphant priesthood, conducted themselves at first towards their Jewish subjects in Babylonia, we have little certain intelligence. Under Ardeschir Fire Temples arose in all quarters. A new or a revived religion is never wanting in zeal, and zealous religionists are rarely tolerant. Collision was inevitable. Some stories, which bear the stamp of authenticity, appear to intimate persecution. The usage of the Jews in *burying* the dead was offensive to the Magians; and there were certain days in which no light was permitted to be burning, excepting in the Fire Temples.² The Jews were unwillingly constrained to pay this homage to the Guebre ceremonial.³ It is said that a fire-worshipper came into a room in Pumbeditha, where Abba Bar Hona lay ill, and took away the light. R. Jehuda cried out, "Oh, merciful Father! take us under thy protection, or lead us rather into the hands of the children of Esau" (the Romans).⁴

But on the whole their condition must have been favourable, as the pomp of their Prince, the wealth of his subjects, and

¹ Compare Hist. of Christianity, ii. 322, &c.

² Jost, Judenthum, ii. 141. When R. Jochanan, in Tiberias, heard of the establishment of the religion of the Guebres, he fell to the earth in grief and dismay.

³ Jost, Geschichte, iv. 308.

⁴ Another saying is not so intelligible; it is a Babylonian saying: "Rather under the Arabs than under the Romans, rather under the Romans than under the Guebres, rather under the Guebres than under the learned Jews (the learned were very hotheaded in those regions), rather under the learned than under widows and orphans." God severely visited any offence against widows or orphans. Jost, Judenthum, ii. 142.

the flourishing condition of the Mesopotamian schools,¹ are strong testimonies to the equitable and tolerant government of their Persian rulers.² The Oriental cast, which many of their opinions had assumed as early as the Babylonian Captivity, and the prevalence of the Cabalistic philosophy, which, in its wild genealogy of many distinct æons or intelligences, emanating from the pure and uncreated light, bore a close analogy to the Dualism of the Magians; and its subordinate hierarchy of immaterial and spiritual beings, angels, or genii; would harmonise more easily with, or at least be less abhorrent from, the prevailing tenets of the Magians, than the more inflexible Christianity, which rejected the innovations of Manes.

The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud,³ as it shows the industry of its compilers, seems to indicate likewise the profound peace enjoyed by the Jewish masters of the schools. This great work was commenced and finished under the superintendence of Rabbi Asche.⁴ This celebrated Head of the

¹ Jost, *Geschichte*, iv. 305. See on the schools and succession of teachers at Pumbeditha, which threw into the shade Nahardea and Sura, Jost, iv. 310 *et seqq.*

² In some instances they introduced slight deviations from the Law, or rather from the Mischna, in favour of their new masters. The rule to abstain from all intercourse with the heathen for three days before each of their holy days, was limited in the case of the fire-worshipping to the holy day itself. Though Rab declared it a sin to learn anything of a Magian, yet the Jews studied astronomy in common with them. Jost, p. 143.

³ The Abbé Chiarini, an Italian, proposed to publish a French translation of the whole Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (p. 52). In his *Théorie du Judaïsme*, and in his *Talmud de Babylone*, Leipsic, 1831, he explained his views and intentions. He met with strong opposition. His death, however, while tending the sick of the cholera, in 1832, unhappily cut short his labours.

⁴ Chiarini assigns the date of the Talmud of Babylon to the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. R. Asche died A.D. 427. It was finished seventy-three years after the death of Asche by R. Jose (p. 35). It is anterior to the Koran, which borrows from, perhaps quotes it. Chiarini says that it has three characteristics which distinguish it from that of Jerusalem: I. The confusion with which it envelopes the doctrines. II. The subtlety and suppleness which its teachers display in their unequal contest with violence and hard necessity. III. The bitterness and hatred with which they look on all who have contributed to the servitude of the Jews, especially the Christians. Each Talmud has books and chapters wanting in the other. On the borrowing of the Koran from the Talmud, read the excellent treatise of Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus den Judenthum genommen.**

* The first edition, I., of the Babylonian Talmud is that of Bomberg, Venice, 1550. II. Justiniani, Venice, 1546-50. III. Frobenius, Basil, 1578-9-80. (But the passages hostile to Christianity were expunged by order of the Council of Trent.) IV. Cracow, 1603-5. V. Lublin, 1617-22. VI. Amsterdam, in 4to, 1644. VII., VIII. Frankfort on the Oder, 1697, 1715-21. IX. Amsterdam or Frankfort on the Maine, 1714, 1721. There are other later editions. On the translations of separate Treatises and Chapters, see Wolf and Chiarini, p. 45 *et seqq.*

schools introduced a new mode of teaching ; his scholars met twice in the year, and received each time two portions of the Law and of the Mischna, the whole circle of Jewish study, which had been divided into sixty parts. Their comments on their appointed task were brought back on the next day of meeting, the best were selected and harmonised, and from these in thirty years¹ grew the Gemara, which, with the Mischna, forms the Babylonian Talmud,² that wonderful monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly. The reader at each successive extract from this extraordinary compilation hesitates whether to admire the vein of profound allegorical truth, and the pleasing moral analogue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance,³ or to shudder at the daring blasphemy. The influence of the Talmud on European superstitions, opinions, and even literature, remains to be traced ; to the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the

¹ Chiarini makes it about a century or more in its full growth.

² Chiarini points out one more remarkable distinction between the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds—the substitution in the Babylonian of commerce in the place of agriculture (p. 57).

³ There is undeniable truth and justice in the severe words of Edzard, quoted by Chiarini, i. 277 : “ Credat Judæus Apella ista impia atque blasphema de Deo asserta, crebras Rabbinorum contradictiones, innumeris absurditates et falsitates, plusquam aniles fabulas, pessimas et ut plurimum ridiculas Scripturæ sacræ detorsiones, ineptas argumentationes, abjectas de verbo divino locutiones ; evidentissima mendacia, plusquam ethnicas superstitiones, ipsam denique ad magiam et varii generis peccata alia multiplicem instructionem quæ singulis Gemaræ paginis maximo numero occurunt . . . esse divina oracula Moisi in Monte Sinai tradita, ut ad posteros propagerentur.” But may it not be well to look at the same time to the beam in our own eye ? If the Christianity of the Middle Ages were systematised and cast into one great authoritative book (that Christianity which, as sanctioned and maintained by the Infallible Church, is virtually attributed to the Holy Spirit of God), would there be not found the same conflict between the most exalted and the most debasing notions of the Godhead ; the same profound piety and the same gross superstition ; the same pure morality and the same doubtful chicanery ; the same solemn trifling ; the same occasional wisdom, the same folly and the same fraud ; the same miserable devilry (“ chacun de nous en a mille à gauche et dix mille à droite : ” so says R. Huny—Chiarini, p. 289) ; the same trust in the providence and presence of God ; the same irreconcilable and remorseless hatred of men of other faith (only that in the Jews, being few and feeble, these passions mostly evaporated in idle curses, in the Christians led to acts of merciless massacre) ; and the same purity, love, and charity ? If on the one hand the gleams of light, wisdom, humanity, love of God, are more rare and feeble in the Talmud (take such a precept as this, “ One touch of compunction in the heart of man is worth many and many flagellations ”—Chiarini, p. 305—compared with the monkish manuals of self-scourging) ; on the other hand apply the great principle, “ pessima est corruptio optimi ; ” how much more natural, more pardonable, is this jealous hedge drawn around the imperfect Law, than the engraving of such low and darkling, if not barbarous and wicked precepts, on the peaceful, pure, simple, and beneficent Gospel ! See further on the Talmud, the close of this Book.

national mind patiently laboured for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line, beyond which it might not venture to pass.¹

II. The Western Jews must have beheld with deeper dismay, and more profound astonishment at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the rival religion of Christianity (that apostasy, as they esteemed it, from the worship of Jehovah), gradually extending over the whole of Europe, till at length, under Constantine, it ascended the imperial throne, and became the established religion of the Roman world. The period between the death of the Patriarch, R. Jehuda the Holy, and the accession of Constantine to the empire, had been barren of important incidents in Jewish history. The Patriarchate of Tiberias seems gradually to have sunk in estimation. This small spiritual court fell, like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway, and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the pontiff, and of the spiritual aristocracy—the Rabbins—became more and more burthensome to the people. The people were impatient even of the customary taxation.² Gamaliel succeeded Jehuda, Jehuda the Second, Gamaliel. This pontiff was of an imperious character; he surrounded himself with a sort of body-guard; at the same time he was outshone by his competitors in learning, Simon ben Laches and R. Jochanan, whose acknowledged superiority tended still farther to invalidate the supremacy of the Patriarch.³

A temporary splendour was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous Queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine

¹ "Depuis la naissance jusqu'à la mort, depuis la pointe du jour jusqu'au lever des étoiles, dans leurs maisons ainsi que dans la Synagogue, leur vie privée et publique n'est qu'une suite de cérémonies minutieuses et des pratiques légales qui se trouvent consignées dans le Talmud." Chiarini, p. 181.

² At a period considerably later, the Apostles of the Patriarch are called in a law of Honorius *devastators*. It is asserted in the life of Chrysostom, that the heads of the synagogues were displaced if they did not send in enough money.

³ Whoever wishes for a more full account of these rivalries, jealousies, and feuds in the school of Tiberias, may read the sixth chapter of Jost's xivth Book. There is one striking saying of R. Jochanan, showing the Rabbinical character: "A learned Bastard is to be preferred to an ignorant High Priest" (p. 162). For other sayings of R. Jochanan, see Jost, *Judenthum*, ii. 147. The teachings of the Sopherim are intimately interwoven with the Law, and to be held in equal, if not higher estimation. On Simon ben Laches—his reproof of the pomp and pride of his Nasi, p. 150.

neither derived much advantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in the fall of that extraordinary woman.¹ Her favourite, Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting an union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties rejected the unnatural alliance. The Jews spoke contemptuously of the wise men who came from Tadmor, and Paul of Samosata was rejected by the orthodox church as an intractable heretic.²

On the formal establishment of Christianity, under Constantine the Great, the more zealous Jews might tremble lest the Synagogue should be dazzled by the splendour of its triumphant competitor, and, recognising the manifest favour of the Divinity in its success, refuse any longer to adhere to a humiliated and hopeless cause; while the Christians, after having gained this acknowledged victory over Paganism, might not unreasonably expect that Judaism, less strongly opposed to its principles, would relax its obstinate resistance, and yield at length to the universally acknowledged dominion of the new faith.

But the Rabbinical authority had raised an insurmountable barrier around the Synagogue. Masters of the education, exercising, as we have shown, an unceasing and vigilant watchfulness, and mingling in every transaction during the whole life of each individual;—still treating their present humiliation merely as a preparatory trial from the ever-faithful God of their fathers, and feeding their flock with hopes of a future deliverance, when they should trample under foot the enemy and oppressor;—enlisting every passion and every prejudice in their cause; occupying the studious and inquisitive in the interminable study of their Mischna and Talmuds;³—alarming the vulgar with the terrors of their interdict; while they still promised temporal grandeur as the inalienable, though perhaps late heritage of the people of Israel; consoling them for its tardy approach by the promise of the equally inalienable and equally

¹ Jost, Geschichte, iv. 167: "Von dem angeblichen Judenthum dieser so genannten Kaiserin von Palmyra wissen die Rabbiner nichts." Judentum, ii. 155.

² Euseb. Hist. Ecc. vii. 27; Milman, Hist. of Christianity, ii. 256. The Jews repudiated with equal determination this attempt to reconcile the two religions. R. Jochanan refused to receive Palmyrenian proselytes. The Rabbis, like the Christians, reprove the irreligious pomp and luxury of the Palmyrene Court. Jost, ii. 157.

³ Chiarini states, with some truth, that it was one of the objects of the Talmud "d'élever une muraille de séparation entre les Juifs et les autres peuples de la terre, en présentant à ses compagnons d'infortune des remparts plus solides dans la haine et dans l'orgueil que ceux des villes dont ils venaient d'être dépossédés" (p. 21).

exclusive privilege of the children of Israel—everlasting life in the world to come;¹—these spiritual leaders of the Jews still repelled, with no great loss, the aggressions of their opponents. At the same time unhappily the Church had lost entirely, or in great degree, its most effective means of conversion—its miraculous powers, the simple truth of its doctrines, and the blameless lives of its believers. It substituted authority, and a regular system of wonder-working, which the Jews, who had been less affected than might have been supposed by the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles, had no difficulty in rejecting, either as manifest impostures, or works of malignant and hostile spirits. In fact, the Rabbins were equal adepts in these pious frauds with the Christian clergy, and their people, no less superstitious, listened with the same avidity, or gazed with the same credulity, on the supernatural wonders wrought by their own Wise Men, which obscured, at all events neutralised, the effects of the miracles ascribed to the Christian saints. Magical arts were weapons handled, as all acknowledged, with equal skill by both parties. The invisible world was a province where, though each claimed the advantage in the contest, neither thought of denying the power of his adversary. A scene characteristic of the times is reported to have taken place in Rome; the legend, it will easily be credited, rests on Christian authority.² A conference took place in the presence of Constantine and the devout empress-mother, Helena, between the Jews and the Christians. Pope Sylvester, then at the height of his wonder-working glory, had already triumphed in argument over his infatuated opponents, when the Jews had recourse to magic. A noted enchanter commanded an ox to be brought forward; he whispered into the ear of the animal, which instantly fell dead at the feet of Constantine. The Jews shouted in triumph, for it was the Ham-semphorash, the ineffable name of God, at the sound of which the awe-struck beast had expired. Sylvester observed with some shrewdness, “As he who whispered the name must be well acquainted with

¹ It is a curious illustration of the growing alienation between the Jews and the Christians that Origen seems to have kept up an amicable intercourse with many Jews. Jerome, a century later, was obliged to submit to a secret and nocturnal intercourse with his teacher. Epist. ad Pamm. Compare Vitringa, *De Syn. Vet.*

² Even Baronius doubts the authority of this legend. It appears first in the later Byzantines. Zonaras. t. iii. in init.; Simeon Metaphrastes, pars ii.; Glycas, p. 491 (edit. Bonn); Nicephorus, vii. 36; Cedren. t. i. p. 491 (edit. Bonn).

it, why does he not fall dead in like manner?" The Jews answered with contemptuous acclamations—"Let us have no more verbal disputations, let us come to acts." "So be it," said Sylvester, "and if this ox comes to life at the name of Christ, will ye believe?" They all unanimously assented. Sylvester raised his eyes to heaven, and said with a loud voice—"If *he* be the true God whom I preach, in the name of Christ, arise, O ox! and stand on thy feet." The ox sprang up, and began to move and feed. The legend proceeds, that the whole assembly was baptized.

The Christians, by their own account, carried on the contest in a less favourable field than the city of Rome, and urged their conquests into the heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendour, that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, declared that it was the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace or profaning the soil of the Christian city, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied—Dio Cæsarea (Sephoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City, so it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the dwellings of the circumcised. This was brought about by a singular adventure. Hillel had succeeded his father, Judah the Second, in the patriarchate. If we are to believe Epiphanius, the Patriarch himself had embraced Christianity, and had been secretly baptized on his death-bed by a bishop. Joseph, his physician, had witnessed the scene, which wrought strongly upon his mind.¹ The house of Hillel, after his death, was kept closely shut up by his suspicious countrymen. Joseph obtained entrance, and found there the Gospel of St. John, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Acts, in a Hebrew translation. He read and believed. When the young Patriarch, another Judah (the Third), grew up, Joseph was appointed an apostle, or collector of the patriarchal revenue. It seems that Christian meekness had not been imbibed with Christian faith, for he discharged his function with unpopular severity. He was detected reading the Gospel, hurried to the synagogue,

¹ Epiphanius Hæreses, c. 30. Epiphanius asserts that he heard the whole of this from Joseph himself when seventy years old.

and scourged. The bishop of the town (in Cilicia) interfered. But Joseph was afterwards seized again and thrown into the Cydnus, from which he hardly escaped with his life. This was not the wisest means of recovering a renegade; Joseph was publicly baptized, rose high in the favour of Constantine, and attained the dignity of Count of the Empire. Burning with zeal—it is to be hoped not with revenge—he turned all his thoughts to the establishment of Christian churches in the great Jewish cities. He succeeded under the protection of the government, and with the aid of a miracle. As he commenced an edifice on the site of a heathen temple in Tiberias, the Jews enchanted the lime which was to be used for mortar—it would not burn. But Joseph having sanctified some water with the sign of the cross, the spell was dissolved, and the building arose to the discomfiture and dismay of his opponents.

The laws of Constantine, with regard to the Jews, throw more real light on their character and condition.¹ The first of these statutes appears to authenticate the early part of the history of Joseph, and was, no doubt, framed in allusion to his case.² It enacted, that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life of, a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own synagogue; nor had they any right to complain, if proselytes to the established faith should be protected from their violence under the severest penalties. The second more intolerant clause of this statute prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment; and, six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves.³

¹ Constantine in a public document declared that it was not for the dignity of the Church to follow that most hateful of all people, the Jews, in the celebration of the Passover.

See the Apostolic Canon: *Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ή ἄλλος κληρικὸς νηστεύει μετὰ Ιουδαίων, ή ἔορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν, δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἔορτῆς ξένια οἷον ἀξυμα, ή τι τοιούτον, καθαιρεῖσθω εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ή, ἀφοριζέσθω.* LXII. apud Coteler. Pat. Apost. ii. 451.

² "Judæis et majoribus eorum et Patriarchis volumus intimari: quod si quis post hanc legem aliquem, qui eorum *fere* *alem* fugerit sectam, et ad *Dei cultum* respexerit, saxis aut alio furoris genere (quod nunc *fieri* cognovimus) ausus fuerit adtentare, mox flammis dedendus est, et cum omnibus suis participibus concremandus. Si quis vero ei populo ad eorum *nefariam* sectam accesserit, et conciliabilis eorum se applicaverit, cum ipsis poenas meritas sustinebit." Cod. Theodos. Tit. xvi. viii.

³ There is some doubt whether this law was so early as Constantine, and whether Constantine did more than prohibit the circumcision of slaves. The

The reason assigned for this law was, that it was unjust that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ, should be slaves to the murderers of the Prophets and of the Son of God. There was another civil law, of great importance, affecting the Jews; they were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, particularly the decurionate, which, from the facility with which the emperor and his predecessors had granted exemptions, had become burdensome. The law, however, shows that the right of the Jews to Roman citizenship was fully recognised. The Patriarchs and the Rabbins had the same exemption from all civil and military offices as the Christian clergy. In the markets the Jews had their own officers to regulate the price of things sold among themselves, and were not subject to the ordinary discursor or moderator.¹

But still earlier than these statutes of Constantine, Spain, the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution, had given the signal for hostility towards the Jews, in a decree passed at the Council of Elvira (Illiberis), which is curious, as proving that the Jews were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil in that country. It was a custom for the Jewish and Christian farmers and peasants to mingle together at the festive entertainments given at the harvest-home, or at other periods of rural rejoicing. The Jews were wont in devout humility to utter their accustomed grace before the feast, that the Almighty would, even in the land of the stranger, permit his rains, and dews, and sunshine, to fertilise the harvests. The Christians appear to have been offended at this, apparently

law stands thus in Ritter. Cod. Theodos. : "Si quis Judeorum Christianum mancipium, vel cuiuslibet alterius sectæ, mercatus circumcidet, minimi in servitute retineat circumcisum, sed libertatis privilegiis, qui hoc sustinuerit, potiatur." If the Jews were altogether prohibited from buying such slaves, the prohibition to circumcise them would seem superfluous. Later statutes show that they had many Christian slaves. Eusebius, however, writes thus, as in the text : 'Αλλὰ καὶ Ιουδαιοις μηδένα Χριστιανὸν ἐνομοθέτει δουλεύειν μὴ γάρ θεμιτὸν εἶναι προφητοφόρωνταις καὶ κυριοκτήνοις, τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος λελυτρωμένους ξυγῷ δουλεῖας ὑπάγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ εὑρεθείη τις τοιοῦτος τὸν μὲν ἀνεῖσθαι ἐλεύθερον, τὸν δὲ ξημιὰ χρημάτων κολάξεσθαι. Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 27.

¹ Cod. Theodos. xii. viii. 3-4.

Chrysostom records a revolt of the Jews in the reign of Constantine, an attempt to rebuild their Temple, and to violate the laws which prohibited their entrance into the Holy City; and that the insurgents were punished by having their ears cut off, branded as slaves, and sold in great numbers. Le Beau (Bas Empire, i. 167) ventures to date this insurrection in the year A.C. 315. I am inclined to hesitate as to receiving, on the authority of an oration, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, a fact so important, of which there is no other trace in history, or, as I believe, in Jewish tradition. S. Chrys. Hom. 2 in Judæos.

very innocent, supplication. The decree of the Council proscribed the meeting of the two races at these festivals, and prohibited the blessings of the Jews, lest, perhaps, they might render unavailing the otherwise powerful benedictions of the Church.¹

It is said that the Jews in the East revenged themselves for these oppressive laws against their brethren, by exciting a furious persecution against the Christians, in which the Jews and Magians vied with each other in violence.²

The increased severity of the laws enacted by Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, indicates the still darkening spirit of hostility,³ but the Jews, unhappily, gave ample provocation to the authorities. The hotheaded Israelites of Alexandria mingled themselves in the factions of Arians and Athanasians, which distracted that restless city. They joined with the Pagans, on the side of the Arian Bishop, and committed frightful excesses, burning churches, profaning them with outrages which Athanasius shrinks from relating, and violating consecrated virgins. An insurrection in Judæa, which terminated in the destruction of Dio Cæsarea, gave another pretext for exaction and oppression.⁴ The Jews were heavily burthened and taxed : forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women ; and the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to the Holy City, was formally renewed.⁵ These laws likewise throw light on their condition. Their heavy burthens may indicate that the Jews possessed considerable wealth ; the possession of Christian slaves leads to the same conclusion ; and the necessity of the enactment against marrying Christian women shows, that, in some ranks at least, the animosity between the two races had considerably worn away. But the prohibition against entering Jerusalem was still further

¹ "Admoneri placuit possessores, ut non patiantur fructus suos quos a Deo percipiunt cum gratiarum actione a Judæis benedici; ne nostram irritam et infirmam faciant benedictionem. Si quis post interdictum facere usurpaverit, penitus ab ecclesia abjiciatur" (c. 49, Concil. Illberst: A.D. 305).

"Si vero aliquis clericus sive fidelis fuerit, qui cum Judæis cibum sumpserit, placuit eum a communione abstinere" (c. 50). I have connected the two statutes together, as explanatory of each other.

² Sozomen, H. E. ii. 9 : Ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖος τρόπον τινὰ φύσει ὑπὸ βασκανίας πρὸς τὸ δῆμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκπολεμωμένους.

³ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 7.

⁴ Socrates, H. E. ii. 33 : "Et interea Judæorum seditio qui Patricium nefariè in regni specie sustulerant." Aurel. Victor in Constant. This evidently means that they had set up their Prince as an independent sovereign.

⁵ Sozomen, H. E. iii. 17.

embittered by the distant view of the splendour which the new city had assumed. Christian pilgrims crowded the ways which led to the Holy City,¹ where the wood of the true cross—the discovery of which by a singular chance is ascribed to a Jew—began to disseminate its inexhaustible splinters through the Christian world. The church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the Empress Helena, rose in lofty state, and crowned the supposed hill of Calvary, on which their ancestors had crucified Jesus of Nazareth; while the hill of Moriah lay desecrated and desolate, as it had been left by the plough of the insulting conqueror.

If then the Jews beheld with jealous alarm the rival religion seated on the imperial throne, and the votaries of Jesus clothed in the royal purple; if they felt their condition gradually becoming worse under the statutes of the new emperors; if they dreaded still further aggressions on their prosperity; they must have looked with no secret triumph to the accession of Julian, the apostate from Christianity. Before long their elation was still further excited by a letter written from the emperor, addressed to "his brother,"² the Patriarch, and the commonalty of the Jews. Julian seemed to recognise the Unity of God, in terms which might satisfy the most zealous follower of Moses.³ He proceeded to denounce their oppressors, condescended to excuse his brother, annulled the unequal taxes with which they were loaded, and expressed his earnest hope that, on his return from the Persian war, the great designs he had formed for their welfare might be fully accomplished. The temporal as well as the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation of the Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to embrace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown great weight into his scale in his campaign against the Persians; and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was important to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably with these views the memorable edict was issued for the rebuilding of the Temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration of the

¹ Compare the Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, and Wesseling's notes; Hieronymi. Oper. i. 103; the famous passage in Greg. Nyssen on the abuse of pilgrimage. The fullest account of these early pilgrimages is in Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, c. i.

² τὸν ἀδελφὸν "Ιουλον τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον Πατριάρχην.

³ ἔτι μείζονας εὐχὰς ποιῆτε τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τῷ πάντων κρέπτοντι καὶ δημιουργῷ Θεῷ. Julian. Epist. xxv.

Jewish worship in its original splendour.¹ The execution of this project was entrusted, while Julian advanced with his ill-fated army to the East, to the care of his favourite, Alypius.

The whole Jewish world was in commotion ; they crowded from the most distant quarters to be present and assist in the great national work. Those who were unable to come envied their more fortunate brethren, and waited in anxious hope for the intelligence that they might again send their offerings, or make their pilgrimage, to the Temple of the God of Abraham, in his holy place. Their wealth was poured forth in lavish profusion ; and all who were near the spot, and could not contribute so amply, offered their personal exertions. Blessed were the hands that toiled in such a work ; and unworthy was he of the blood of Israel who would not unlock, at such a call, his most secret hoards.² Men cheerfully surrendered the hard-won treasures of their avarice ; women offered up the ornaments of their vanity. The very tools which were to be employed, were, as it were, sanctified by the service, and were made of the most costly materials : some had shovels, mallets, and baskets of silver ; and women were seen carrying rubbish in robes and mantles of silk.³ Men, blind from the womb, came forward to lend their embarrassing aid ; and the aged tottered along the ways, bowed beneath the weight of some burthen which they seemed to acquire new strength to support. The confidence and triumph of the Jews was unbounded : some went so far in their profane adulation as to style Julian the Messiah. The Christians looked on in consternation and amazement. Would the murderers of the Son of God be permitted to rebuild their devoted city, and the Temple arise again from "the abomination of desolation"? Materials had now accumulated from all quarters, some say at the expense of the emperor, but that is not probable, considering the costly war in which he was engaged. Nor were the Jews wanting in ample resources : timber, stones, lime, burnt brick, clay, were heaped together in abundant

¹ Theodoret assigns the following reason for Julian's design to rebuild the Temple. He sent to inquire of the Jews why they had ceased to offer sacrifice. They replied, that it was not lawful for them to sacrifice but in one place, the site of their Temple. Julian, who looked on sacrifice as the one sign of true religion, and that which distinguished the rest of mankind from the Christians, immediately gave orders for the restoration of the Temple. Theodoret's is one of the earliest and most graphic descriptions of the whole transaction. H. E. iii. 20.

² Greg. Naz. iv. iii.; Theodoret, iv. 20.

³ Sozomen, v. 22.

quantities.¹ Already was the work commenced ; already had they dug down to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations, when suddenly flames of fire came bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied with terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides ; and the labours were suspended at once by this unforeseen and awful sign. Other circumstances are said to have accompanied this event ; an earthquake shook the hill ;² flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators ; and the fire consumed even the tools of iron.³ It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen having fled to a neighbouring church, its doors, fastened by some preternatural force within, refused to admit them.⁴ These, however, may be embellishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers ; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and, as it was supposed, preternatural interference, rests on the clear and unsuspicious testimony of the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus.⁵ But, in

¹ Socrates, H. E. iii. 20.

² Socrates, ibid. ; Theodoret, iii. 20 ; Sozomen, v. 22.

³ Socrates, ibid. ; Theodoret, who adds that a fiery cross appeared in the heavens. The crosses on the Jews' dresses were dark, not light.

⁴ Greg. Naz. in Judæos, iv.

⁵ The growth of the story is curious. Ammianus is simple, natural, and credible : "Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alipius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum ; hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessant inceptum." Chrysostom, Adv. Jud., is still modest : ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν θεμέλιων ἐκπηδήσαν πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκῆλαστεν ; he adds, that the foundations which were laid bare remained so at his time : καὶ τούτου ἔστιν ἡώς τοῦ νῦν, τὰ θεμέλια γυμνωθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν τε τὸν χοῦν, ὅπου ἤρξαντο κενοῦν. Orat. de S. Babylon.

Gregory Nazianzen, in his invective against Julian, with a few bold strokes heightens the effect. The Jews of all ages and both sexes were at work, when, alarmed by a hurricane and an earthquake, they fled to a neighbouring temple, the gates of which were closed against them by an invisible power. The Jews endeavouring to force an entrance, a fire broke out and consumed them, as it did Sodom, Nadab, and Abihu. Some Jews, only partially burned, bore on their bodies the marks of the Divine wrath. Of the less modest historians the embellishments are given, with references, in the text. The rubbish, according to Theodoret, moved by night of its own accord : νύκτωρ δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὐτομάτως ἀπὸ τῆς φάραγγος μετεπίθετο ; violent winds dispersed the vast mass of materials prepared, many thousand measures (modii) of gypsum and chalk. For Gregory Nazianzen's story of the Temple, we read that a number of Jews had taken refuge and fallen asleep in the portico of a neighbouring temple, which fell upon them and crushed them all to death. Sozomen admits that different stories were current. The silence of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, on all these miracles, often alleged, is significant. Jost asserts that there is no allusion in the Talmudic writings to this

candour, one local circumstance must be mentioned, overlooked by those who impugn, as well as by those who maintain, the miracle—by Gibbon, Basnage, and Lardner—as well as by Warburton. It will be remembered that the hills on which Jerusalem stood were deeply and extensively undermined by subterranean passages. On the surprise of the Temple by John of Gischala, the whole party of Eleazar took refuge in these underground chambers. Numbers of the Zealots lay hid in similar caverns under Sion after the capture of the city by Titus; and the sudden rising of Simon on the hill of the Temple, after having descended on that of Sion, sufficiently proves the vast range of these mines, which communicated with each other under both the hills over which the city spread. The falling-in of the tomb of Solomon, during the rebellion under Bar-cochab, may also be adduced. In the long period of desolation, during which the hill of the Temple, especially, lay waste, the outlets of these caverns would be choked with rubbish and ruin; and the air within become foul and inflammable. That the vapours, thus fermenting under the whole depth of the hill, should, as is often the case in mines, become accidentally ignited during the work, kindle, and explode with violent combustion and terrific noise resembling an earthquake, was by no means beyond the ordinary course of nature; though it might be far beyond the philosophy of a people excited to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and already predisposed to consider the place as the chosen scene of miraculous interference. Even the fiery crosses on the garments might have been phosphoric exhalations, really seen, and easily wrought into that form by the awe-struck imagination of the Christians: and preternatural interference would hardly be called for to close the doors of a church against fugitives thus under the visible malediction of the Deity.¹

Nor, indeed, does the miracle, if we may presume so to

third building of the Temple; all the quotations about it are from later Jewish writers (iv. 257). See, however, next note. Those (I suspect, most modern readers) who are not convinced by, will read not without admiration, Warburton's dexterous and bold defence of the miracle. Compare Milman's note on Gibbon *in loc.*

¹ There is a very confused, and probably late, notice of this extraordinary event in the Talmudic writings. It is thrown back to the time of R. Joshua ben Chananiah, who lived during the reign of Hadrian,—a very wild anachronism. The writer adds, that the rebuilding was suspended on account of change in the mind of the emperor, and the hatred of the Samaritans! Lunz, Vorfrage, p. 175.

speak, appear necessary for its end ; for, according to the will of the Divine Ruler of the world, a more appalling and insuperable obstacle interrupted the unhallowed work. The discomfiture of the Jews was completed ; and the resumption of their labours, could they have recovered from their panic, was for ever broken off by the death of Julian. The emperor seems not to have reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel.¹ The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. On his approach, one of these, Bithra, situated among the branches of the Euphrates, was set on fire by his soldiers, and burned to ashes. The apostate himself fell : the Christian world beheld the vengeance of God—the Jew the extinction of all his hopes—in the early fate of this extraordinary man.²

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews ; but it was only a passing cloud. Valens and Valentinian reinstated the Jews and their Patriarch in their former rights ;³ yet the state of the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege—exemption from the public services. “Even the clergy,” such is the curious argument of this edict, “are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, without having previously discharged their duty to their country. He who would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public offices.”⁴ The Jews could not complain, if, admitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.⁵

During the declining days of the Roman Empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence, and the Jews

¹ Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3. Compare Le Beau, with S. Martin's note, iii. 93.

² Basnage, viii. 5. The Rabbins, as has been said, are altogether silent about Julian. “Ihre Quellen schweigen von Julian und seinen unternehmung. was auch in der Erfolglosigkeit seinem Grund haben kann.” Jost, Judenthum, ii. 470.

³ The Law of Valens and Valentinian is not extant ; but their equity to the Jews and respect for their Patriarchs is clearly shown by a Law of Arcadius, in which their authority is appealed to. Cod. Theodos. xvi. 13.

⁴ Cod. Theodos. xii. 1. 99.

⁵ It is in curious contrast with later times, that these duties having become onerous, the Jews were compelled by law to undertake them ; when they became again posts of profit and honour, the Jews were excluded from them till very recent days, by common consent.

sometimes became a subject of contention between the Church and the Throne.¹ Protected by the emperor as useful and profitable subjects, they were beheld by the more intemperate churchmen with still-increasing animosity. Maximus, an usurper, during his short reign, had commanded a synagogue, which had been wantonly burned in Rome, to be rebuilt at the expense of the community. Theodosius the Great renewed a similar edict, on a like occasion, and commanded the Bishop of Callinicum, in Osrhoene, to see the work carried into effect. The fiery zeal of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, broke out into a flame of indignation.² In a letter to the emperor, he declares his disapprobation of such outrages as burning synagogues: for priests ought to be the quellers of turbulence, and strive to promote peace, unless, he added, moved by injuries against their God, or contumelies against his Church. At the same time he asserts that no Christian bishop could conscientiously assist in building a temple for the circumcised. "Either the bishop will resist or comply: he must be a sinner or a martyr. Perhaps he may be tempted, by the hopes of martyrdom, falsely to assert his concurrence in the destruction of the synagogue. Noble falsehood! I, myself, would willingly assume the guilt,—I, I say, have set this synagogue in flames, at least in so far that I have urged on all—that there should be no place left in which Christ is denied." The Bishop designated a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy—a house of impiety—a receptacle of insanity—and concluded, in a tone of mingled pathetic expostulation and bitter invective, "This shall be the inscrip-

¹ It is curious that in the *Itinerary* of Rutilius, who wrote in the reign of Honorius, there is still a confusion between the Jews and Christians, whom Rutilius hates with Pagan impartiality. He lands near Faleria, where the Jews were in a kind of authority:—

Namque loci querulus curam Judæus agebat,
Huianis animal dissociale cibis;
Reddimus obscenæ convicia debita genti,
Quæ genitale caput propudiosa metit.
Radix stultitiae, cui frigida Sabbatho cordi
Sed cor frigidius religione sua est.
Septima quæque dies turpi damnata veterno,
Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei,
Cætera mendacis deliramenta catastæ
Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisse,
Pompeii bellis imperioque Titi.
Latius excisæ pestius contagia serpent
Victoresque suos natia victa premit.

The allusion to the origin of the Sabbath shows more than usual knowledge of Judaism, but the *victory* must be that which Christianity was achieving.

² Ambros. Epist. xxix.

tion of the edifice—‘A Temple of Ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians.’” Not content with addressing this letter to the emperor, who was then in Milan, he thundered against him from the pulpit. Theodosius had the weakness to yield to the daring churchman; the edict was recalled, and the Jews remained without a synagogue in that city, which, it may be observed, was divided by half the empire from the diocese of Ambrose. Theodosius, when removed from the influence of Ambrose, and brought by the approach of death to higher notions of Christian justice, issued an edict, which secured perfect toleration to the Jews, and condemned to an arbitrary punishment all who should burn or plunder their synagogues.¹

In the meantime the Patriarchate began to display manifest signs of decay. The Jews were seen before heathen tribunals—not only to decide their litigations with Christians, but as a court of appeal against the injustice of their own judicial authorities. Men excommunicated had recourse to pagan judges, not always inaccessible to bribery, to enforce their reinstatement in the rights of the synagogue.² A law of Theodosius was passed, which recognised the power of the Patriarchs to punish the refractory members of their own community. This law was confirmed under Arcadius and Honorius: the prefects were forbidden from interfering with the judicial courts of the Jewish primate. The same privileges were assigned to Jewish rulers of synagogues, Patriarchs, and Elders, which had been granted to the higher orders of the Christian clergy.³ They were exempted from attendance on the courts of law on the Sabbath or other holy days. In all causes which did not relate to their religion, they were

¹ “*Judæorum sectam nullâ lege prohibitam, satis constat: unde graviter commovemur interdictos quibusdam locis eorum fuisse conventus. Sublimis igitur Magnitudo tua, hac jussione susceptâ, nimietatem eorum qui, sub Christianæ religionis nomine, inlicita quæque præsumunt, et destruere synagogas atque exsoliare conantur, congrua severitate cohibebit.* Dat. iii. Kalend. Octob. Constantinopoli. Theodos. A. et Abundantio Coss. (A.D. 398).” Cod. Theodos. xvi. i. 9. This was confirmed by Arcadius and Honorius in a special law providing against the forcible entrance of strangers into the synagogues, which were to be held in peace and security. Cod. Theod. xvi. i. 12.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. i–8.

³ Cod. Theodos. ii. viii. 3, a law of Arcadius and Honorius. Compare viii. 8. 8.

A law of Arcadius prohibits a discreditable practice of certain Jews who took refuge in the churches from their creditors, or tried to escape punishment for their crimes by embracing Christianity. They were not to be admitted as converts till acquitted of their crimes, or till they had paid their debts.

amenable to the common courts.¹ If the parties agreed to compromise and arbitration, and the arbitrators were the Jewish Patriarchs, the provincial judges were to carry the sentence into execution, as of that of arbitrators appointed in the usual way. It would seem that, in disputes with Christians, both parties were expected to appear before the ordinary tribunals.² Another law was passed at this period characteristic of the times. It enacted that no Jew should be baptized without strict inquiry, and a sort of previous novitiate of good conduct.³ Some of the more worthless Jews had played upon the eagerness of the Church to obtain proselytes, and had made a regular trade of submitting to baptism in different places—by which they, in general, contrived to obtain handsome remuneration.⁴ This was facilitated by the numerous sects which distracted the Church, who vied with each other in the success of their proselytism, and rendered detection difficult. A miracle came to the assistance of the law in checking this nefarious traffic; unfortunately it was wrought in a Novatian, not in an orthodox congregation. When one of these unworthy proselytes presented himself, the indignant water flowed away, and refused to rebaptize one who had been so frequently baptized before with so little advantage.⁵

The clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which were darkening over the world, could not but spread a deeper gloom over the sullen national character of the Jews. The manner in which the contest was carried on with the Church was not calculated to enlighten their fanaticism; nor was it likely that, while the world around them was sinking fast into unsocial ferocity of manners, they should acquire the gentleness and humanity of civilisation. No doubt the more intemperate members of the synagogue, when they might do it securely, would revenge themselves, by insult or any other means of hostility in their power, against the aggressions of the Church. Though probably much would be construed into insult, which

¹ "Judæi, Romano et communi jure viventes de his causis, quæ non tam ad superstitionem eorum, quam ad forum et leges ac jura pertinent, adeant solenni jure judicia, omnesque Romanis legibus inferant et excipient actiones." Cod. Theodos. ii. 1. 10.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. 1. 13.

³ Cod. Theodos. ix. 45. 2: "De his qui ad ecclesiam confugient."

⁴ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 23. Insincere converts, who had not been baptized, were to be allowed to return to their former faith, it being very wisely judged that this was for the interest of Christianity: "Ad legem propriam (quia magis Christianitati consuletur) liceat remeare."

⁵ Socrat. H. E. vii. 17.

was not intended to give offence, it argues no great knowledge of Jewish character, or indeed of human nature, to doubt but that great provocation was given by the turbulent disposition of the Israelites.¹ It is a curious fact, and must have tended greatly to darken the spirit of animosity in the dominant Church against the Jews, that, whenever occasion offered, they sided with the Arian faction ; while the Arians were in general more tolerant towards the worshippers of the undivided Unity of God, than the Catholic Church. In the religious factions in Alexandria, we have seen them espousing the part of the Arian bishop against Athanasius ; and of all the sovereigns during this period, none were more friendly to the Jews than the Arian Gothic kings of Italy. It was about the commencement of the fifth century, that great, and probably not groundless, offence was taken at the public and tumultuous manner in which the Jews celebrated the feast of Purim, and their deliverance under Esther. Not content with beating the benches of the synagogue with stones and mallets, and uttering the most dissonant cries each time that the execrated name of Haman was pronounced, they proceeded to make a public exhibition of the manner in which the enemies of their nation might expect to be treated. They erected a gibbet, on which a figure, representing Haman, was suspended, and treated with every kind of indignity. Probably blasphemous expressions against all other Hamans might occasionally break forth. The Christians looked with jealous horror on that which they construed into a profane, though covert, representation of the Crucifixion. Sometimes, indeed, it is said, the gibbet was made in the form of a cross, with the body suspended upon it in like manner to that which was now becoming the universal object of adoration. No wonder if the two parties met in furious collision, and if the peace of the empire demanded the intervention of authority to put an end to these indecent scenes. By a law of Theodosius the Second, these festivals were prohibited.² In Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyria, these or similar causes of contention gave rise to violent tumults between the Jews and Christians. The synagogues were burned in many places. Theodosius commanded the prefect, Philip, to execute the law with the strictest impartiality : not to suffer the Jews to insult or show disrespect to

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. De Hæreticis, xliv. They are accused of joining with the Donatists in their tumults, of course in Africa.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. De Judæis, l. 18.

the Christian religion, yet by no means to interfere with the free exercise of their own faith.¹ In Syria these animosities led to still worse consequences. At a place called Inmestar, between Chalcis and Antioch, some drunken Jews began, in the public streets, to mock and blaspheme the name of Christ. They went so far as to erect a cross, and fastened a Christian boy to it, whom they scourged so unmercifully that he died. The offenders were justly punished with exemplary rigour; but the feud left a rankling hatred in the hearts of the Christians.² Some years after, they rose and plundered a synagogue in Antioch. The Roman governor espoused the cause of the Jews, this time the unoffending victims of wanton animosity; and, by an ordinance of the emperor, the clergy were commanded to make restitution. But the clergy found an advocate in the celebrated Simon Stylites, so called from his passing his life on the top of a slender column, sixty feet high. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of this saintly personage, to whom he wrote under the title of the "Holy Martyr in the Air"—earnestly soliciting his prayers. The order of restitution was annulled—the just prefect recalled.³ It is possible, however, that the synagogue in question may have been built in violation of a law of the empire, which prohibited the erecting any new edifices for Jewish worship.⁴

Perhaps unfortunately, as encouraging them to pursue such violent means of conversion, the Christians in the island of Minorca, by means of the conflagration of a synagogue, obtained a signal triumph—the baptism of all the Jews in the island.⁵ We have the account of this transaction on the authority of the Bishop himself, and it presents a singular picture of the times. The pious Severus was sorely grieved, that in an island where, though more useful animals abounded, wolves and foxes were not permitted to exist—where, though snakes and scorpions were found, yet, miraculously he would suppose, they were deprived of their venom—the Jews should be so numerous and wealthy in the two largest towns of the island, particularly in Magona, now Mahon. Long had he desired to engage in a holy warfare against this unbelieving race. He was at length encouraged to hope for victory by

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. l. 21.

² Socrates, H. E. vii. 16.

³ Evagrius, H. E. i. 13.

⁴ Cod. Theod. xvi. 27.

⁵ The Letter of Severus in Baronius, sub ann. 418.

the arrival of the relics of the martyr Stephen,¹ which were left in the island by the celebrated Orosius. In a short time the conflict began, and perpetual disputations took place. The Christians were headed by their Bishop, the Jews by a certain Theodorus, a man of acknowledged eminence in Rabbinical learning, and of such consequence in the place as to have filled the office of defender of the city.

The Christians, if we are to believe the Bishop, thought only of spiritual means of attack, persuasion, argument, with whatever miracles the relics of St. Stephen might vouchsafe to throw into their scale. The Jews had laid up in their synagogue more carnal weapons, stones, clubs, arrows, and other arms. Encouraged by two visions, the Bishop set off at the head of all his flock from Immona, and marched in the highest spirits to Magona, where he sent a summons of defiance to Theodorus and the Jews to meet him at the church. The Jews excused themselves because it was the Sabbath—and they could not enter an unclean place on that day. The Bishop immediately offered to meet them on their own ground, the synagogue. They still declined the contest, but surrounded the house in which the Bishop was, in great numbers. The Bishop mildly expostulated with them for having laid up arms in their synagogue. They denied the fact, and offered to confirm their assertion with an oath. "No need of oaths," replied the Bishop; "let us satisfy our own eyes;" and immediately he set forward with his whole troop, singing a verse of the Ninth Psalm, "Their memory hath perished *with a loud noise*;² but the Lord endureth for ever." The Jews gladly joined in the Psalm; applying it, no doubt, with a very different meaning. A fray began in the streets through some Jewish women throwing stones from the windows. The Bishop could not restrain his flock, who rushed furiously in. The fury of the assailants is directly attributed to Christ himself! No blood was shed on either side, except of an Achan in the Christian party, who endeavoured to purloin some valuable effects, and had his head broken by a stone from his own friends; but the Christians became masters of the synagogue, and set it on

¹ A Jew plays a conspicuous part in the discovery of these relics—no less a person than Gamaliel himself, the teacher of St. Paul, who appeared in a vision to Lucian, head of a monastery, at Caphargamala in Palestine. These relics were of sovereign efficacy in checking the Pelagian heresy.

² These words will not be found in the English translation; they appear in the Vulgate.

fire, with all its furniture, except the books of the Law and the articles of silver. There is no mention of arms having been discovered. The books were carried in reverential triumph to the church; the silver restored. The Christians returned, singing Psalms of thanksgiving, to their church. Three days after, the Jews assembled within the melancholy ruins of their religious house: the Christians also crowded in, and Theodorus began an eloquent vindication of the Law. He argued, he confuted all objections; he poured contempt on his opponents, who, by the confession of their Bishop, were so utterly discomfited as to look for help to heaven alone against this obstinate gainsayer. No miracle, however, was vouchsafed, and they owed their triumph to pure accident. They all began to cry with one voice, "Theodorus, believe in Christ!" The Jews mistook the words, and thought it was a shout of triumph, "Theodorus believes in Christ!" They dispersed on all sides. Women tore their hair, and cried in bitter desperation, "Oh, Theodorus, what hast thou done!" The men fled away to the woods and rocks. Theodorus, entirely deserted and left alone, had not strength of mind to resist. Reuben, the first of the Jews who had been converted, argued with him, and laid before him the advantages which might attend his becoming a Christian. The Rabbi yielded to these unworthy motives. The example of his defection was followed, and the Jews were generally baptized. The triumphant Bishop strongly recommended to his brethren the laudable example of his own zeal and success—an example which, as far as burning the synagogues, they seem to have been apt enough to adopt; for an express law appears to have been required from Honorius to prohibit these acts of violence.

The conversion of many Jews in Crete¹ reflects more credit on the humanity of the Christians, while it shows the wild and feverish fanaticism which still lay deep within the hearts of the Jews, ready to break forth at the first excitement of those unextinguishable hopes which were alike their pride, their consolation, and their ruin. Among the numerous and wealthy Israelites who inhabited that fertile island, an impostor appeared, who either bore or assumed the name of Moses. He announced himself as the successor of the great Lawgiver, and for a whole year travelled about the island, persuading his

¹ Socrates, vii. 38; Nicephorus, xiv. 40.

credulous countrymen to abandon their possessions and their farms to follow his guidance. They listened ; they relaxed their usual industry, and neglected their labours, under the fond hope of speedily obtaining possession of a more fertile land, that of milk and honey. The appointed time came, and at the call of Moses they crowded forth by thousands ; for he had proclaimed that, like the Red Sea of old, the deep Mediterranean would be turned to dry land before them. At the dawn of day they followed him blindly to the top of a lofty promontory, from whence he commanded them to throw themselves down. The foremost obeyed ; they were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or sank into the unobedient waves. Many perished ; more would have shared their fate, but for some fishing craft and merchant vessels belonging to the Christians, who showed the utmost activity in saving the lives of their deluded countrymen, and, by holding up the bodies of the drowned, prevented the rest from following their fatal example. The Jews, at length disabused, turned to revenge themselves on their leader. But he had disappeared ; no doubt he had secured a place of retreat, probably with some of the fruits of his imposture. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, cannot disguise his suspicion that he was a devil who assumed a human form for the destruction of those unhappy people. But many of the Jews, heartily ashamed of their own credulity, and struck with the brotherly kindness of the Christians, adopted the faith of love and charity.

We must revert to Alexandria, ever the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity. Yet no calamity could induce this gain-loving people to abandon that great emporium of commerce. Rarely have we directed our attention to the city of Alexandria but we have seen its streets flowing with the blood of thousands of Jews ; at our next view we always find them re-established in immense numbers, and in inexhaustible opulence. To the old feuds between Greeks and Jews in this city, noted at all times for its fierce and mutinous spirit, had succeeded those of the different sects of Christians, and of the Christians, Pagans, and Jews. Even holy bishops were not superior to the violence which the fiery climate seemed to infuse into the veins of these "children of the Sun." The records of the Alexandrian Church present, perhaps, the most unchristian page in Christian history.¹ At this period the

¹ Socrates, H. E. vii. 13. Socrates says of the Alexandrian seditions, διχα γάρ αίματος οὐ πανέται τῆς ὁρμῆς. They always ended in bloodshed.

city was rent into factions on a subject, all-important in those days, the merits of the dancers in the public exhibitions.¹ These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their synagogue.² Violent collisions of the different factions perpetually took place, which rarely terminated without bloodshed. Orestes, Prefect of Alexandria, determined to repress these sanguinary tumults, and ordered his police regulations to be suspended in the theatre.³ Certain partisans of Cyril, the Archbishop, entered the theatre with the innocent design, according to Socrates, on whose partial authority the whole affair rests, of reading these ordinances. Among the rest was one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an adherent of the Archbishop, whom he was wont frequently to applaud by clapping his hands (the usual custom in the church) whenever he preached. From what cause does not appear, but the Jews considered themselves insulted by his presence, and raised an outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous of the Archbishop, who had usurped on the civil authority, ordered Hierax to be seized and scourged. Cyril sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate their adversaries. Having put on rings of palm-bark that they might distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry of fire about the great church, called that of Alexander. The Christians rose, and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell on them, and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The militant Archbishop instantly took arms, attacked with a formidable force

¹ The severer Rabbins prohibited the theatre. “Iis denique, qui a Iudis abstinuerunt, multi Judæorum accensendi, qui a Rabbinis sæpius admoniti, coronam theatralem, veluti cœtum irrigorū, quem ingredi Plasmista prohibuerat, sanctitatis studio fugerunt.” Müller, *De Genio Ævi Theodosiani*, p. 60, with note. The Rabbinical authority was at its weakest in Greek Alexandria.

² The Jews and Christians, like the Blues and Greens in Constantinople, seem to have espoused the cause of different actors, ἔτι δὲ πλέον διὰ τὸν ὁρχηστὴς ἐκπεπολέμωντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν.

³ Perhaps these regulations might appoint different days for the different classes of the people to attend the theatre: this supposition would make the story more clear.

the synagogues of the Jews, slew many, drove the rest out of the city, and plundered their property.¹

The strong part which Orestes took against the Archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of the thriving and industrious Jews from the city, seem to warrant a suspicion that the latter were not so entirely without provocation. Both, however, sent representations to the emperor; but, probably before he could interfere, the feud between the implacable Prefect and the Archbishop had grown to a greater height. Cyril, it is said, on one occasion advanced to meet his adversary, with the Gospel in his hand, as a sign of peace; but Orestes, suspecting probably that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused this offer of conciliation. There were certain monks who lived in the mountains of Nitria. These fiery champions of the Church seized their arms, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the Patriarch. Emboldened by their presence, Cyril openly insulted Orestes—called him heathen, idolater, and many other opprobrious names. In vain the Prefect protested that he had been baptized by Atticus, a bishop in Constantinople. A man, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone at his head: the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants dispersed on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the inhabitants. The Alexandrian populace rose in defence of their Prefect; the monks were driven from the city, Ammonius tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up, paid him all the honours of a martyr, and declared that he had fallen a victim to his righteous zeal in defence of the Church. Even Socrates seems to shrink from relating this unchristian conduct of the Patriarch. Cyril himself was ashamed, and glad to bury the transaction in oblivion. Before long, however, his adherents perpetrated a more inhuman deed even than the plunder and expulsion of the Jews: it must be related, to show the ferocious character of their antagonists. There was a woman, named Hypatia, of extraordinary learning, and deeply versed in the Platonic philosophy. She lived in great intimacy with Orestes, and was suspected of encouraging him in his hostility to the Patriarch. This woman they seized, dragged her from her chariot, and, with the most revolting indecency, tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb. By another

¹ Baronius relates this act of the Archbishop with characteristic coolness: "Ex Judæis nonnullos neci dat, alios expellit e civitate, eorumque fortunas a multitudine diripi permittit." Sub ann. 415.

account Cyril himself is accused as having instigated, from jealousy of the fair Platonist's numerous hearers, this horrible act. It is grievous to add, that, through bribes and interest at the imperial court, the affair remained unpunished: nor do we hear that the Jews obtained either redress or restoration to their homes and property.

We gladly avert our eyes to catch a few occasional gleams of better feeling among the Christian hierarchy towards the subjects of our History. The history and the laws of the empire thus show the Jews in almost every province, not of the East alone, but of Greece, the Islands, Italy, Gaul, Africa, and Spain.¹ It is related that such was the spirit of love produced by the example of the good Hilary, in his diocese of Poitiers in Gaul, that at his funeral the Israelites were heard chanting in Hebrew their mournful psalms of lamentation for the Christian Bishop.² Some traits of friendly feeling, and of amicable correspondence with respectable Jews, occur in the elegant works of Sidonius Apollinaris.³

In the meantime the Jewish Patriarchate, after having exercised its authority for nearly three centuries, expired in the person of Gamaliel. Its fall had been prognosticated by many visible signs of decay and dissolution. The Jews, ever more and more dispersed, became probably a less influential part of the population in Palestine; at least, those in the Holy Land bore a less proportion to the numbers scattered throughout the world; and thus the bonds of authority over the more remote communities gradually relaxed. A law of Honorius gave a signal blow to its opulence: it prohibited the exportation of the annual tribute⁴ which the collectors of the Patri-

¹ Socrates, H. E. iii. 13.

² Honorat. Vit. S. Hilarii.

³ Yet Sidonius must apologise for his favourable disposition to a Jew: "Gozolas natione Judæus . . . cuius mihi quoque esset persona cordi, si non esset secta despecta . . ." Ep. iii. 4, and iv. 5. "Judæum præsens charta commendat, non quod mihi placeat error, per quem pereunt involuti. . . . Sed quia neminem ipsorum nos decet ex asse damnabilem pronunciare, dum vivit. In spe enim adhuc absolutionis est, cui suppetit posse converti" (vi. 11). See also Greg. Tur. ii. c. 21.

⁴ Jost attributes the gradual decline of the Patriarchate (at an earlier period) to the falling-off of its revenues: "Wenn wir nicht irren, so hatte die Schwäche des Patriarchats ihren Grund im Versiegen der Einnahmen, die ihm in früherer Zeit zugeflossen waren." Judenthum, ii. 158. They then began to send out their collectors: ". . . quos ipsi Apostolos vocant, qui ad exigendum aurum atque argentum a Patriarchâ certo tempore diriguntur, e singulis Synagogis exactam summam adque susceptam ad eundem reportent." Cod. Theodos. xvi. 14. Compare, on the title ἀποστόλος, Julian. Epist. xxv. Epiphanius de Hæres. 30, and the note on this law in Ritter's Cod. Theodos.

arch levied on the Jews throughout the empire, from Rome,¹ probably from the Western Empire. Five years after, it is true, this law was repealed, and the Patriarch resumed his rights; but the Jews were deprived, by another statute, of the agency—an office, now apparently become lucrative, which their active habits of trade enabled them to fill with great advantage to themselves. At length a law of Theodosius,² which has been differently understood, either stripped the Patriarch of the honorary title of Prefect, which had been assigned to him by former emperors, and thus virtually destroyed his authority; or as some—inaccurately, I conceive—suppose, expressly abolished the office. The crime imputed to the Patriarch was his erecting new synagogues, in defiance of the imperial laws. At all events, Gamaliel—even if after this statute he maintained the empty name of Patriarch—at his death had no successor; and this spiritual monarchy of the West was for ever dissolved.³ It may be said that the dominion passed into the hands of the Rabbinical aristocracy. The Jerusalem Talmud had already been compiled, as a new code: it embodied and preserved the learning of the schools in Palestine, which, before the fall of the Patriarchate, had almost come to an end. But the later compilation, the Talmud of Babylon, eclipsed the more obscure and less perfect work of the Palestinian Jews, and became the law and the religion of the whole race of Israel.

The Talmud remains as a whole secluded in its mysteries, except to those who are not only Hebrew scholars, but who have mastered the later and less classical Hebrew (if it may

¹ Cod. Theod. xvi. 15.

² Cod. Theodos. xvi. On the title of Agentes in Rebus, compare note on Law 24.

³ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 22:—

"Quoniam Gamalielus existimavit se posse impune delinquere, quod magis est erectus fastigio dignitatum." He was ordered to surrender his patent (codicillum) of office as honorary Prefect, "Ita ut in eo sit honore in quo ante Præfecturam fuerat constitutus, ac deinceps nullas condi faciat Synagogas: et si quæ sint in solitudine, si sine seditione possent deponi, perficiat." The same edict prohibited the circumcision, by him or any other Jew, of any Christian. Christian slaves were to be emancipated according to the law of Constantine. Compare Law 26.

On the other hand, a law of Theodosius the younger prohibited the depriving the Jews of their synagogues, and burning them. If any synagogues, since the passing of the law, had been consecrated as churches, or for Christian uses, sites were to be given of equal dimensions. Any offerings (donativa) which had not been consecrated to Christian uses were to be restored; if consecrated, an adequate price was to be paid. But while the old synagogues were permitted to stand, no new ones were to be built. Ccd. Theod. xvi. 25.

be so said) of the Rabbins.¹ In our days perhaps the Talmud, revealed in all its secret lore, might obtain a fair hearing and a dispassionate judgment. But immediately after, or indeed before its final compilation had begun, three ages of intense, bitter, unforgiving hatred between Jew and Christian had intervened—ages of division too natural, too inevitable, when Christians hated each other for far less glaring differences, and with even more implacable cordiality, than they did the Jews. During this period the Christian considered himself involved in an inextinguishable blood-feud with the Jew, the murderer as he was esteemed of the Saviour; and the Jew, scattered, despised, downtrodden, could not but look with the gloomiest envy on the Christian, who had succeeded in conquering the world to his faith, an achievement which, in his high days of hope, he had thought to have been his own glorious destiny. He therefore shut himself up in his pride, as if his race were still the chosen, though as yet sorely tried and heavily burthened, people of God. In later times, when the schism grew wider and wider, the only way (as we shall find, it was proposed in the Middle Ages) to extirpate obstinate Judaism, was to burn and destroy, and utterly root out the Talmud. The Talmud therefore became more dear to the Jew, who was little inclined to unfold its lore to the blind, prejudiced Christians, unable to comprehend, and unworthy of being enlightened by its wisdom. As better times came on, Christian scholars—Lightfoot, Selden, the Buxtorffs, Meuschen, Wolf, Bartolocci—dug into those hidden mines, from the love of knowledge and the desire of illustrating the origin of their own religion. Eisenmenger undertook the hateful task of disclosing all the mysteries of Rabbinical learning, only to make the Jews more detestable to the Christian world, and to expose them to more merciless persecution. The title-page of his work is *Judaism Exposed* (*Entdecktes Judenthum*). It is, according to Eisenmenger, a profound and true statement of the frightful manner in which the obdu-

¹ Some separate treatises may be read translated into Latin or into modern languages, a few in the great Thesaurus of Ugolini. The vast scheme of Chiarini, who proposed to publish the whole Babylonian Talmud, translated into French (his single volume contains only the first treatise, the Beracoth), was cut off by his untimely death, in 1832. M. Pinner of Berlin issued proposals even on a larger scale for the publication of the whole Talmud with a German translation and copious notes and illustrations. Only the first volume appeared (at least I, as a subscriber to the work, have received but one, in folio, Berlin, A.D. 1842). I presume that the work has been discontinued, for what reason I know not.

rate Jews curse and scoff at the Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, mock at the Holy Mother of Christ, throughout insult the New Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists, the whole religion of Christ. Odious as was the spirit and intention of Eisenmenger, his reading was vast, his industry indefatigable (two enormously thick quarto volumes are crowded with citations in the original, and with translations). I have never heard his accuracy seriously impeached. But the grave defect of the book is, that passages from the Talmud are heaped together indiscriminately with passages from the modern writings, writings of times when cruel persecution, as well as contempt, had for centuries goaded the miserable Jews to the only vengeance in which, besides overreaching in trade, they could indulge,—writings in their own secret unintelligible language, such as the *Toldoth Jesu*, and the other “fiery weapons of Satan,” published later, to the horror and detestation of Christian Europe, by Wagenseil.¹ Of all the Jewish books, early and late, the extracts in Eisenmenger, read with this caution and in the more generous spirit of our times, form certainly a most curious and instructive collection. Take the strange, monstrous Oriental hyperboles, in which the barbarised Jews endeavoured to describe the Undescribable, to represent under imagery the Inconceivable Godhead and his attributes; the wild, sometimes profound, and almost sublime allegories, which Eisenmenger, and probably the more ignorant Jews themselves, understood literally, as they did the strange apologetics and parables. Consider the philosophy of the Talmud without the apologetic reserve and prudent suppression of the modern Jewish writers, or without the remorseless literalness of most Christian expositors; without receiving it as altogether a mystery of esoteric wisdom, skilfully and subtly couched in language only really intelligible to the initiate, but as the growth of the human mind in a very peculiar condition, a legendary and a scholasticism, and a mysticism of half-European, half-Asiatic cast. But this would require a perfect mastery of Rabbinical Hebrew in its gradual development and expansion, as well as a calm and subtle, and penetrating, I would almost say, considering the

¹ The “*Tela Ignea Satanae*.” Wagenseil himself admits the wretched trash about the birth and early life of the Saviour, in the *Toldoth Jesu*, to be very modern: “nam est omnino recens seu abortus” (p. 25). I apprehend that it was crushed out of the maddened hearts of the Jews by the Inquisition—a miserable revenge, but still revenge! It first appeared in the *Pugio Fidei* of the Spanish monk Raymond Martin.

subjects often in discussion, a reverential judgment—the gift of few men, of still fewer who are likely to devote their minds to what after all might prove but a barren study. So alone should we know what the Jews have been, what they may be; and fully understand their writings, and their later history. A religious mind would be above all indispensable; but the combination of religious zeal with respect for the religion of others is the last and tardiest growth in the inexhaustible soil of Christian virtue.¹

¹ The calm and sober chapters of Jost, in his *Judenthum*, on the Talmud (*Judenthum*, ii. pp. 202–222), deserve to be read and studied. See his distinction between the Halacha and the Midrasch, p. 213. "While, as the Halacha was the very life of the religion, it rigorously enforced the Law in all its strictest observances, with all the subtlety and ingenuity by which its provisions had been fenced about, and guarded by the most minute definitions, so the Midrasch was the element of the most boundless intellectual activity, or of thought and opinion, 'des Denkens und Meinens.' All which did not belong to the Law it assumed as its province; the conceptions of God, of angels and spirits; notions of the being and destiny of man in this world and the next; the moral law in all its bearings; the treatment of the historical events in the Jewish annals; the possible meaning of every expression in the Holy Scriptures; the reconciliation of seemingly contradictory characters of Biblical persons; popular traditions and proverbs; popular belief and superstition, even particular observances of the Law, as far as they could be brought into relation with such inquiries,—in short, an endless world of actual life and creative imagination was contained in the Agada or Midrasch." The Agada ". . . represents God as acting and speaking as appears to the writers necessary for his purposes; it brings forward holy men and women of the old times before the eyes of its hearers as conversing with God and with spirits; it permits God and the angels to mingle in the commerce and strife of men, often to act according to their wish; on the holy it bestows miraculous powers of the most extraordinary kind. They heal the sick of whom art has despaired, kill with a word or a look . . . all nature is under their command. . . . They have unlimited power over evil spirits. The Agada seizes all sorts of tenets and opinions, which are not accordant with Jewish language and views, to mould them after its own fashion; it takes up Pythagorean and Platonic, Alexandrian and Gnostic, Persian and other Oriental notions, and turns them into Jewish. Hence the infinite charm of variety, and the delight of the Jews to wander in this wild garden; hence the acknowledged impossibility to introduce anything like tenets, or even to lay down principles of tenets."

This fertile imagination of the Jews had already allowed itself free play in the apocryphal books, such as the fourth (so-called) Esdras, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Book of Enoch; to say nothing of the *Jewish* part of the *Oracula Sibyllina*. Compare Ewald, especially on the fourth book of Esdras, xvii. 63, &c.; Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apocalyptik*.

Pinner, in his preface, has cited the opinions of many other learned men as to the real character and contents of the genuine Talmud. See, too, Salvador (*Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine*) for a defence of the Talmud.

BOOK XXI

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS

Irruption and Conquests of the Barbarians—Trade of the Jews—Slave-Trade—Decrees of Councils—Of Pope Gregory the First—Conduct of the Christians to the Jews—Arian Kings of Italy—Pope Gregory the First—State anterior to the Rise of Mohammedanism in the Eastern Empire—Insurrections of the Samaritans—Laws of Justinian—Dispute about the Language in which the Law was to be read—State of the Jews in the Persian Dominions—Persecutions—Civil Contests—Conquest of Syria and Jerusalem by the Persians—Reconquest by the Emperor Heraclius.

THE irruption of the Northern Barbarians during the latter half of the fourth to about the end of the fifth century so completely disorganised the whole frame of society, that the condition of its humblest members could not but be powerfully influenced by the total revolution in the government, in the possession of the soil, and in the social character of all those countries which were exposed to their inroads. The Jews were widely dispersed in all the provinces on which the storm fell—in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine—in such parts of Germany as were civilised—in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. An early law of Constantine¹ shows them as settled at Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), another in Macedonia and Illyricum. The Western emperors legislate concerning the Jews as frequently as the Eastern. In Gaul, Council after Council, not only those which denounce their commerce in slaves, but others in every part, in Bretagne, at Agde, in the South, show them as living on terms of free intercourse with the Christians; the clergy alone were forbidden to share in their feasts, or to admit them to their own hospitable boards.² We have seen them mourning over a humane Bishop of Poitiers; so too over another Bishop, Gallus of Clermont, whose bier they followed weeping, with lighted torches.³ They

¹ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 3. 12.

² Concil. Venet. (Vannes, can. 21) Agathensis (Agde). The Council of Elvira did not confine this prohibition to the clergy.

³ Gregor. Tur. Vit. Patr. c. vii.

are employed by another Bishop of Clermont (Sidonius Apollinaris) in offices of trust. The laws of the Burgundians define the mulct for a Jew who shall strike a Christian with fist or cudgel or whip or stone, or pull his hair.¹ If he lifted his hand against the sacred person of a priest, the penalty was death and confiscation of goods.² In Italy we shall have full account of their state and condition. The decrees of the Council of Elvira have already recognised them as landowners and cultivators of the soil in Spain. Of the original progress of the Jews into these countries, history takes no notice; for they did not migrate in swarms, or settle in large bodies, but sometimes as slaves, following the fortunes of their masters; sometimes as single enterprising traders, they travelled on and advanced as convenience or profit tempted, till they reached the verge of civilisation. On them the successive inroads and conquests of the Barbarians fell much more lightly than on the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the different provinces; rarely encumbered with landed property or with immovable effects; sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat, before the cloud burst, to the more secure and peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. Through burning towns and ravaged fields he travelled, regardless of the surrounding misery which enveloped those with whom he had no ties of attachment. If splendid cities became a prey to the flames, or magnificent churches lay in ashes, his meager dwelling was abandoned without much regret, and with no serious loss; and even his synagogue might perish in the common ruin, without either deeply wounding the religious feelings of the worshippers, who had no peculiar local attachment to the spot, or inflicting any very grievous loss on a community who could re-establish, at no great expense, their humble edifice. If, indeed, individuals experienced considerable losses, their whole trading community had great opportunities of reimbursement, which they were not likely to

¹ Baronius, Ann. A.D. 445-9, 449-61.

² Leg. Burgund. (apud Canciani, xix.). De Judæis qui in Christianum manum præsumerint mittere.

overlook or neglect in the wild confusion of property which attended the conquests of the invaders. Where battles were fought, and immense plunder fell into the power of the wandering Barbarians, the Jews were still at hand to traffic the worthless and glittering baubles with which ignorant savages are delighted, or the more useful, but comparatively cheap instruments and weapons of iron and brass, for the more valuable commodities, of which the vendors knew not the price or the use. These, by the rapid and secret correspondence which, no doubt, the Israelites had already established with their brethren in every quarter of the world, were transported into more peaceful and unplundered regions, which still afforded a market for the luxuries and ornaments of life. Already in the time of Gregory the First, a more perilous traffic had begun. Some of the clergy had dared, or had been compelled by want, to alienate the sacred vessels and furniture of their churches to the profane hands of the Jew merchant. Gregory declares with horror¹ that the clergy of Venafro had sold to a Jew two silver cups, two crowns with dolphins, the lilies of two others, six larger and seven smaller pallia.² It seems that the sale was illegal, and the Jew could be forced to regorge his prey. Gregory, as we shall hereafter see, was generally just and humane to the Jews. As to the particulars of this commerce, we have no certain information, as, in truth, the fact rests rather on inference than on positive data; but if it existed to the extent we believe, it must have been highly lucrative, when the vendors were ignorant barbarians, and the purchasers intelligent, and, probably, not over-scrupulous traders, well acquainted with the price which every article would bear in the different markets of the civilised world. Nor is it improbable that, by keeping alive the spirit of commerce, which might otherwise have become utterly extinct amid the general insecurity, the interruption of the usual means of communication, and the occupation of the roads by wild marauders, the Jews conferred a great advantage on society, by promoting the civilisation of these wild and warlike hordes. But we have ample evidence that one great branch of commerce fell almost entirely into the hands of the Jews—the internal slave-trade of Europe. It is impossible to suppose but that this strange state of things must have inspired a sort of revengeful satisfaction into the mind of the zealous Israelite. While his former

¹ "Quod dici nefas est."

² S. Greg. Epist. i. 55.

masters, or, at least, his rulers, the Christians, were wailing over their desolate fields, their ruined churches, their pillaged monasteries, their violated convents, he was growing rich amid the general ruin ; and, perhaps, either purchasing for his own domestic service, at the cheapest price, the fairest youths, and even high-born maidens, or driving his gangs of slaves to the different markets, where they still bore a price. The Church beheld this evil with avowed grief and indignation. In vain Popes issued their rescripts, and Councils uttered their interdicts ; the necessity for the perpetual renewal both of the admonitions of the former, and the laws of the latter, show that they had not the power to repress a practice which they abhorred. The language of these edicts was, at first, just and moderate. The Christians had, probably, the wisdom to perceive that, however apparently disgraceful to their cause, and productive of much misery, this trade had also its advantages, in mitigating the horrors and atrocities of war. Servitude was an evil, particularly when the Christian was enslaved to an Infidel or Jew, but it was the only alternative to avoid massacre. Conquering savages will respect human life only where it is of value as a disposable article—they will make captives only where captives are useful and saleable. In the interior of Africa, it may be questionable how far the slave-trade increases or allays the barbarity of warlike tribes. No doubt many marauding expeditions are undertaken, and even wars between different tribes and nations entered into, with no other motive or object of plunder except the miserable beings which supply the slave-marts ; but where the war arises from other causes, it would probably terminate in the relentless extermination of the conquered party, if they were not spared, some may say, and with justice, for the more pitiable fate of being carried across the desert as a marketable commodity. But with the northern tribes, the capture of slaves was never the primary object of their invasions ; they moved onward either in search of new settlements, or propelled by the vast mass of increasing population among the tribes beyond them : at this period, therefore, this odious commerce must have greatly tended to mitigate the horrors of war, which the state of society rendered inevitable.

From the earliest period after Christianity assumed the reins of the empire, the possession of Christian slaves by the circumcised had offended the dominant party. Constantine issued a severe law, which prohibited the Jew, under

pain of confiscation of property, from buying a Christian slave; but this law was either never executed, or fell into disuse.¹ It was re-enacted by Theodosius, with the addition, that such as were slaves before the issue of the decree were to be redeemed by the Christians.² A law of Honorius³ only prohibited the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism, not interfering with, or rather fully recognising, the Jews' right of property in their bondsmen.⁴ After the evil had grown, through the incessant barbaric wars, to a much greater magnitude, the Council of Orleans⁵ (A.C. 540) took the lead, but with great fairness and moderation, in the laudable attempt to alleviate its baneful effects on the religious as well as the temporal state of the slave. That assembly enacted, "That if a slave was commanded to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church: the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master." The Fourth Council of the same place (A.C. 541) goes further: "If a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at a fair price." Further: "Any Jew who makes a proselyte to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself (probably as wife or concubine), or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith, and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms shall not presume to fulfil the condition, for a born Christian who embraces Judaism is unworthy of liberty." The First Council of Macon (A.C. 582) enacts, "That according to the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, the conditions by which a Christian, either as a captive in war or by purchase, has become slave to a Jew, must be respected. But since complaints have arisen that Jews living in

¹ ² Cod. Theodos. xvi. Sozomen. Ιουδαίων δὲ ἐνομοθέτησαν μήδενα δοῦλον ὠνεῖσθαι τῶν ἐξ ἑρέπας αἰρέσεως. The slave was confiscated to the public treasury. H. E. iii. 19.

² Cod. Theodos. iii. 1. 5. The date is A.C. 384.

³ ⁴ Cod. Theodos. xvi. 8. 3. The law is dated A.C. 415.

⁴ Jost, Judenthum, ii. 158, mentions Abahu, a wealthy and enlightened Jew of Cæsarea, who was on friendly and familiar terms with the Roman pro-consul, and though he conversed in Greek with the proconsul, and allowed his daughters to be taught Greek, still lived in amity with the Rabbins, and even lectured in the synagogues. He was served by Gothic slaves, and had an ivory chair.

⁵ Labbe. Concil. sub ann.

the great and small towns have been so shameless as to refuse a fair price for the redemption of such bondsmen, no Christian can be compelled to remain in slavery; but every Christian has a right to redeem Christian slaves at the price of twelve solidi¹ (to such a price had human life fallen), either to restore them to freedom, or to retain them as his own slaves; for it were unjust that those whom our Saviour has redeemed by his blood, should groan in the fetters of unchristian persecutors." These laws produced little effect; for in the first place they calculated, far beyond the character of the age, on the predominance of Christian charity over the love of lucre, both in the clergy and the laity. Besides, the whole administration of law had fallen into the worst disorder. Every kingdom, province, or district had its separate jurisdiction; no uniformity of system could prevail; and where the commonalty, many of the administrators of the law, and even the clergy, could neither write nor read, the written rescripts of councils were often but a dead letter. The Fourth Council of Toledo (A.C. 633) recognised the practice of Jewish slave-dealing as in full force. The Tenth at the same place (A.C. 655) complains that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and heathens." At the close of the sixth century, one of the wisest and most humane Pontiffs filled the Papal chair, Gregory the First. The Pope in his pastoral letters alternately denounces, bewails, and, by authoritative rebuke and appeal to the better feelings, endeavours to suppress, this "cruel and impious" traffic, which still existed in Italy, Sicily, and the South of France. He writes to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, "that he has received an account that a Jewish miscreant has built an altar, and forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it."² The Prefect was directed to inflict corporal chastisement on the offender, and to cause all the slaves to receive their freedom. The next year he writes to Venantius, Bishop of Luna in Tuscany, rebuking him for permitting Christian slaves to come into the power of Jewish masters, contrary to his duty. Those who had been long in the possession of such masters, were to

¹ According to the calculation adopted by Gibbon for this period, about 36s. of our money.

² The altar was dedicated to the blessed *Elias*: a singular circumstance, if true, as it should seem that the Jew tempted other Christians besides slaves to this "saint-worship," so contrary to the spirit of his own religion. The Jew, it is insinuated in the charge, had bribed the Bishop to connivance. *Greg. Epist. lib. ii. ep. 37.*

be considered as villains attached to the soil (the Jews, it should seem, were considerable landed proprietors or cultivators of the land in Italy). But if the Jew resisted, or abused his seignorial right to transplant the slave¹ from the soil to which he belonged, he was to lose his lease of land, as well as his right over the slave. Gregory distinguishes between the possession of and the trade in slaves. No Jew or heathen, who was desirous of becoming a Christian, was to be retained in slavery. Lest the Jew should complain that he is robbed of his property, this rule is to be observed: if a heathen slave, bought as an article of trade, within three months after the sale, and before he finds another purchaser, shall wish to embrace Christianity, the Jew shall receive the full price from a Christian slave-purchaser; if after that time, he shall immediately obtain his freedom, as it is evident that the Jew keeps him not for sale, but for service.² This was, as it were, within the dominions of the Papacy, at least, almost bordering on the Pope's own particular diocese. In the Gallic provinces, as probably his power was less implicitly acknowledged, so his tone is less peremptory. The slaves in such cases were to be repurchased out of the goods of the Church. Gregory writes to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul: "Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, *i.e.* deduct from the annual payment made to Rome."³ Three years earlier he had written to Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, rebuking him, because certain slaves, belonging to Jews, who had taken refuge in a church, had been given up to the unbelievers. He here declares "that every slave so seeking baptism becomes free, and the treasures of the poor (*i.e.* the goods of the Church) are not to suffer loss for their redemption."⁴

¹ "Quod si quispiam de his vel ad alium locum migrare, vel in obsequio suo retinere voluerit, ipse sibi reputet qui jus colonarium temeritate suā, jus vero juris dominii sui severitate damnavit." Lib. iii. epist. 21.

² This appears from a second letter to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, lib. v. ep. 31. The Pagan or Jewish slave who wished to embrace Christianity "in libertatem modis omnibus vindicetur."

³ Lib. vi. epist. xxi.

⁴ "Sive olim Christianus, sive nunc fuerit baptisatus, sine ullo Christianorum pauperum damno religioso ecclesiasticæ pietatis patrocinio in libertatem modis omnibus vindicetur." Epist. lib. iii. 9.

There is in his very curious letter to Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples, an approval of his ardent zeal in favour of Christian slaves bought by the Jews in the Gallic provinces. The Pontiff had intended entirely to interdict the trade. But a certain Jew, Basilius, with several others, had waited upon him, and stated that this traffic was recognised by the judicial authorities, and that it was only by accident that Christian slaves were bought among the heathen.¹ In a solemn tone, the Pontiff thus writes to Thierri and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to Queen Brunehaut: "We are in amazement that, in your kingdom, Jews are permitted to possess Christian slaves. For, what are Christians but members of Christ's body, who, as ye know, as we all know, is their Head? Is it not most inconsistent to honour the Head, and to allow the members to be trampled on by his enemies? We entreat your Majesties to expel this baneful traffic from your dominions: so will ye show yourselves true worshippers of Almighty God, by delivering his faithful from the hands of their adversaries."² Another letter of Gregory, to Leo, Bishop of Catania in Sicily, establishes the curious fact that the Samaritans were likewise widely dispersed, and shared this traffic with the Jews: "A circumstance, both revolting and contrary to the law, hath been made known to us—a circumstance, if true, worthy of the strongest reprobation and the heaviest punishment. We understand that certain Samaritans resident at Catania buy heathen slaves, whom they are so daring as to circumcise. You must investigate this affair with impartial zeal, take such slaves under the protection of the Church, and not suffer these men to receive any repayment. Besides this loss, they must be punished to the utmost extremity of the law."³ According to the Roman law, which still prevailed in Sicily, the penalty of circumcising slaves was death and confiscation of property. In all other respects, this wise and virtuous Pontiff religiously maintained that tolerance towards the Jews which they enjoyed, with few exceptions, during this period of confusion, and even for some time after the conversion of the Barbarian monarchs to Christianity.⁴

For all this time the Church was either sadly occupied in mourning over the ravages which enveloped the clergy and

¹ Lib. vii. 2. 35.

² Lib. vii. 2. 115, 116.

³ Lib. v. epist. 32. Compare lib. vii. epist. 22.

⁴ See a letter to the Bishop of Palermo, lib. vii. epist. 26. Compare vii.

people in common ruin, or more nobly, in imparting to the fierce conquerors the humanising and civilising knowledge of Christianity. It had not the power—we trust, in those times of adversity, that best school of Christian virtue, not the will—to persecute. There is a remarkable picture of the state of the Jews in Africa, in a tract printed among the works of St. Augustine, called the “Altercation between the Synagogue and the Church.”¹ The date of this record is uncertain; but it seems earlier, rather than later, as Basnage supposes, than the Vandal conquest of that region. The Synagogue maintains that “she is neither the slave nor the servant of the Church, since her sons are free, and, instead of being constrained to wear fetters and other marks of servitude, have full liberty of navigation and commerce.” This seems to indicate considerable extent of trade. On the other hand, the Church rejoins that the Synagogue is obliged to pay tribute to the Christians; that a Jew cannot pretend to the empire, or to become a count (*comes*) or governor of a province; that he cannot enter into the senate or the army; that he is not even received at the tables of men of rank; and that if he is allowed the means of obtaining a livelihood, it is only to prevent his perishing of hunger.

Theodoric, the Arian Gothic king of Italy, it has already been observed, openly protected the Jews.² His secretary, Cassiodorus, prompted and encouraged this enlightened policy. The king lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion, that the Israelites showed an excessive zeal for the goods and for the peace of this world, while they lost all thought of immortality; but he discountenanced and repressed all insult and violence. He reproved the senate of Rome, because on account of some private quarrel the synagogue had been burned. He strongly rebuked the clergy of Milan, who had endeavoured to make themselves masters of a synagogue and all its property.³ He repressed the people of Genoa, who had abrogated all the privileges of the Jews, long resident among them; had risen, pillaged, and unroofed the synagogue.⁴ He directed that the Israelites should be reinstated in their privileges, and permitted to rebuild their synagogue, provided that it was a plain building, and covered no larger space of ground

¹ Augustin. Oper. “Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae.”

² Theodoric. Edict. 143.

³ Cassiodor. Var. v. 37.

⁴ Cassiod. Var. ii. 27, and iv. 33.

than their former one. This was at the end of the fifth century. It was about the end of the sixth that the Pope himself assumed the saintly office of protector of the oppressed. From several of the letters of Gregory the First, it appears that the Jews had laid their grievances before him in person, and obtained redress.¹ He severely rebuked those whose intemperate zeal had led them to insult the synagogues by placing the images of the Virgin and the crucified Redeemer within their walls;² yet he was by no means remiss in his attempts to convert these unbelievers; but they were to be won by tenderness, by gentleness, not by threats, terrors, and unjust usage.³ The Pope stands in amiable contrast to other potentates of his time. The tyrannical and bloody Chilperic, the contemporary king of Paris and Soissons, with the fierce and ignorant ardour of a man who hoped by his savage zeal for the Christian faith to obtain remission for his dreadful violations of every Christian virtue, compelled the Jews, who seem to have been numerous and wealthy, to receive baptism. But it was remarked that these compulsory converts were but doubtful believers; they observed their own Sabbath as strictly as that of the Church. Chilperic, whom Gregory of Tours calls the Nero of France, was a theologian, in his own estimation, of the highest authority. He wrote on the Trinity and the Incarnation. The orthodox detected manifest Sabellianism in the royal tract, which, nevertheless, the king would impose by summary edicts on his subjects. Chilperic would personally convince the Jews of their blind error. There was a certain Priscus, a vendor of ornaments, perhaps a jeweller, in his court. The king one day, pulling the Jew gently by the beard, ordered the good Bishop of Tours, Gregory, the historian, to lay his episcopal hands upon him—the sign of

¹ Gregory reproves the Bishop of Terracina for having driven the Jews from certain places where they were accustomed to hold their festivities: “Eos enim, qui a Christianâ religione discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare; ne quos dulcedo prædicationis, et prætensus futuri judicis terror ad credendum invitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur.” Epist. lib. i. 34.

² Epist. vii. ii. 5. This crime had been committed by a Jewish convert at Cagliari, who had insulted the synagogue which he had abandoned, by attacking it on the day of the Passover, and placing an image of the Virgin within it. “The Jews,” observes the Pope, “are forbidden to build new synagogues, but we have no right to deprive them of the old.”

³ There is a letter of Gregory appointing a provision for certain converted Jewish females, “rationabili moderatione concurrere, ne victus, quod absit, inopiam patiantur.” Epist. iii. 31. The Jews on the farms of the Church in Sicily were to have their payments lightened. Epist. iv. 6. Compare vii. 33.

proselytism. The Jew resisted. "O stubborn soul and incredulous race!" said the king, and proceeded to ply the Jew with theological arguments. Priscus resolutely asserted the Unity of God, averred that he neither had nor could have a Son, a consort in his power. The king argued in vain; the bishop tried his skill with gentler and better reasoning, but with as little effect. The Jew stood firm; the king tried blandishments, but with no greater result. He then took to more powerful reasoning; he threw the obstinate unbeliever into prison. The Jew sought to gain time, promised, after he had married his son to a Jewish maiden at Marseilles, to consider, of course to yield to the royal teacher. But the king had more convincing allies than the good bishop. Phatir, a Christian proselyte, at whose baptism the king had been sponsor—thus his son by a closer tie than birth—perhaps from some old grudge, rushed into the synagogue with his armed followers and murdered the defenceless Priscus. The murderers took refuge in the Church of St. Julian. The king, to do him justice, sent troops to seize and execute them. Phatir fought his way through (his accomplices killed each other), and found an asylum in the kingdom of Burgundy, where he was afterwards killed. Some of the Gallic prelates, Virgilius of Arles, and Theodore of Marseilles, followed the example of Chilperic's zeal. They compelled the Jews in their respective dioceses to submit to baptism. But there were merchants among them, it would seem, of wealth and widespread connections; these men appealed to Pope Gregory. Gregory in his letter¹ positively prohibits all force. He argues with simple good sense, that, however the bishops may have been moved by love for the Redeemer, the compulsory convert will no doubt revert to his former belief; gentle persuasion is the only sure means of changing the heart. The Pope himself, as we have seen, employed these more Christian, though occasionally more politic, and doubtless more effective, means of conversion. He forbade, as we have said, all outrage or insult; but, as we have also seen, he executed rigidly the Laws of Asylum, by which the Jews daily lost their slaves; and while by his protection he appealed to their better feelings, he laid a temptation in the way of their avarice, by offering remission of taxes to all converted Jews. We shall hereafter see the manner in which Spain maintained its dark

¹ Epist. i. 45. Compare xi. 15.

distinction of being the first as well as the most ardent votary of religious persecution, and the fatal consequences of her implacable intolerance.

Scarcely had the world begun to breathe after the successive shocks which its social state had received from the inroads of the Northern barbarians—scarcely had it begun to assume some appearance of order, as the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively arose upon the broken ruins of the Roman empire—when Mohammedanism suddenly broke forth, and, spreading with irresistible rapidity over great part of Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, effected a complete revolution in the government, the manners, and the religion of half the world. The Persian kingdom fell at once, and the Magian religion was almost extinguished. In the Asiatic provinces, Christianity, excepting in Armenia, was reduced to an inconsiderable and persecuted sect. A magnificent mosque took the place of the Jewish Temple on the summit of Moriah. The flourishing churches of Africa, the dioceses of Cyprian and Augustine, were yielded up to the interpreters of the Koran, and the Cross found a precarious refuge among the mountains of the Asturias, while the Crescent shone over the rich valleys of Spain and the splendid palaces of Grenada and Cordova. Such a revolution, as it submitted them to new masters, could not but materially affect the condition of the Jews. In most respects, the change was highly favourable; for, though sometimes despised and persecuted by the Saracenic emperors and caliphs, in general their state was far less precarious and depressed than under the Christians; and they rose to their great era of distinction in wealth, cultivation, and in letters, under the mild dominion of the Arabian dynasty in Spain.

In order to trace the influence of this great revolution, we return to the East, and survey the state of the Jews—I. Under the Byzantine empire—II. Under the later Persian monarchs—and III. In Arabia. The Greek empire was rapidly verging to decay; the imperial court was a scene of intrigue and licentiousness, more like that of an Asiatic sultan than of the heir of the Roman name. The capital was distracted by factions, not set in arms in support of any of those great principles which dignify, if they do not vindicate, the violence of human passions, but in assertion of the superior skill of dancers and charioteers. The circus, not the senate, was the scene of their turbulence; the actor, not the orator, was the

object of popular excitement. An eunuch, Narses, and a Thracian peasant, Belisarius, alone maintained the fame of Rome for valour and ability in war. The Church was rapidly increasing in power, but by no means, notwithstanding the virtues and talents of men like Chrysostom, in the great attributes of the Christian religion—wisdom, holiness, and mercy. The Jews, probably by their industry as traders and their connection with their brethren in the East, ministered considerably to the splendour and luxury of the imperial court. But the fall of the Patriarchate, and the dispersion of the community in Palestine, which seems entirely to have lost the centre of unity with the religious capital, Tiberias, lowered the whole race in general estimation. They were no longer a native community, or, it might almost be said, a state, whose existence was recognised by the supreme power, and which possessed an ostensible head, through whom the will of the sovereign might be communicated, or who might act as the representative of the nation. They sank into a sect, little differing from other religious communities which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the established Church. In this light they are now considered in the imperial laws.¹ Hitherto they had enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; but the emperors now began to exclude from offices of honour and dignity all who did not conform to the dominant faith. This was the great revolution in their state: from followers of a different religion they were degraded into heretics; and the name of heretic implied all that was odious and execrable to the popular ear; all that was rebellious to civil and ecclesiastical authority. It was a crime to be put down by the rigour of the law—and the law put forth its utmost rigour at the hands of the ruling power. In the sixth year of Justin the Elder, a law was promulgated to the following effect:—Unbelievers, heathens, Jews, and Samaritans, shall henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the state; neither be judges, nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they may have an opportunity of punishing or judging Christians and even bishops. They must be likewise excluded from all military functions. In case of the breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offender shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold. This law, which comprehends Samaritans as well as

¹ Cod. J. de Hær. et Manich. c. 12.

Jews, leads us to the curious fact of the importance attained by that people during the reigns of Justin and Justinian.¹ Hitherto their petty religious republic seems to have lurked in peaceful insignificance. Now, not only do its members appear dispersed along the shores of the Mediterranean, sharing the commerce with their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Italy, and Sicily, but the peace of the empire was disturbed by their fierce and frequent insurrections in Palestine. Already in the preceding reign, that of Zeno, their city of Sichem, which had now assumed the name of Neapolis (Naplous), had been the scene of a sanguinary tumult, of which we have only the Christian narrative—the rest must be made up, in some degree, from conjecture. The Samaritans still possessed their sacred mountain of Gerizim, on which they duly paid their devotions. No stately Temple rose on the summit of the hill, but the lofty height was consecrated by the veneration of ages.² It is not improbable that the Christians, who were always zealously disposed to invade the sanctuary of unbelief, and to purify, by the erection of a church, every spot which had been long profaned by any other form of worship, might look with holy impatience for the period when a fane in honour of Christ should rise on the top of Mount Gerizim. The language of our Lord to the woman of Samaria, according to their interpretation, prophetically foreshowed the dedication of that holy mountain to a purer worship. No motive can be suggested so probable as the apprehension of such a design, for the furious, and, as we are told, unprovoked attack of the Samaritans on the Christian church in Naplous. They broke in on Whit Sunday—slew great numbers—seized the Bishop Terebinthus in the act of celebrating the Holy Eucharist—wounded him—cut off several of his fingers, as they clung with pious tenacity to the consecrated emblems,

¹ A curious law (*Cod. Theodos.* xiii. v. 18) had united the Jews and Samaritans in the privilege or the exemption from serving in the corn-ships which supplied Constantinople. This seems to have been the function of the Navicularii in question in this law, and probably applied to the Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria, where they co-existed in the time of Hadrian. The greater part, as poor and employed in petty trade (*inopes, vilibusque commerciis occupati*), were to be exempt; the men of substance (*idonei facultatibus*) were not to be excused from this public duty.

² Procopius, *De Ædificiis*, v. 7.

Procopius ignorantly asserts that there never had been a Temple on Gerizim. He also strangely misrepresents the words of Christ, which he cites as if predicting that the true worshippers (the Christians) should worship on Gerizim. This leads to the notion that the Christians were contemplating the building a church there.

which the invaders misused with such sacrilegious and shameless fury as a Christian dare not describe. The bishop fled to Constantinople, appeared before the emperor, showed his mutilated hands, and at the same time reminded him of our Lord's prophecy. Zeno commanded the offenders to be severely punished, expelled the Samaritans from Gerizim; and the Christians had at length the satisfaction of beholding a chapel to the Virgin on the peak of the holy mountain, surrounded by a strong wall of brick, where, however, a watch was constantly kept to guard it from the Samaritans. During the reign of Anastasius, some Zealots, led by a woman, clambered up the steep side of the precipice, reached the church, and cut the guard to pieces. They then cried out to their countrymen below to join them; but the timid Samaritans refused to hearken to their call; and Procopius of Edessa, the governor, a man of prudence and decision, allayed the tumult by the punishment of the offenders. This chapel was still further strengthened by Justinian; and five other churches, destroyed by the Samaritans, rebuilt.¹

The rankling animosity between the two religions—aggravated, no doubt, by the intolerant laws of Justinian, hereafter to be noticed—broke out in a ferocious, though desperate insurrection. It originated in a collision between the Jews and Samaritans, and the Christians; many houses were burned by the Samaritans. Justinian, enraged at the misconduct of the Prefect Bassus, deposed him, and ordered his head to be cut off on the spot. A certain Julian, by some reported to have been a robber chieftain, appeared at the head of the Samaritans. He assumed, it is averred, the title of King, and even had some pretensions to the character of a Messiah. All around Naplous they wasted the possessions of the Christians with fire and sword, burned the churches, and treated the priests with the most shameless indignities. By one account Julian is said to have entered Naplous while the games were celebrating. The victor was named Nicias; he had won the prize from the Jewish and Samaritan charioteers. Julian demanded his religion, and on his reply that he was a Christian, instead of conferring the crown upon him, had his head struck off. The whole district was a desert; one bishop had fallen in the massacre, and many priests were thrown into prison or torn

¹ Vit. S. Sabæ. Joann. Malala, p. 446, Edit. Bonn.; Theophan. i. p. 274. Compare Le Beau, viii. 118.

in pieces. A great force was sent into the province; and, after a bloody battle, the Samaritans were defeated, Julian slain, and Silvanus, the most barbarous enemy of the Christians, taken and put to death. One, however, of the insurgents, named Arsenius, found his way to Constantinople. He was a man of great eloquence and ability, and succeeded in convincing the emperor, who was usually entirely under the priestly influence, as well as the empress, that the Christians were the real authors of this insurrection. The ecclesiastics of Palestine were seized with amazement and terror at the progress of this man—whom they characterise as “a crafty and wicked liar”—in the favour of the emperor. They had recourse to St. Sabas, and induced him to undertake a mission to Constantinople in their defence. The venerable age (he was ninety years old) and the sanctity of Sabas triumphed over, it may be feared, the reason and justice of Arsenius. The Samaritans were condemned; the leaders of the insurrection adjudged to death; the rest of the people expelled, and interdicted from settling again in Naplous; and, by a strange edict, the Samaritans were no longer to inherit the property of their fathers. Arsenius himself bowed to the storm, and embraced Christianity: many of the Samaritans, at the preaching of Sabas, or more probably to secure their property to their children, followed his example, or pretended to do so, with hypocrisy which may offend, but cannot surprise. The emperor offered magnificent presents to Sabas; the holy man rejected every personal advantage; but requested a remission of taxes for his brethren, whose fields had been wasted, and property burned, in the recent tumults.

This apparent success in converting the great part of an obstinate race of unbelievers to the true faith, with some other events of the same nature, no doubt encouraged Justinian in his severe legislative enactments against the Jews and Samaritans. These nations were confounded with the recreant or disobedient sons of the Church, the heretics: they were deprived of all civil dignities, and at the same time compelled to undertake the offices attached to those dignities. Every burthen of society was laid upon them; but the honour and distinction which should be the inseparable rewards of such public services were sternly denied. They might be of the Curia, but the law which made sacred the person of the Curiales, and made it a crime to strike them, to put them to the torture, to exile them, had no application to the Jew, the

Samaritan, or the heretic.¹ The proselyting zeal which dictated the constitutions of Justinian entered into the bosom of families, under the specious pretext of securing Christian converts from the unwarrantable exercise of the parental authority. Either supposing that the law which forbade the intermarriages of Samaritans or Jews with Christians was perpetually eluded, or providing for the case of one party becoming a convert while the other adhered to his faith, Justinian enacted that among parents of different religions, the chief authority should rest with the true religion. In defiance of the father, the children were to be under the care of the mother; and the father could not, on the ground of religion, refuse either a maintenance or his necessary expenses to the child.² “Unbelieving parents, who have no other well-grounded cause of complaint against their believing children, are bound to leave them their property, to afford them a maintenance, to provide them with all necessaries, to marry them to true believers, to bestow on them dowries and bridal presents according to the decree of the prefect or the bishop.” Further, the true believing children of unbelieving parents, if those children have been guilty of no act of delinquency towards their parents, shall receive that share of their inheritance, undiminished, which would have fallen to them if their parents had died intestate; and every will made in contravention of this regulation is declared null and void. If they have been guilty of any delinquency, they may be indicted and punished; but even then they have a right to a fourth part of the property.³

The above edict included both Jews and Samaritans: in the following, an invidious distinction was made. In litigations between Christians and Jews, or Christians among each other, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan was inadmissible: in the litigations of Jews among each other, the Jew's testimony was valid; that of a Samaritan as of a Manichean of no value. Another statute enacted that the synagogues of the Samaritans should be destroyed, and that whoever attempted to rebuild them should be severely punished. The Samaritans were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing their property: only true believers might presume to administer the effects of a heretic, whether he died with or without a will. Thus no Samaritan had more than a life interest in his property; unless his son was an apostate, it was for ever alienated,

¹ Nov. Constit. 45, c. I.

² Cod. Just. i. v. 12. I.

³ Ibid. 13. I.

and went to a stranger, or to the imperial treasury. No Samaritan might bear any office, neither teach nor plead in courts of law: impediments were even placed in the way of his conversion; if he conformed in order to obtain an office, he was obliged to bring his wife and children with him to the church. Not merely could he not bequeath, he could not convey property to an unbeliever; if he did so, it was confiscated to the treasury. The children of mixed marriages must be believers, or forfeit their inheritance; or where this was partly the case, the unbelieving children were excluded. "The true believers alone inherit: if none are members of the Church, it passes to the nearest relations; in default of these, to the treasury. The prefects and bishops are to enforce these statutes in their respective districts, and the infringement of them is to be punished by the severest penalties." These cruel statutes—which sowed dissension in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion—were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the imperial legislator.

A decree was issued a few years after, modifying these enactments, but in such a manner as perhaps might tempt the sufferers to quote, if they had dared, the sentence of their own wise king, "The tender mercies of wicked men are cruel." In this edict, after some pompous self-adulation on his own clemency, Justinian declared, that on account of the good conduct of the Samaritans, attested by Sergius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who, to his honour, seems to have interposed in their behalf, the rigour of the former laws was mitigated. The Samaritans were permitted to make wills, to convey property, to manumit slaves, to transact all business with each other. It abandoned all claims of the treasury upon their property; but it retained the following limitation, "because it was just that Christian heirs should have some advantage over unbelievers." Where part of the family had embraced Christianity, and the father died intestate, the children who were true believers inherited to the exclusion of the rest. But in case the latter, at a subsequent period, were converted, they were reinstated in their inheritance, with the loss only of the interest of those years during which they remained obstinate. Where the father made a will, the unbelieving heirs

could not claim more than a sixth part; the rest could only be obtained, as above, by the change of their religion. A deceitful peace, maintained by the establishment of a proconsul in Syria, with a considerable body of troops, lasted for about twenty-five years. At the end of that time a new insurrection took place in Cæsarea. The Jews and Samaritans rose, attacked the Christians, demolished the churches, surprised and massacred the Prefect Stephanus in his palace, and plundered the building. The wife of Stephanus fled to Constantinople. Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the origin of the tumult, and to proceed against the guilty with the utmost rigour. Of the real cause we know nothing. Adamantius condemned the insurgents, executed many, confiscated the property of the most wealthy, probably for the restoration of the churches, and reduced the whole province to peace.

As the Samaritans will appear no more in this History, I pursue, to its termination, the account of this people. The Samaritans found means to elude these laws, by submitting to baptism, resuming their property, and then quietly falling back to their ancient faith. A law of Justin, the son of Justinian, denounces this practice, and re-enacts almost the whole iniquitous statute of his father.¹ How far these measures tended to the comparative extinction of the Samaritan race, we cannot ascertain; but, at this time, they had so almost entirely in their hands the trade of money-changing, that a money-changer and a Samaritan, as, afterwards, a Jew and an usurer, were equivalent terms. Yet, after this period, few and faint traces of their existence, as a separate people, appear in history. In the seventeenth century it was discovered that a small community still dwelt in the neighbourhood of their holy mountain, and had survived all the vicissitudes of ages, in a country remarkable for its perpetual revolutions; that they still possessed the copy of the Law in the old Samaritan

¹ This singular law exempted the Samaritan peasants and husbandmen from its harsh provisions. Their cultivation of the soil did not concern themselves alone, but the welfare of the state, and especially the power of paying taxes to the state. Besides, the labouring on the soil presupposes a want of higher knowledge, which may naturally keep husbandmen from discovering the superiority of the Christian religion. Keeping the Sabbath, or performing any act which might throw suspicion on the sincerity of his conversion, subjected the Samaritan to exile or other punishment. No one was to be baptized until properly instructed. No Samaritan might have a Christian slave; a Samaritan captive, on turning Christian, acquired his freedom.

character;¹ and even to this day their descendants, a feeble remnant of this once numerous people, are visited with interest by the traveller to the Holy Land.²

The zeal of the emperor, while it burned more fiercely against the turbulent and disaffected Samaritans, in whose insurrections the Jews of Palestine seemed to have shared both the guilt and the calamities, did not neglect any opportunity of attempting either by force, or, we can scarcely hesitate to add, fraud, the proselytism of the Jews dispersed throughout the Eastern empire. The two great means of conversion were penal laws and miracles—sometimes compulsion. Among the boasted triumphs of the reconquest of Africa from the Vandals, was the reduction to the true faith of Borium, a town on the borders of Mauritania, where the Jews are said to have had a splendid temple, no doubt a synagogue more costly than usual.³ The miracles indeed of this age are almost too puerile to relate; we give one specimen as characteristic of the times. It was the custom of the Church to distribute the crumbs of the consecrated Host which might remain, to children, summoned for that purpose from their schools. While Menas was Bishop of Constantinople, the child of a Jewish glass-blower went to the church with the rest, and partook of the sacred elements. The father, inquiring the cause of his delay, discovered what he had done. In his fury he seized the child, and shut him up in the blazing furnace. The mother went wandering about the city, wailing and seeking her lost offspring. The third day she sat down by the door of the workshop, still weeping, and calling on the name of her child. The child answered from the furnace, the doors were forced open, and the child discovered sitting unhurt amid the red-hot ashes. His account was, that a lady in a purple robe, of course the Blessed Virgin, had appeared and poured water on the coals that were im-

¹ I do not remember that they attracted much notice among the earlier pilgrims or crusaders. The Samaritans were found by the traveller Pietro della Valle, in Cairo, Jerusalem, Gaza, Damascus, and Aleppo. Benjamin of Tudela speaks of one hundred Samaritan families in Sichem. After the Reformation the learned world were interested with a correspondence entered into with them by the famous Joseph Scaliger. R. Huntingdon, chaplain to the British Factory of Aleppo, sent to Europe more copious information. Their copy of the Old Testament was brought to Europe, and assumed great importance in Biblical criticism.

² The Samaritans have in modern times been visited over and over again by curious travellers. Their numbers seem at last to be dwindling away, so as to threaten their total extinction. See the latest, a very interesting account, by Mr. Grove, in a recent volume of *Vacation Travels*.

³ Procop. de *Ædif.* vi. 2. The temple was said to be of the age of Solomon.

mediately around him. The unnatural father was put to death, the mother and child baptized.¹ Such were the legends which were to convince that people who had rejected the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. The Jews were too wise or too superstitious, too quick and adroit, not to work counter-miracles, too credulous and ignorant not to believe them. In an age of daily wonders, wonders cease to be wonderful: familiarity with such solemn impressions destroys their solemnity and impressiveness; they pass away, and are as rapidly effaced as the ordinary business of life. Good and evil spirits were by common consent invested in powers bordering on omnipotence; each party saw nothing but the works of devils in the alleged miracles of the other.²

The laws were probably little more effective, and deeply imbued with the darkness of the age. An imperial decree, not easily understood, and not worth much pains to understand, was issued, to establish an uniformity in the time at which the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were celebrated.³ The Jews were forbidden, under heavy pecuniary mulcts, from following their own calculations. In the same edict, with singular ignorance of the usages of the people for whom he was legislating, Justinian prohibited the Jews from eating the Paschal Lamb, a practice which they had discontinued for five centuries.⁴ But the emperor had an opportunity of inflicting upon Judaism a more fatal blow, of which, it is probable, he himself did not apprehend entirely the important consequences. A schism had arisen in the synagogues, between the teachers and the commonalty, the clergy and the laity of the Jews. With a singular abandonment of their jealousy of all foreign interference in what may be called the domestic concerns of their religion, an appeal was made to the emperor, and the conflicting parties awaited his mandate on a subject where, one might have supposed, they would rather have looked for the interposition of their God. The great point in dispute was the language in which the Scripture was to be read,⁵ and the expositions made, in the synagogue. On the decision the dominion of the Rabbins depended—it trembled to its foundations. With the fall of the Patriarchate,

¹ Evagr. H. E. iv. 36.

² "Der Thalmud ist eben so voll kindischer Märchen aus der neuen Zeit, wie die Kirchenschriftsteller der erwähnten Jahrhunderte." Such is the ingenuous confession of Jost, v. 194.

³ Procop. Hist. Anc. c. 28; Basnage, viii. 350.

⁴ Basnage, Hist. des Juifs.

⁵ See Jost, v. 181, et seqq.

the connection of the scattered synagogues of the West with Palestine had been interrupted. The schools had likewise been entirely closed, or fallen into disrepute. The Semicha, or ordination by the imposition of hands, formerly received in Palestine, was suspended. The learned youth were obliged to seek their education in the schools of Babylonia. Thus they lost the sanctity which still, in popular opinion, attached to whatever came from the Holy Land. They, probably, were strangers, and by no means well acquainted with the Western languages. The people, who had now entirely forgotten both the Hebrew of the Scriptures and the vernacular language of Palestine, began imperiously to demand the general use of Greek translations. The craft of the Rabbins was in danger; it rested almost entirely on their knowledge of the original Hebrew writings, still more of the Mischnaioth and Talmudic Comments. Hebrew was the sacred language, and, the language of learning once superseded by Greek, the mystery would be open to profane eyes, and reason and plain common sense, instead of authority, might become the bold interpreters of the written Law, perhaps would dare to reject entirely the dominion of tradition. In vain had been all their painful and reverential labours on the Sacred Books. In vain had they counted every letter, every point, every mark; and found mysteries in the number of times in which each letter occurred in the whole volume, in its position, in its relation to other letters. The deep and hidden things of the Law were inseparable from the Hebrew character. Besides its plain and obvious meaning, every text was significant of higher matters to the ears of the initiate. All the decisions of the schools, all the sayings of the Rabbins, were locked up in that sacred language. The Mischna, and the Talmud itself, might become a dead letter; for if the Scriptures were read in the vernacular tongue, the knowledge of Hebrew might cease to be a necessary qualification of the teacher. The Rabbins had much reason, and more stubborn prejudice, on their side. The elder Wise Men had always looked with jealousy on the encroachment of Greek letters. "Cursed be he that eateth swine's flesh, and teacheth his child Greek," had been an old axiom, perhaps, from the time of the Asmoneans. They were fighting for life and death, and armed themselves with all the spiritual terrors they could assume. They fulminated their anathemas; they branded their opponents as freethinkers and atheists. At length the affair came before the emperor. Whether his

passion for legislation, which sometimes, even the Christian bishops complained, induced Justinian to intrude into concerns beyond his province, led him to regulate the synagogue ; or whether the disputes ran so high as to disturb the public peace, and demand the interference of the supreme authority ; or whether the appeal was, in fact, voluntarily made ; an edict was issued, which is still extant among the imperial constitutions.¹ It enacted, that no one, who wished to do so, should be prevented from reading the Greek Scriptures in the synagogue ; it enjoined those who read Greek to use the Translation of the Seventy, which had been executed under the special, though less manifest, influence of the Holy Ghost, because the prophecies relating to Christianity were most clear in that translation ; but it did not prohibit the version of Aquila, or any other. It positively interdicted the use of the Mischna, as the invention of worldly men, which misled the people into miserable superstition. None of the Archiperacitæ, the readers of Peracha, or Extracts of the Talmud, on pain of confiscation of goods, and corporal chastisement, were to forbid the use of other languages, or dare to utter ban or interdict against such practices. On the other hand, freethinking, atheism, and such crimes, were to be severely punished ; whoever denied the existence of God, of the angels, the Creation, and final judgment, was condemned to death. The law terminated with a solemn admonition to read the Scriptures, so as to improve their spirits and hearts, and increase in knowledge and morality. The law was wise and moderate ; but, as Jost observes, the emperor probably prevented its operation by betraying too openly its object—the conversion of the Jews. The spirit of the age was against him ; the Rabbins eventually triumphed—the Talmud maintained its authority.

In his former persecuting edicts, the shortsighted emperor had alike miscalculated his own strength and the weakness of the Jews. Rome, in the zenith of her power, might despise the discontents of a scattered people, or a mutinous province, but in these disastrous times, it was dangerous for the feeble Eastern empire to alienate the affections of the meanest of its subjects. The Jews had the power, and could not be expected to want the desire of vengeance. Even in the West they were of some importance. During the siege of Naples by Belisarius, the Jews, who loved the milder dominion of the Gothic kings,

¹ Nov. Const. 146.

defended one quarter of the city with obstinate resolution, and yielded only when the conqueror was within the gates.¹ On the eastern frontier, now that the Persian monarchy on the Tigris was an equal match for the wreck of the Roman empire on the Bosphorus, an oppressed and unruly population, on the accessible frontier of Syria, holding perpetual intercourse with their more favoured, though by no means unpersecuted, brethren in Babylonia, might be suspected of awaiting with ill-suppressed impatience the time when, during some inevitable collision between the two empires, they might find an opportunity of vengeance on masters against whom they had so long an arrear of wrong. The hour at length came; but, as the affairs of the Jews in the Eastern empire, at least in Palestine, are now inseparably moulded up with those of Persia, we turn our attention to the Eastern Jews, briefly trace their history down to the time of Justinian, and then pursue the mingled thread to the appearance of Mohammed.

II. From the death of R. Asche, who commenced the Babylonian Talmud, dark were the days of the children of the Captivity. During the reigns of the Persian kings from Izdigerd to Kobad, from about 430 to 530 (A.C.), the dominant Magian religion oppressed alike the Christian and the Jew. The Sabbath, say the Jewish traditions, was taken away by Izdigerd.² Still, however, the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, maintained his state, and the famous schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, were open. Civil discords had nearly destroyed the enfeebled state; and the house of David, from whose loins the princes of the Captivity deduced their rank, was well nigh extinct. Here, as elsewhere, great jealousies existed between the temporal and spiritual power: the former attempted, the latter would not endure, encroachment. The rupture took place when it might have been expected that they would have lived in the greatest harmony; for the Prince of the Captivity, R. Huna, had married the daughter of R. Chanina, the master of the schools, a grandson or great-grandson of R. Asche, who commenced the Talmud.³ But ambition listens not to the claims of blood and kindred. The Resch-Glutha, or his judge, attempted to interpret the

¹ Procop. de Bello Gothicō, i. 10, p. 53, Edit. Bonn.

² Jost, v. 222; but Jost is obliged to admit that the history of these Persian persecutions, in which several Resch-Gluthas, Rabbis, and learned men were put to death, is altogether confused and obscure.

³ Jost, v. 226. There are two versions of the story; I have blended some particulars of both.

Talmud in the presence of the Wise Man. Chanina resisted this usurpation of his province. The Resch-Glutha decoyed Chanina into his power, sat in judgment on him, ordered his beard to be shaved, and cast him forth, interdicting all the inhabitants of the city from affording him shelter, or the necessities of life. Chanina (we have no better history than this legend to offer) wept and prayed. A pestilence broke out in the royal family, and every soul perished except a child, with which the widowed daughter of Chanina, the Prince's wife, was pregnant. Chanina dreamed a dream: he saw himself in a grove, where he cut down all the stately cedars; one young plant alone remained. He was awakened as by a violent blow on the head; an old man stood by, who said, "I am the lord of this grove, the King David." He reproached the dreamer for having thus cut off all the lofty cedars of the house of David, and forcibly reminded him of his duty to watch over the single scion of the royal stock. Chanina waited night and day by his daughter's door; neither the fiery heat of noon, nor torrents of rain, could induce him to remove till the child was born. He took the infant and superintended his education with the most diligent care. In the meantime a certain Paphra, distantly allied to the royal house, bought, like the Roman Didius, the princely dignity, and enjoyed it for fifteen years. At that convenient time he came to a most ignoble end; a fly flew into his nose, and made him sneeze so violently that he died! The young Zutra ascended the throne. During his reign of twenty years, an enthusiast, named Meir, brought ruin on the whole community. He proclaimed himself, most probably, a Messiah; he pretended that a fiery column preceded his march, and with four hundred desperate followers he laid waste the country. The Persian king, Kobad, speedily suppressed the insurrection. Meir was put to death, and all the heads of the Captivity were involved in his fate. The Prince of the Captivity, Zutra, and R. Chanina his tutor, were hanged. This great insurrection took place in 530 A.C., a year before Nushirvan's accession. At this disastrous period, many of the Babylonian Jews wandered from their afflicted settlements; some, it is believed, found their way to the coast of Malabar. A son of Zutra fled to Tiberias, where he renewed the Semicha, or laying-on of hands; and, it is supposed, contributed to disseminate the Babylonian Talmud among the Jews of the West.

Chosroes the Just, or Nushirvan, who ascended the throne

of Persia in the fifth year of Justinian, 531 A.C., was not more favourable to the Jews of Babylonia. Their schools were closed by authority. But so great was the impatience of the Palestinian Israelites under the oppressive laws of Justinian, that they looked with anxious hope to, and are reported by Christian writers to have urged, by an offer of 50,000 men, and by the splendid prospect of the plunder of Christian Jerusalem, the hostile advance of the Persian monarch.¹ These hopes were frustrated by the conclusion of an "everlasting peace" between Justinian and Nushirvan, in which the pride of Rome was obliged to stoop to the payment of a great sum of money. The "everlasting peace" endured barely seven years, and the hopes of the Jews were again excited; but their day of vengeance was not yet come. After extending his conquests to Antioch, Nushirvan was constrained by the ability of Belisarius to retreat. Peace was again concluded, Jerusalem remained unplundered, and the Jews and Samaritans were abandoned to the vindictive justice of their former masters. Under Hormisdas, the successor of Chosroes Nushirvan, the Babylonian Jews were restored to their prosperity. Their schools in Pumbeditha, Sura, and Nahardea, were reopened. A new order of doctors, the Gaonim, the Illustrious, arose; and their prince resumed his state. After the fall and death of the weak Hormisdas, the Jews espoused the party of the usurper Bharam,² or Varanes, against the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes the Second, the rightful heir of the throne, and by no means, I believe with Gibbon, the parricide, who fled to implore, and obtained, the assistance of Maurice, Emperor of the East. Among the executions which followed the triumphant restoration of Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors, the Jews had their full share.³ There was a new Antioch built by Nushirvan, and peopled with the inhabitants of the old city, whom he transported thither, and who were struck with agreeable astonishment at finding the exact counterpart of every house and street of their former residence. The Jews formed a considerable part of this community, and when the storm first burst on the city, Mebod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted on them the most dreadful penalties for their disloyalty; some were cut off

¹ Theophan. Chronogr. p. 274, Edit. Bonn.; but Theophanes has confused the dates, and places this offer at the commencement of the reign of Justinian. See Basnage, and Jost's criticism on Basnage.

² Theophylact Simocatta, v. 6. 7, p. 218, Edit. Bonn.

³ Gibbon, c. xlvi. viii. p. 193, Edit. Milman.

by the sword, others tortured, others reduced to slavery. But this was vengeance, not persecution ; the Jews submitted, and made their peace with Chosroes. When that king, summoned alike by gratitude and ambition, prepared to burst on the Byzantine empire, to revenge on the barbarous usurper Phocas the murder of his friend and protector Maurice, and that of his five sons, the Palestinian Jews were in a state of frantic excitement, still further aggravated by the persecutions of Phocas, who compelled a great number of their brethren to submit to baptism. Ever rash in their insurrections, they could not wait the appointed time : they rose in Antioch, set the splendid palaces of the principal inhabitants on fire, slew numbers, treated the Patriarch Anastasius with the worst indignity, and dragged him through the streets till he died.¹

Phocas sent Bonosus and Cotto against the insurgents, who defeated them with great loss, and revenged, as far as they had time, the outrages which had been committed in all quarters. But they were compelled to retreat, and the Jews beheld, in a paroxysm of exultation, the unresisted squadrons of Chosroes pouring over the frontier : Antioch surrendered without a blow.

Chosroes turned towards Constantinople ; his general, Carusia, advanced to the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem.² The Jews arose at his approach ; from Tiberias and Nazareth they joined him in great numbers, till their force amounted, according to report, to 24,000 men. Before the capture of Jerusalem, new causes of exasperation were added to the dreadful arrears of ancient vengeance. In Tyre it is said that the incredible number of 40,000 Jews had taken up their dwelling. They sent secret messengers to all their

¹ Theoph. Chronog. p. 457, Edit. Bonn. Chronicon Paschale. This brief notice merely says, ἀνηρέθη ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, p. 679, Edit. Bonn.

² Theophylact Simocatta, v. 6, 7, p. 216, Edit. Bonn.

Simocatta's account of the Babylonian Jews, their commerce, their wealth, their disposition to ally themselves with the Persians to revenge themselves on the Romans, is curious : τῶν γὰρ Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀλόντον, τοῦ τε ναοῦ ἐμπεπραμένου δρόδοῦντες πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀλκὴν ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὡς τοὺς Μήδους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχέγονον τιθήντην μεταναστεύουσιν, ἐξ ἣς ὁ προπάτωρ ἐτύγχανεν ὡν Ἀβραάμ· τὰ τιμιώτατα τοινυν οὕτοι ἐμπορευεσάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἔρυθρὰν περαιώμενοι θάλατταν, περιουσίας χρηματίσθεντες μεγάλας περιεβάλλοντο· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ πρὸς τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς Βαβυλωνίας τῶν δῆμων ἐκκαύσεις ἐτοιμάτατα διωλίσθαινον· ἔστι γὰρ πόνηρον τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀπιστότατον· φιλοθύρυψέν τε καὶ τύραννον, καὶ φίλας ἥκιστα μνημονικόν, ζηλοθυτόν τε καὶ ὑποβάσκαν, καὶ ἐς ἔχθραν ἀμετάδοτόν τε καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον (p. 218); also Dionys. Patriarcha, apud Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. ii. 102.

brethren in Palestine, in Damascus, in Cyprus, in the mountainous districts of Galilee, and in Tiberias, to assemble suddenly before the walls of that city, on the night of the Christian Easter. The conspiracy reached the ears of the Christians. The Bishop and powerful citizens seized the most wealthy of the Jews, threw them into prison, and put the gates and walls in the best possible state of defence. The Jews appeared, and revenged themselves by the destruction of the suburbs for the failure of their surprise; but every time a Christian church, the great object of their animosity, was set on fire, the besieged struck off the heads of a hundred Jewish prisoners, and cast them over the wall. This horrible retaliation produced no effect; twenty churches sank into ashes, and the heads of 2000 Jews lay bleaching on the sand.¹ At length, on a rumour of the advance of the imperial forces, the Jews retreated to join their brethren in the easier achievement of entering, under the protection of their Persian allies, the streets of Christian Jerusalem.

It had come at length, the long-expected hour of triumph and vengeance; and they did not neglect the opportunity. They washed away the profanation of the Holy City in Christian blood. The Persians are said to have sold the miserable captives for money. The vengeance of the Jews was stronger than their avarice; not only did they not scruple to sacrifice their treasures in the purchase of these devoted bondsmen, they put to death without remorse all they had purchased at a lavish price.² It was a rumour of the time that 90,000 perished. Every Christian church was demolished; that of the Holy Sepulchre was the great object of furious hatred; the stately building of Helena and Constantine was abandoned to the flames; "the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day."³ But the dream of Jewish triumph was short; the hope of again possessing, if not in independence, under the mild protection of the Persian monarch, the Holy City of their forefathers, vanished in a few years. The Emperor Heraclius, who seemed to slumber on the throne of Byzantium like another

¹ Eutychii Ann. ii. p. 220-223, from whom the author quoted by Hottinger (*Hist. Orient.*) took it. St. Martin, note on Le Beau, xi. 8.

² Theophan. Chronog. p. 463, Edit. Bonn.

Chronicon Paschale, sub ann. 614, p. 704, Edit. Bonn. The chronicler is silent about the sale of the Christians, which rests on a later authority; but the chronicle is as brief on this sad event as may be.

³ Gibbon, viii. 226.

Sardanapalus, allowing the Persians to conquer and even to occupy their conquests, Jerusalem itself, the Sacred City, undisturbed, suddenly broke the bonds of sloth and pleasure. After a few campaigns, conducted by the Roman with equal boldness and ability, the Persian monarch, instead of arraying his victorious troops under the walls of Byzantium, trembled within his own insecure capital; and the provinces which he had overrun, Syria and Egypt, passed quietly under the sway of their former masters. Heraclius himself visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, where the wood of the true Cross, which had been carried away to Persia, was reinstated with due solemnity, the exiled Bishop Zacharias replaced on his throne, and the Christian churches were restored to their former magnificence.¹ If the clergy enforced upon the kneeling and penitent emperor the persecution of the Jews, it must be acknowledged that provocation was not wanting; for how many of them had been eye-witnesses of, perhaps sufferers in, the horrible atrocities committed on the capture of the city! Yet we have no authentic account of great severities exercised by Heraclius.² The law of Hadrian was re-enacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city—a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy, rather than of oppression.

¹ Theophan. Chronograph. p. 504, Edit. Bonn.

² There is one case of conversion, in which no doubt force was used on a certain Benjamin in Tiberias. Theophanes.

BOOK XXII

JUDAISM AND MOHAMMEDANISM

Jews in Arabia—Jewish Kingdom in Homeritis—Rise of Mohammed—Wars against the Arabian Jews—Progress of Mohammedanism—State of Spain—Cruel Laws of the Visigothic Kings—Conquest of Spain by the Moors—Persecuting Laws in France.

DURING the conflict between the Persian and Roman emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia, which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mohammed had already announced his religious doctrine—"There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet"—and the valleys of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle-cry of his followers, "The Koran or death!" The Jews were among the first of whom Mohammed endeavoured to make proselytes—the first opponents—and the first victims of the sanguinary teaching of the new Apostle. For centuries, a Jewish kingdom¹ or kingdoms, unconnected either with the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, had existed in that district of Arabia called, in comparison to the stony soil of one part and the sandy waste of the other, Arabia the Happy.² Of their origin we have no distinct account; but among the various afflictions and dispersions of the Jewish people, it would have been extraordinary if a place of refuge so near, and at the same time so secure, had not tempted them to venture on the perils of the desert—which, once passed, presented an almost insuperable barrier to the pursuit of an enemy. Their mercantile brethren, who visited the ports of the Red Sea, might bring home intelligence of the pleasant valleys which ran down to the coast, and from which gales of aromatic sweetness were wafted to their barks as they passed along. Ancient tradition

¹ This kingdom must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the Arabic kingdom conterminous to Palestine, over which Aretas ruled at the time when St. Paul retired into Arabia (Gal. i. 17), and in which no doubt were multitudes of Jews.

² Saba, Yemen, Homeritis, were either situated in this region, or were the general name of the whole, or each of a separate district, of which the limits were not clearly defined.

pointed, and probably with truth, to these regions, as the dwelling of that famous Queen of Sheba who had visited their great king in his splendour; and in the hospitable dominions of her descendants, the race of Solomon's subjects might find refuge. In some respects, the Arabian tribes were their brethren; they seem to have entertained great respect, if they did not learn it from the Jews, for the memory of Abraham. They practised circumcision in Sabaea, like the Jews, on the eighth day, and they abhorred swine's flesh. However they came there, Jewish settlers, at least one hundred and twenty years before Christ, had built cities and castles, and established an independent kingdom.¹ Arabian tradition (we dare not dignify it with the name of history) assigns a Jewish king to the district of Homeritis, about that period, named Abu-Carb-Asaad.² It adds the inconsistent circumstance, that he first strewed with carpets the sacred temple of Mecca called the Caaba. If this be true, Judaism in Arabia must have been more social and tolerant than elsewhere; for the Caaba, before the time of Mohammed, was, undoubtedly, a temple of idolatrous worship; and though the Jew might assert that the God of Israel maintained the first place, many associate or subordinate deities claimed their portion in the sacrifices of Mecca.³ The line of Jewish kings in Homeritis is continued, though a broken series; but we have no space for these barren annals, and pass on to the last of these Homeritish kings, who reigned and fell a short time before the rise of Mohammedanism. The feuds of Christians and Jews spread into these retired and fertile valleys, and, connected, perhaps, with political circumstances, inflamed the warlike habits of tribes in which the old Arabian blood was far from extinct. Christianity had first penetrated into Yemen in an Arian form, probably during the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great.⁴ With the Arians, the Jews,

¹ They had many converts, it is said, among the Arab tribes.

"Sozomène remarque, l. vi. c. 38, que par suite des rapports que les Arabes du désert avaient eus avec les Juifs, beaucoup d'entr'eux avaient adopté les usages Judaïques, νῦν Ἰουδαϊκῶς γῶσιν. Les auteurs orientaux font la même remarque, et nomment plusieurs des tribus Arabes qui avaient embrassé la religion Juive. Il s'en trouvait beaucoup dans les environs de la Mecque. Elles furent les premiers adversaires de Mahomet." St. Martin, note on Le Beau, iii. p. 449; but compare note viii. p. 47.

² Compare Jost (Geschichte, v. 241). This king was nearly cotemporary with John Hyrcanus. Jost quotes Michaelis, Orient. et Exeg. Bibl. iv. 157.

³ See them in Jost, v. 243, 245.

⁴ Pagi, Crit. in. Baron, sub ann. 354.

as usual, seem to have lived on terms of amity. The Catholic faith spread from the other side of the Red Sea, under the protecting influence of the powerful kings of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Eles-baan, the king of that country, had extended his conquests over the opposite shore of the Red Sea; and Dunaan,¹ the Jewish king of Homeritis, after many defeats, had been obliged to pay tribute to the Ethiopian. But his restless spirit disdained submission; every defeat only kindled the burning desire of vengeance and independence. The invasions of the Ethiopian, dependent on the precarious navigation of the Red Sea, were often suspended—probably, at certain periods, in winter at least, were entirely cut off. Dunaan resolved on the bold measure of attempting the sudden extermination of the Christian power in Yemen; after the loss of their allies, the Abyssinians would find it difficult to maintain their footing in the country. He seized a favourable opportunity, rose, and executed all the Christians within his power; and appeared before the walls of Nagra, their chief city, at the head of 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to take down the cross, which stood on a height above the city, and to deny the Christian religion. A singular negotiation ensued. The besieger demanded the acknowledgment of the Unity of God, as the supreme Head of the Church, and the denial of a plurality of Persons in the God-head. The Christians readily acknowledged the Unity, but refused to yield on the other point. On their refusal, Dunaan gave the signal for the execution of many of his Christian captives in the sight of their brethren, and the sale of others as slaves. At length, on a promise of freedom of conscience, the Christians opened their gates, but the perfidious Arab violated the terms—threw Areth and others of the leaders into chains, and then demanded Paulus, the bishop, who had formerly been among his most eloquent opponents. The bishop had been for two years in his grave, but Dunaan revenged himself on his lifeless bones, which were disinterred and burned. Many priests, monks, and nuns, as the most

¹ The name is variously written Dhu Nowas. Jost. According to Le Beau and St. Martin, Eles-baan, then a pagan, to revenge the massacre of a caravan passing through Homeritis to the Red Sea and Ethiopia, had invaded Homeritis, killed the king Dimian or Dimnos or Damianus, established a Christian king on the throne, and had himself been baptized by a bishop sent by order of the Emperor Justin to Axum. The Jews, on the death of the Christian king, revolted, regained the superiority, and set up Dunaan; massacred a great number of Christians, and destroyed the churches. Compare throughout Le Beau, viii. 53, and St. Martin's notes.

active of his adversaries, suffered the same fate; and obtained, in the estimation of their brethren, the honours of martyrdom. Dunaan then tried arguments on Areth and the rest of his prisoners, to convince them of the absurdity of worshipping a crucified God. On the rejection of his arguments, he had recourse to more summary means of conviction—threats of instant death; these likewise were unavailing. Areth and his companions submitted cheerfully to execution. They could not well do otherwise, for their wives and daughters had before crowded forth, as if they were hastening to a bridal, to partake in the glory of suffering for their faith. Such, with many more particulars, is the tenor of a letter ascribed to Dunaan himself,¹ and addressed to Al Mondar, a prince of the Saracens, whose alliance he courted. I confess that I doubt, or rather feel assured, that this letter is either entirely fictitious, or greatly interpolated. The crimes of Dunaan, and the wrongs of the Christians, did not remain long unavenged.² With the spring, Eles-baan, and a formidable force of 120,000 men, invaded the region.³ Dunaan, after an obstinate defence, was defeated, and lost his life;⁴ and in his person expired the Jewish kingdom of the Homerites. After his death, Abraham, son of Areth, founded a Christian kingdom, which scarcely acknowledged the sovereignty of the feeble son of Eles-baan. The Christian dynasty in its turn was overthrown by the conquering arm of the Persians, and Arabia was reckoned among the subject realms of Chosroes the Second.⁵

But though they had lost their royal state, the Jews were still numerous and powerful in the Arabian peninsula; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence of their Ishmaelitish brethren. Mohammed manifestly designed to unite all those tribes under his banner.⁶ While

¹ It is contained in the Syriac letter of Simeon, Bishop of Beth-Arsam, ap. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. i. 364. Acts of the Arab martyrs in Metaphrastes.

² Le Beau, viii. 58. Compare Schultens Hist. Joctan.

³ The 120,000 men of Metaphrastes are reduced by Hamzah of Isphahan and Nowairi to 10,000. Tabari gives 30,000. St. Martin's note.

⁴ The Arab historians agree that after his defeat Dunaan threw himself into the sea.

⁵ Procop. de Bell. Pers. i. 20. Abraham, at the instigation of Justinian, had promised to invade the Persian kingdom, but after one feeble effort abstained from all aggression. The whole history of these obscure wars, and the affairs of the Jewish and Christian kings of Homeritis, is well worked out, and the conflicting Oriental authorities cited and balanced, by St. Martin in his notes on the chapter of Le Beau.

⁶ "Children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations." Sale's Koran, Sura, ii. The

his creed declared implacable war against the worshippers of fire, it respected the doctrines of the Jews,¹ and at least of the less orthodox Christians. The Apostle of God was the successor, greater indeed, of the former delegates of heaven Moses and Isha (Jesus).² It was only the fire of the Magians which was at once extinguished, and the palace of Chosroes, which shook to its foundations, at his birth.³ All the traditions which the old Arabian creed had preserved from immemorial ages, or with which it had been impregnated from the Jews resident in Arabia, still find their place in the Koran; and Abraham, the common father of the two races, holds the most conspicuous rank in their religious history.⁴ Jerusalem was appointed the first kebla of prayer; and in the nocturnal journey, during which the Prophet was transported to the holy city of the Jews, the mysterious winged horse, the Borak, arrested its course to pay homage to Mount Sinai, and to Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus. To the first part of the new creed, every Jewish heart would at once respond, "There is but one God"—why should not their enthusiasm, their impatience in awaiting the too-long-delayed Messiah, their ambition, or their avaricious eagerness to be glutted with the plunder of misbelievers, induce them to adopt the latter clause, "and Mohammed is his Prophet"? "We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of revelations and wisdom, and we gave them a great kingdom. There is of them that believe on him, and there is of them who

Koran recites all the narratives of the deliverance from Egypt, and in the Desert. Read the whole following passages.

¹ "We gave unto the children of Israel the book of the Law, and wisdom and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations; and we gave them plain ordinances concerning the business of religion; neither did they fall to variance except after the knowledge had come unto them, through envy amongst themselves; but the Lord will decide the controversy between them on the day of resurrection concerning that wherein they disagree." Sale's Koran, c. 45; ii. 368.

² "We formerly delivered the book of the Law to Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit." Sura, ii. p. 17.

³ Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 3. Compare the new edition, or rather new Life of Mohammed, by Sprenger: "In der Nacht, in welcher der Prophet geboren wurde, zitterte die Halle des Chosroes, und es fielen vierzehn Coquets (schorfa) herunter, und das Feuer der Magier, welches tausend Jahre vorher nie erloschen war, erlosch, und der See von Saiva trocknete aus." See further the dream of the High Mobed, that he saw camels, followed by Arabian horses, pass the Tigris, and spread over Persia; the terror of the King, and the measures which he adopted to obtain an interpretation of the awful vision which prefigured the Mohammedan conquest (p. 134).

⁴ Sale's note, vol. i. p. 26.

turneth aside from him ; but the raging fire of hell is a sufficient punishment. Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast them to be broiled in hell-fire ; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the sharper torment ; *for God is mighty and wise.* But those who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers : therein shall they remain for ever, and there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity ; and we will lead them into perpetual shades.”¹ Such was the alternative offered to the Jews ! But the Jews stood aloof in sullen unbelief ; they disclaimed a Messiah sprung from the loins of Hagar the bondwoman. Nothing remained but to employ the stern proselytism of the sword.² The tone of Mohammed changed at once : the Israelites were taunted with all the obstinacy and rebellion of their forefathers ; they were coupled with idolaters as the worst of unbelievers ;³ and the Koran bitterly mocks their vain hope “that the fires of hell shall touch them only for a few days.”

The storm fell first on the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina. In the peremptory summons to embrace Islamism, were these words :—“Lend to the Lord on good interest ?”—“Surely,” said the sarcastic Phineas, the son of Ayubah, “the Lord must be poor to require a loan !” The fiery Abubeker struck him a violent blow, and declared that, but for the treaty existing between the tribes, he would have smote off his head. An accidental tumult gave rise to the first open warfare. A Jewish goldsmith insulted an Arabian maiden—the Arabs slew the offender.⁴ The Jews, the Beni Kainoka, were in a violent commotion, when Mohammed sent them the peremptory alternative, “Islamism or war.” “We are ignorant of war,” answered the Jews ; “we would eat our bread in peace ; but if you force us to fight, you shall find us men of courage.” They fled to a neighbouring citadel, and made a gallant defence for fifteen days, at the end of which they were forced to surrender.⁵ Mohammed issued immediate orders for a general

¹ Sura, v. p. 105.

² Sale’s note on c. iii. vol. i. p. 88.

³ “Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters.” Sura, v. p. 149.

⁴ Vit. Moham. ap. Gagnier, p. 61; Abulfeda, Vit. Abr. Beer.

⁵ I rejoice to find in the new Life of Mohammed by Mr. Muir, carefully drawn from the Koran and the most accredited traditions, full agreement with the general views of this chapter. Perhaps Mr. Muir would not accept all the traditions in the text. The scene here briefly related is very strikingly told,

massacre — he was hardly prevailed upon by the powerful Abdollah, son of Obba, to spare their lives — their wealth was pillaged.¹ Their arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and Mohammed arrayed himself in a cuirass, which either the Jews or his followers asserted to have belonged to King David;² they added, in defiance of Jewish history, that he had it on when he slew Goliah. The miserable tribe, thus plundered and defenceless, was driven to find a settlement on the frontier of Syria. The turn of the tribe of Nadhir came next,³ but they provoked their fate by a treacherous attempt to assassinate the Prophet at a peaceful banquet.⁴ They were besieged in their castle, and constrained to surrender, though with all the honours of war. Their wealth was confiscated, by a special revelation of the Koran, to the sole benefit of Mohammed himself and the poor; while the merciless edict pursues them into the next world, and, for their resistance to the Prophet, condemns them to everlasting hell-fire.⁵ The vanquished Nadhirites retreated from the neighbourhood of Medina—they joined the Koreish, the inveterate enemies of Mohammed, and the Jews of Koraidha, in a new war against the Prophet. On the very evening of the day on which

iii. p. 135. Mr. Muir gives a curious illustration of the ill-blood between the Moslems and the Jews. "For many months after the arrival of Mohammed [at Medina] it so happened that no children were born to the Moslem women; and the rumours began to spread that their barrenness was occasioned by Jewish sorcery" (pp. 60, 61).

¹ Koran, c. 59: "The spoils of the inhabitants of these people which God hath granted to his Apostle, are due unto God and that Apostle, and him who is of kin to the Apostle, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, that they may not be for ever divided in a circle among such of you as are rich. . . . Like those who lately preceded them [*the idolaters who were slain at Bedr, or the Jews of Kainoka who were plundered and sent into exile before those of al Nadhir*—Sale's note], they have tasted the evil consequences of their deed, and a painful torment is prepared for them hereafter" (ii. p. 430).

² Abulfeda, c. 35. Compare Pococke, Hist. Arab. p. 11.

³ But see in Muir some treacherous and revolting murders perpetrated on Jews by the express command of Mohammed: "On the morning after the murder of Kab [Kab's chief offence was the publication of amatory sonnets about the Moslemite women], Mohammed gave a general permission to his followers to slay any Jews whom they might chance to meet" (iii. p. 148). The defeat of Mohammed at Ohod took place between these events.

⁴ But as his followers saw nothing to excite suspicion, and as the chapter in the Koran specially devoted to the subject does not hint at such perfidy, the charge is open to grave suspicion. Muir, 209.

⁵ Compare Muir, p. 209–215, with the extracts from the Sura, xxx.: "They are like unto Satan, when he said unto man, 'Become an infidel;' and when he had become an infidel, the Tempter said, 'Verily I am clear of thee! Verily I fear the Lord of all worlds!' And the end of them both is that they are cast into the fire—dwelling for ever therein! That is the reward of the transgressors."

Mohammed won the memorable battle of the "Ditch,"¹ against the Koreish, he advanced to extirpate the Jews of Koraidha. His followers even neglected, without rebuke, the evening prayer, in their thoughts of vengeance. The Angel Gabriel, they believed, led the way, and poured terror into the hearts of the Koraidhites. Even Caab, the son of Asad, the brave author of the war, counselled surrender.² They descended from their castle, hoping to obtain mercy through the intercession of their allies. The judgment was left to the venerable Saad, the son of Moadh.³ Saad was brought, sick and wounded, into the camp. "Oh, Abu-Amru" (it was the name of Saad), cried the Jews, "have mercy upon us!" Saad uttered his judgment with awful solemnity: "Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves." "A divine judgment!" exclaimed the fierce Prophet—"a judgment from the highest of the seven heavens!" Seven⁴ hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of Medina—graves were dug—the unhappy wretches descended into them—the sword did its office, and the earth was heaped over their remains. The inflexible Prophet looked on without emotion, and this horrible butchery is related with triumph in the Koran. The next Jewish victim was the powerful Salam; he was assassinated in his bed by order of the Prophet. The Jews of Khaibar now alone preserved their independence. Khaibar was a district six days' journey to the south-east of Medina;⁵ rich in palm-trees, and fertile in pastures, and protected by eight castles, supposed to be impregnable. The Apostle led forth to war two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot; as he entered the territory of Khaibar he exclaimed to his troops—"On, with redoubled speed!" He then turned to

¹ Or rather the retreat of the Koreish from the Ditch which was the main defence of Medina. The fortress of the Koraid tribes (Muir writes it Coreitza) was two or three miles distant from Medina.

² "And he hath caused such of those who have received the Scriptures to come down out of their fortresses, and he cast into their hearts terror and dismay: a part of them ye slew, and a part ye made captives, and God hath caused you to inherit their land and their houses and their wealth." Sale's Koran, xxxiii. p. 275, with his note. The story is more fully told in Abulfeda and in Gagnier.

³ Compare throughout, Muir, p. 272, &c. Saad had been wounded at the Ditch: "Mohammed knew well the bitter hate into which his former friendship had been turned by the treachery of the Coreitza." Therefore Mohammed chose him as the arbiter of their fate.

⁴ Eight, according to Muir.

⁵ About 100 miles. Muir. Compare throughout, vol. iv. ch. 21.

heaven in prayer—"Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earths, Lord of the Demons, and all that they lead into evil—Lord of the Winds, and all they disperse and scatter—grant us the spoil of this city, and preserve us from evil."¹ Allah had before promised him great booty: the evil he apprehended was, the poison which was afterwards given to him by a Jewish woman. The prayer ended, he cried again, "Forward, in the name of Allah!" The Jews of Khaibar were slumbering in peaceful repose. Their first castle, Naem, was taken by assault; the second, Nataa, the castle of Asad, son of Moad, made a more vigorous defence. The Moslemites were reduced to great extremities, for the country had been wasted, and all the palm-trees destroyed. At length Nataa fell, and Mohammed became master of an immense booty in corn, dates, oil, honey, flocks of sheep, cattle, and asses, and armour of all sorts. One author adds, that they brought to the Prophet a camel-skin full of collars, bracelets, garters, earrings, and buckles, all of gold, with an immense number of precious stones. Alkamus, the third citadel, made a still more gallant resistance. It was here that Ali distinguished himself. He planted the standard on the walls: he clove the skull of Marhab, the great champion of the Jews, through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws.² Abu-Rafe, an eye-witness, declares that the "Strong Lion," Ali, seized the gate of the city, which eight men could not lift, and used it as a buckler.³ On the capture of Alkamus, Kenana, the chief, was horribly tortured, to induce him to betray the secret hiding-place of his treasures;⁴ but the patient Jew endured to the utmost, and a more merciful Islamite relieved him by striking off his head. Three more of the castles fell. The two last surrendered on the promise that the lives of the besieged should be spared.⁵ The inhabitants of the cities of

¹ Gagnier, ii. 47.

² Gagnier, ii. 54, from Guannabi.

³ "Abu-Rafe," observes Gibbon, in his usual caustic vein, "was an eye-witness—but who will be witness for Abu-Rafe?"

⁴ Here, as at Koraidha, Mohammed appropriated to himself the beautiful Jewess Rikâna, who, however, refusing to change her religion, was only his concubine. He cast his mantle over the lovely Safia, the wife of Kenana. Muir adds, "Indeed he is not free from the suspicion of being influenced in the destruction of Kenana by the desire of obtaining his wife."

⁵ It was during this war that a Jewish woman made Mohammed a present of a poisoned sheep; he tasted it, but was warned not to eat any more. Still its fatal effects lurked in his constitution. Bishr, a favourite follower of Mohammed, died of partaking more largely of the poisoned shoulder of the

Fadai and Khaibar capitulated on the condition of surrendering, besides all their wealth, which was vast, not merely in the fruits of the earth, sheep, and camels, but in treasure and jewels, half the revenue of their fields and pastures, which they were still to cultivate for the use of the Prophet. But Mohammed reserved the right of exiling them according to his good pleasure—a right which was afterwards exercised by the Caliph Omar, who alleged the dying injunction of the Prophet, that but one faith should be permitted to exist in Arabia. Some of the Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria ; yet it is supposed that some vestiges of their creed may still be traced among the Arab tribes of that district.¹

But the persecution of the Jews by the Mohammedans was confined to the limits of the Arabian peninsula. Under the empire of the Caliphs, which rapidly swallowed up the dominions of Persia and many provinces of the Eastern empire, though doomed by the haughty spirit of Islamism, perhaps by the legislation of Omar, to perpetual inferiority,² this people might rejoice in the change of masters. Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurping the sacred hill on which the Temple of Solomon had stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown ; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new Temple might be destined for a holier use. Some Christian writers accuse the Jews of a deep-laid conspiracy to advance the triumph of Mohammedanism ; but probably this conspiracy was no more than their united prayers and vows, that their oppressors might fall before a power which ruled them on the easy terms of tribute, the same which they exacted from all their conquered provinces. This union of their hearts was natural ; they might well rejoice in the annihilation of the throne of Persia, for Izdigerd, the last of her kings, had com-

kid. The woman, Zeinub, sister of the brave Marhab, avowed her guilt. "I said within myself, If he is a prophet, he will be aware that the shoulder of the kid is poisoned ; but if he be a mere pretender, then we shall be rid of him, and the Jews will again prosper."

¹ Gagnier says that they continued to inhabit their former lands on condition of cultivating them, it is presumed for the benefit of their masters, as being better versed in the arts of husbandry. Niebuhr supposed that he discovered traces of Judaism among those tribes.

² Comp. in Eroch und Grüber, p. 190.

menced a fierce persecution of the Jews in his dominions;¹ and the Christians could lay little claim to their faithful attachment as subjects. No doubt, as the tide of Moslemite conquest spread along the shores of Africa, the Jews exulted, rather than deplored the change of masters; forty thousand of their race were found by Amrou in Alexandria, at the conquest of that city, and suffered no further oppression than the payment of tribute.² In one country alone (we overleap a century) it is probable that they took a more active interest than their secret prayers and thanksgivings in the triumph of the Crescent. Spain had already taken the lead in Jewish persecution. Spain maintained its odious distinction, and Spain had without doubt reason to rue the measures which set a great part of its most industrious population in justifiable hostility to its laws and government, and made them ready to hail the foreign conqueror as a deliverer and benefactor. The lust of Roderick, and his violation of the daughter of Count Julian, led not more directly to the subjugation of his country than the barbarous intolerance of his ancestors towards the Jews. Their wrongs, in the violence done to their consciences, were not less deep than that suffered by the innocent Caava; their vengeance was less guilty than that of the renegade Julian.

For above a century their wrongs had been accumulating. As early as the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king of the Goths, they had attained unexampled prosperity in the Peninsula. They were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return; and often the administrators of the finances, for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy, and avarice, conspired to point them out as objects of persecution.³ Laws were passed, of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble and the titles:—"Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against

¹ Schevet Jehuda. Persecut. tertia. Epist. R. Scherir ap. Joch, quoted by Jost, p. 315.

² Jost, v. 310.

³ Even Gregory the Great, so just, almost charitable, to the Jews in other countries, cannot withhold his approbation of the cruel laws of the orthodox Recared. He disguises it, probably disguised it to himself, under admiration for the disinterestedness of Recared, who refused a large sum of money from the Jews to abate his rigour:—"Quod cum vestra Excellentia constitutionem quandam contra Judæorum perfidiam dedisset, hi de quibus prolata fuerat, rectitudinem vestræ mentis deflectere, pecuniarum summam offerendo moliti sunt, et omnipotentis Dei placere judicio requirens, auro innocentium prætulit" (ix. ii. 122).

Jewish wickedness,¹ and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors.² That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover according to their usage; that the Jews may not contract marriage according to their own customs; that the Jews may not practise circumcision; that the Jews make no distinction of meats; that the Jews bring no action against Christians; that Jews be not permitted to bear witness against Christians: of the time when their converted descendants are admissible as witnesses: of the penalties attached to the transgressions of these statutes by the Jews: against the circumcision of slaves by the Jews.” The penalty for these offences was even more extraordinary than the offences themselves: the criminal was to be stoned to death, or burned by the hands of his own people.³ These laws, however, do not at first seem to have come into operation.⁴ It is suspected, from a passage in a

¹ The modern Spanish writer Amador de los Rios is too good a Roman Catholic not to justify these proceedings, “quand ce peuple (the Goths), après avoir accepté déjà la religion des vaincus, dans le troisième Concile de Tolède, comprit la nécessité de veiller à sa conservation et à son agrandissement, et dut finir en même temps par mettre un terme aux excès des Juifs.” These excesses were their superior civilisation, and better knowledge of the arts necessary to life. “Enfin leur caractère et leur naturel audacieux et rusé les avaient placés dans une position avantageuse, position qui eût pu, peut-être, les conduire, avec le temps, à être les dominateurs des Goths mêmes.” Magnabala’s Translation, p. 28.

² Lex Wisi-Goth. I. xii. t. ii, 12: “De datis et confirmatis leg. super Iudeam nequitiam promulgatis.”

“Nam cum virtus Dei totum universaliter acie verbi sui hæresium extirparerit fomitem vel surculum, solā Judæorum nequitiam ingemiscimus arva nostra esse polluta regiminis nostri.” A *Catholic* land might not endure Jewish cultivators. Leges Wisi-Gothorum, lib. xii., ap. Canciani, iv. p. 185–6.

The first law is directed against Christian renegades to Judaism. No baptized Jew shall again leave or profane the faith of the holy Christian religion, assail it by act or word, or secretly or openly blaspheme it. These proselytes were to take care not to damage the document which they had signed of their conversion to Christianity.

The laws, however, in the text are expressly directed against all Jews: “De cunctis Judæorum erroribus generaliter extirpandis. Ne Judæi more suo celebrent Pascha. Ne Judæi more suo fœdus copulent nuptiale. Ne Judæi carnis faciant circumcisionem,” &c. Their distinction of meats was looked on with special detestation: “Cum beatus Apostolus dicat, omnia mundam mundis; coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum: merito Judæorum detestabilis vita et discretionis horrendæ immunditia, omnium sordium horrore immundior, et refelli oportet et abisci debet.”

³ “Quicunque aut superioribus vetita legibus aut suis innixa placitis temerae voluerit, vel frustrare præsumperit, mox juxta sponsonem eorum gentis suæ manibus aut lapide puniatur, aut igne cremetur.” The king had the suspicious power of mercy; he might grant the guilty Jew, with all his confiscated property, as a slave to any of his favourites, “sicque fiat ut nec rem amissam recipiat dominus, nec libertatem reparet servus.” L. W. xii. t. xi.

⁴ “Si certe hi, qui in ritum Hebræorum traducti sunt, in eâ perfidiâ stare voluerint.” The edict pursues the transgressor of the law beyond this world to

letter of Pope Gregory, that the Israelites paid a large sum of money for their suspension. Three statutes of Sisebut,¹ the fourth in succession from Recared, complained of the neglect of Recared's law by his degenerate successors. Sisebut disclaimed their culpable toleration, and sternly re-enacted, with rigid provisions, the prohibition to the Jews to have Christian slaves; such slaves were declared at once free; if after a fixed time any Jew was found in possession of a Christian slave, half his substance was to be forfeited to the Treasury. It was a capital crime for a Jew to circumcise a Christian, man or woman. Children born of Jewish or Christian parents (this law seems to contemplate mixed marriages or concubinage) were to be brought up as Christians; at the same time there is a singular provision, that if any convert from Christianity shall obstinately adhere to Judaism, he shall be publicly flogged, shaven, and granted in perpetual servitude to whomsoever the king shall will. The third law seems to imply that the general feeling was not in full accordance with the fierce intolerance of the king: it denounces the penalty of excommunication and fine against any one, even bishop, priest, or monk, who shall in any way patronise or defend the victims of these laws. But the zealous Sisebut was not content with these slow and indulgent measures; he would extirpate the perfidious and detested race from the contaminated land. About four years after, he began his remorseless persecution. The Spanish monarch was excited, it is said, by the Emperor Heraclius,² who had found out that his empire was

the Day of Judgment: "Futuri etiam examinis terribile cum patuerit tempus, et metuendus Domini adventus fuerit reseratus, discretus a Christiano grege perspicuo ad lævam cum Hebræis exuretur flammis atrocibus, comitante sibi diabolo ut ultrix flamma in transgressoribus æternâ pænâ desæviat, et locuples remuneratio Christianis faventibus hinc in æternum copiosé detur." Leges Wisi-Goth. apud Canciani, iv. 188.

¹ Sisebut's accession, A.C. 612.

² Basnage is disposed to believe this, as well as Mariana, on whose authority it chiefly rests; but the Spanish historian Ferreras has shown that Sisebut had begun to persecute the Jews before his treaty with Heraclius (ii. p. 340).

The historians of the East are silent about it; it rests on monkish traditions in the West. Compare Schröckh, xx. p. 303. Vit. S. Amandi Trajectensis.

Lafuente, ii. p. 407, fully accepts the story of Heraclius, doubtfully that of the 90,000 converts. But he writes in the nobler spirit of later times: "Los (Judíos) que quedaran en nostra peninsula sufrieron todo género de violencias, no habia humillacion, no habia mal tratamiento, no habia amargura, que no se les hiciera probar; y Sisebut aquel príncipe tan compasivo y humano, que vertea lagrimas a la vista de la sangre que se derammbaba en los combates, veia impassible las cruelezas que con los Judíos se cometian. A tanto arrastra el excesivo celo religioso."

threatened with danger from the circumcised, and, ignorant of the secret growth of Mohammedanism, determined to extirpate the dangerous race throughout the world.¹ Among the smouldering ruins of the Christian churches, and the vestiges of recent Christian massacre in Jerusalem, Heraclius might unhappily have found stronger reasons for the persecution of the Jews; but as we have no satisfactory evidence of his having wreaked his vengeance in his own dominions, it may be doubted whether his jealous vigilance extended so far as to the extremity of the West. Sisebut must bear alone the shame, he probably thought, alone inherit the glory of his oppressive measures. The Jews were commanded, at once, either to abandon their religion or to leave the dominions of the Goths. According to their own account, they assembled with tears and groans in the court of the palace, obtained an audience, and held a singular theological debate with their royal antagonist. The king declared that he was constrained by his conscience to force them to receive baptism. They adduced the example of Joshua, who did not, they said, compel the Canaanites to accept the Law of Moses, but allowed them peace on condition of their observing the seven Noachic precepts.² The king, perplexed by this daring historical argument, replied that he recognised no authority superior to his own; that it was his bounden duty to enforce his law, because all who were not regenerate in baptism must perish everlasting.³ The Jews replied, that as the Israelites, who despise

¹ See p. 370.

² Basnage relates this scene on the authority of Solomon ben Virga, Schœve Juda, p. 93. The Jewish writer has committed an anachronism and fixed the reign of Sisebut as late as 800.

³ Mariana, lib. vi. Mariana asserts that there were laws inserted in the Fuero Juzgo with this intent. I can find only the three laws above attributed to Sisebut. But of the persecution there can be no doubt, from other sources especially the noble remonstrance of Isidore of Seville: "In initio regni sui Judæos ad fidem Christianam permovere æmulationem quidem Dei habuimus non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit quos provocare fiduciatione oportuit." Isidor Hisp. in Chronico. Mariana is indignant, not so much at the intolerance of the king, though he acknowledges that it was "cosa illicita y vedada entre los Christianos, que a ninguno se haga fuerza para que lo sea contra su voluntad." But no wonder that the king erred since he presumed to take into his own hands affairs that belong to the ecclesiastical power. Mariana's pity for the terrible sufferings of the Jews finds easy consolation: "Por esta manera la divina justicia con nuevos castigos trabajava y affligia aquella nacion malvada, en pena de la sangre de Christo, hijo de Dios, que tan sin culpa derramaron." The proceedings of the Fourth Council of Toledo, too, bear witness to the persecution. The doubtful authority for the 90,000 baptized is Aimoin. Hist. Franc. iv. 22. Compare Gibbon ch. 37.

the Holy Land, were sufficiently punished by being excluded from its blessings, so they would pay an adequate penalty, by being excluded from eternal life. Sisebut rejoined, that men might be left to themselves to accept or refuse temporal advantages, but that they must be forced to receive spiritual blessings, as a child is forced to learn his lessons. But the king's orders were more effective than his arguments. The Jews were thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost rigour. Some fled into France or Africa, others abandoned their religion, 90,000 are reported to have submitted to baptism; but how far their hearts renounced their creed, or how speedily they relapsed, must remain uncertain.

But Sisebut did not carry out these atrocious acts without one voice of noble Christian remonstrance raised against him, that of Isidore of Seville, who boldly reproved the king's zeal not according to knowledge. In the next reign but one, that of Sisenand, the Jews obtained a relaxation of the oppressive statutes, probably from an unexpected quarter. The rare example was displayed of a synod of clergy in that age, of Spanish clergy, openly asserting the tenets of reason and Christian charity. The Fourth Council of Toledo, under the Presidency of Isidore of Seville, enacted, "that men ought not to be compelled to believe, because God will have mercy on those on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. As man fell by his own free will in listening to the wiles of the serpent, so man can only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith." Yet, with remarkable inconsistency, the Council likewise decreed, "that all who had embraced the faith must be constrained to adhere to it, and to remain within the Church. For, as they had received the Blessed Sacrament, the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the faith disgraced, by their falling off."¹ The Council sadly acknowledges how hollow and insincere had been many of their enforced conversions. Not only did many of these New Christians practise in secret Jewish ceremonies, but they were guilty of performing the abominable rite of circumcision. The children of such parents were to be taken from them, and brought up either in monasteries or under the care of pious men. There is a humiliating confession too: such was still the influence of the wealth of the Jews, that

¹ IV. Concil. Tolet. ann. iii. Sisenandi, A.C. 633. "Qui autem jampridem ad Christianitatem venire coacti sunt, sicut factum est temporibus religiosissimi principis Sisebuti." Art. lvii.

many laymen and clerks, even bishops, were bought to be their protectors. The penalty for this profane and sacrilegious connivance was in some cases not less than excommunication.¹ The prohibitions against the Jews holding civil offices and retaining Christian slaves were renewed. The children of Jews by Christian mothers (this seems to have been not uncommon) were to be brought up as Christians. The gleam of light and mercy was but transient. The Sixth Council of Toledo (the wise and good Isidore of Seville had died in the interval²) indignantly disclaimed the tolerant spirit of the former synod. It praised Suintila the Second for his violent proceedings against the Jews, and blessed God that they possessed a prince so full of ardour for the faith.³ The Council enacted that every king on his accession should take an oath to execute these laws, and passed an anathema on that sovereign who should neglect this indispensable part of his royal duty. Under Recesuinth, the Eighth Council of Toledo, A.C. 653, re-enforced the obligation of the king to execute the laws against the Jews with the utmost severity.⁴ To this Council a curious petition was presented. The undersigned baptized Jews expressed their readiness to submit to the law; they acknowledged its justice and wisdom in the humblest language, recited and declared their assent to all its prohibitions: of circumcision, Jewish marriages, distinctions of meats, sabbatical observances. The only indulgence they requested was an exemption from being constrained to eat pork, a food to which they could not habituate themselves; even that they could endure, without disgust and horror, if only used in cookery with other things.⁵ But the most extraordinary fact in all this history is, that not only were these laws ineffective in the conversion or extirpation of the Jews,⁶ but that there were yet Christians who embraced Judaism. One of the

¹ "Tanta est quorundam cupiditas, . . . multi quippe hucusque ex sacerdotibus et laicis accipientes a Judæis munera, perfidiam eorum patrocinio suo favebant." Art. lvii.

² He died A.C. 636. Life in Smith's Dictionary.

³ The canon of the Sixth Council of Toledo, under Suintelle (A.C. 638), confirms more distinctly the persecution of Sisebut. The Most Christian King, by the inspiration of God, had determined, "prævaricationes et superstitiones eorum eradicare funditus, nec sinit degere in regno suo eum qui non sit catholicus." Canon iii.

⁴ VIII. Conc. Toletanum, Canon x. xii.

⁵ "Ea tanen quæ cum ipsis decocta sunt, absque fastidio ac honore sumamus." VIII. Conc. Tolet. ap. Labbe.

⁶ Canon xvii.

Visigothic laws indignantly enacts the punishment of death for such an offence. "Even many of the clergy," declares the Tenth Council of Toledo, "a fact monstrous and unutterable, pursue an execrable commerce with the ungodly, and do not scruple to sell to them Christian slaves, and thus give Christians up to be converted to Judaism."¹ The Ninth Council had decreed, that all baptized Jews were bound to appear in the church, not only on Christian, but also on Jewish holy days, lest, while professed Christians, they should practise secret Judaism. But the Twelfth Council of Toledo, or rather the Legislature with the full assent and approbation of the Council, in the reign of Ervig, far surpassed its predecessors in the elaborate cruelty of its enactments, even if aimed only at Jews professing Christianity. There is indeed a singular ambiguity in the wording of the law—it appears generally to include all Jews,² but most of its provisions seem especially directed against conformists to the Church. Are we to suppose that the Church, only legislating for its members, intended these laws specially for Jews within its pale? or that this conformity had been so general as to comprise nearly all the Jews within the realm?³ The Jews were assembled in the Church of the Holy Virgin, at Toledo, and the resolutions of this Christian assembly were read aloud.⁴ The preamble complained that the crafty Jews had eluded all former laws, and attributed the failure of these statutes to the severity of the punishment enacted, which was death in all cases—contrary, it was added, to the Holy Scriptures. The penalties of the new statutes were mitigated, but not in mercy. The general punishment was one hundred lashes on the naked body; after that the offender was to be put in chains, banished, and his

¹ Leges Wisi-Goth. xii. ii. 27. "De Judaizantibus Christianis: Ut nullus omnino veniam mereatur, qui a meliore proposito ad deterius declinasse convincetur." It proceeds to enact death and confiscation of goods against any one guilty of this cruel and stupendous crime: "Quicunque Christianus, et præsertim a Christianis parentibus ortus, sextus scilicet utriusque, circumcisionem, vel quoscunque Judaicos ritus, exercuisse repertus est."

² Concil. Tolet. ix. A.C. 656, Canon vii.

³ "Proinde si quis Judæorum de his scilicet qui nondum sunt baptizati, aut se baptizare distulerit, aut filios suos vel famulos nullo modo ad sacerdotem baptizandos remiserit, vel se suosque de baptismo subtraxerit, et vel unius anni spatiu post legem hanc editam quispiam illorum sine gratia baptimatis transierit." Lex iii.

⁴ This appears from the subscription to the Laws. Leges Wisi-Goth. xii. iii. Canciani, 190, 201. In fact these were Laws of the Realm enforced by the assent and confirmation of the Council—the whole in Canciani. It was a consolidation of the Statute Laws against the Jews.

property confiscated to the lord of the soil.¹ This was the penalty for profaning the name of Christ, rejecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, blaspheming the Trinity—for not bringing children or servants, themselves or their dependants, to baptism—for observing the Passover, the New Moon, the feast of Tabernacles (in these cases, on real conversion, the land was restored), for violating the Christian Sabbath, or the great festivals of the Church, either by working in the field, or in manufacture. If these days were desecrated by a servant, the master was liable to a fine. The circumcision of a child was more cruelly visited, on the man, by mutilation—on the woman, by the loss of her nose and the seizure of her property. The same penalty was attached to the conversion of a Christian to Judaism. The former punishment—scourging, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation—was incurred by those who made a difference in meats. An exemption was granted to new converts, who were not constrained to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. The same penalty fell on all who intermarried within the sixth degree of relationship. Such marriages were declared null; the property was to be divided among the children, if not Jews. If there were no children, or only children educated in Judaism, it fell to the lord of the soil. No marriage was hereafter to be contracted, without a clause in the act of dower that both would become Christians. All who offended against this law, even the parents concerned in such a marriage, were to be fined or scourged. All subjects of the kingdom who harboured, assisted, or concealed the flight of a Jew, were to be scourged, and have their property confiscated. Whoever received bribes from a Jew to conceal his practice of Judaism, was fined thrice the sum he had received. The Jew who read, or allowed his children to read, books written against Christianity, suffered one hundred lashes; on the second offence the lashes were repeated, with banishment and confiscation. Christian slaves of Jews were declared free; the Jews had no right of emancipating them; but a given time was

¹ "Nam quædam leges sicut culparum habent diversitates, non ita discretas in se retinent ultiōes, sed permista sclera transgressorū ad unius permittuntur legis poenale judicium. Nec secundum modum culpæ modus est adhibitis poenæ, cum major minorque transgressio unius non debeat mulierationis prædampnari suppicio: præsertim cum dominus in lege suâ precipiat pro mensurâ peccati erit et plagarum modus. Unde lex ipsa quæ miserebitur de poenâ, quâ perimenda sit transgressio Judæorum, quia Deus mortem non vult, nec lætatur in perditione vivorum, pro eo quod in se peremptionem continet mortis, in nullo veræ valetudinis retinebit statum" (p. 191).

allowed, in which they might sell those of whom they were possessed. As many Jews, in order to retain their Christian slaves, pretended to Christianity, the whole race were commanded, by a given day, to bring their slaves for sale, or publicly to embrace Christianity. If not immediately baptized, they were to lodge a solemn protest of their faith with the bishop; and all converts were to take an oath, of which the form was subjoined—an oath of terrific sublimity, which even now makes the reader shudder, when he remembers that it was forced upon unwilling consciences, and perhaps taken by those who secretly renounced its obligations. All Jewish slaves, by embracing Christianity, obtained their freedom. No Jew could take any office by which he might have authority over, or constrain a Christian, except in certain cases where power might be granted by the feudal lord. In such a case, if he abused the law, he was punished by the loss of half his property, or by stripes. Even the noble who granted such a power was liable to a fine, or, in default of payment, to the same ignominious punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house steward, or overseer. Should a bishop, priest, or other ecclesiastic, commit the property of the Church to a Jewish intendant, his property was to be confiscated—in default, himself burnt. No Jew could travel from one town or province to another, without reporting himself to the bishop or judge of the place. They were forced to eat, drink, and communicate with Christians; they could not move without a certificate of good behaviour and a passport. On the Jewish Sabbath and holy days they were all to assemble before the bishop. The bishop was to appoint women to overlook their wives and daughters. The spiritual person who took a bribe to relax his vigilance was to be degraded and excommunicated.¹ Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer, was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood, if their presence could be procured. The remission of penalties might be granted, on a certificate of Christian behaviour. All spiritual persons were to communicate these statutes to the Jews in their

¹ There is one provision which gives no high notion of the morality of the Christian clergy, who demanded, enforced, and were to execute this atrocious system of persecution: “*Id tantum præcipue observandum est, ne quorundam sacerdotum carnalia corda, dum eas libidines execrabilis contaminatione exigit, occasiones quaslibet inquirant, per quos libidinis suæ votum efficiant.*” Lex xxi.

respective dioceses and cures. Such were the acts of the kingdom of Spain, ratified or commanded by the Twelfth Council of Toledo: but happily laws, when they are carried to such an extreme of cruelty as to shock the general feeling, usually prevent their own execution. The Council might enact, but the people would carry into effect but imperfectly these horrible scenes of scourging and confiscation. Wealth, notwithstanding the menaces of the law, would purchase immunity and exemption; and though many fled, and many probably outwardly conformed, the successor of Ervig, Egica, found it expedient to relax the laws, so far as to allow baptized Jews all the privileges of citizens,¹ which before were but jealously or imperfectly bestowed;² in all other respects the statutes of Ervig remained in force. Fear may have extorted this concession; but the fear of the monarch shows how ineffective the former laws must have been, if the Jews were still so numerous as to be formidable.

Already the shores of Africa were beginning to gleam with the camps of the Saracens, who threatened to cross the narrow strait, and overwhelm the trembling Gothic monarchy. No wonder if the impatient Jews hourly uttered vows, or held secret correspondence with their free brethren in Africa, to accelerate the march of the victorious deliverer. The year after the conciliatory edict of Egica, a Council was again held at Toledo: the king denounced a general conspiracy of the Jews (ungrateful as they were for his merciful desire to convert them to Christianity) to massacre the Christians, subdue the land, and overthrow the monarchy. "Already," declared the king, "this people, defiled by the blood of Christ and infamous for the profanation of their oaths, have meditated ruin against the king and kingdom—the supreme dominion of which they would usurp—and, proclaiming that their time is come, have begun the work of slaughter against the Catholics."³

¹ XVI. Concil. Tolet. A.C. 693: "Dan por nobles y horros de tributos a todos los Judíos que de coraçón abraçassen la religion Christiana." Mariana, vi. c. xviii. The nobles seem to have been exempt from tribute: a privilege of no slight value to the wealthy Jewish Christians. Compare on the reigns of Ervig and Egica, Lafuente.

² XVII. Concil. Tolet. A.C. 694: "Tanta fuit pro eorum conversione mansuetudinis nostræ intentio." In Praef.

³ "Ausu tyrannico inferre conati sunt ruinam patriæ ac populo universo . . . sed et regni fastigium sibi (ut præmissum est) per conspirationem usurpare maluerunt . . . ut suum quasi tempus invenisse gaudentes diversas in catholicos exercerent strages." The statute (c. viii.) does not alone refer to their foreign connections, but also in the address of the king are these words:

There was a vast confederacy, it was averred and believed, among the Hebrews, in Spain and beyond the sea, to exterminate the Christian faith. The affrighted and obsequious churchmen instantly passed a decree to confiscate all the property of the Jews to the royal treasury—to disperse the whole race, as slaves, through the country—to seize all their children under seven years of age—to bring them up as Christians, marry them to Christian wives, and to abolish for ever the exercise of the Jewish faith. A great flight of the Jews probably took place; for Witiza, the successor of Egica, attempting too late to heal the wounds by conciliation, granted them permission to return into the Gothic states, with full rights of freedom and citizenship.¹ He even compelled or persuaded a Council at Toledo, presided over by the archbishop, to concur in this act of toleration. This Council is indignantly declared illegitimate and heretical by the annalists of the Church of Rome.² But the vows of the Jews had been heard, or their intrigues had been successful. They returned, and to the enjoyment of all rights and privileges of freedom—not indeed under Christian kings, but under the dominion of the Moorish Caliphs, who established their rule over almost the whole of Spain.³ The munificence of these sovereigns bears the appearance of gratitude for valuable services, and confirms the suspicion that the Jews were highly instrumental in advancing

"Nuper manifestis confessionibus indubie pervenimus, hos in transmarinis partibus Hebræos alios consuluisse ut unanimiter contra genus Christianum agerent."

¹ Read Mariana (l. vi. c. 19). Witiza began (as Mariana admits) nobly: he recalled from exile many persons whom his father had driven from their homes, restored their confiscated possessions, honours, and dignities. He ordered all the papers relating to charges of treason to be burned. But he soon yielded himself to flatterers, kept many concubines with the pomp of queens; and, a greater crime, he issued an edict permitting the clergy and monks to marry,—an abominable and foul law, which nevertheless found favour with the many, even with most (que a muchos y a los mas diò gusto). He issued another law refusing obedience to the Pope. Finally, *to complete his wickedness, he abrogated the laws against the Jews*, and allowed them to return to Spain.

² The Council is not admitted to the honour of a place in Labbe, who refers to Baronius, sub ann. 701.

³ The Mohammedan historians of the conquest of Spain acknowledge the Jews as their allies. It is probable that in the invasion itself they were deeply involved. Of the Berbers who formed the great mass of Turks a vast number were Jews (Judaism had spread wide in Northern Africa). There can be no doubt that the African Jews were in correspondence with their brethren in Spain. On the capture of Grenada, of Toledo, of Seville, the Jews were entrusted with the occupation of these cities, while the Moslems passed on to other conquests. See Gayangos Hist. of Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain (Orient. Trans. Fund), pp. 280, 284, and Note, p. 531.

the triumph of the Crescent. At all events, when Toledo opened her gates to the Moorish conqueror (whether the Jews were openly or secretly active in the fall of the city), with what infinite satisfaction must they have beheld the capital of the persecuting Visigothic kings, of Recared, and Sisebut, and Ervig, and the seat of those remorseless Councils which had forcibly baptized, or exiled their devoted ancestors, or deprived them of their children, now become the palace of kings, if not kindred in lineage, yet Monotheists like themselves, under whose rule they knew that their brethren in the East and in Africa were permitted to enjoy their lives and their religion undisturbed, under whom they found equal justice, rose to high honour, at least laboured under no proscription, dreaded no persecution! How much more must they have exulted when they were summoned to assume the command of this great city, and to maintain it for their Moslem deliverers! The reward of their prayers or of their acts for the success of Islamism was a golden age of freedom, of civilisation, and of letters. They shared with and emulated their splendid masters in all the luxuries and arts which soften and embellish life, during that era of high, though, if we may so say, somewhat barbaric civilisation, under which the southern provinces of Spain became that paradise for which they were designed by nature.

France had obeyed the signal of Spain, and hung out the bloody flag of persecution. But her measures were ill-combined, and probably worse executed; for many of the fugitives from Spain sought and found comparative security among their brethren in Gaul.¹ Early in the seventh century, A.C. 615, Clotaire the Second, in a council of the clergy, issued a decree disqualifying the Jews from all military or civil offices which gave them authority over Christians. But by a strange provision the Jew who should attempt to attain or exercise his power, was to be baptized by the bishop with all his family, as if, instead of suffering a penalty, he was to be graciously admitted to a privilege.² The Council of Rheims (627) annulled

¹ Jost somewhat quaintly complains that they were persecuted with bad sermons: "Von der Geistlichkeit überall mit schlechten Predigten gequält wurden" (v. 149). Sulpicius, Bishop of Bourges, a famous preacher, aided the effect of his sermons by hunting the obstinate Jews out of his diocese.

² The whole statute (Concil. Paris. can. xv.) is obscure: "Ut nullus Ju-dæorum qualemcumque militiam aut actionem publicam super Christianos aut petere a principe aut agere præsumat. Quod si tentaverit, ab Episcopo ci-tatis illius, ubi actionem contra canonum statuta competenteret, cum omni familia gratiam baptismi consequatur."

all bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves; that of Chalons, on the Marne, prohibited the Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the frontier of the kingdom.¹ The devout Dagobert, it is said, though probably with as little truth, instigated, like his contemporary Sisebut of Spain, by the Emperor Heraclius, issued an edict commanding all Jews to forswear their religion or leave the kingdom.² But in the northern part of France this edict was so little enforced, that a Jew held the office of tax-collector at the Gate of St. Denys in Paris.³ In the South, where they were far more numerous and wealthy, they carried on their trade with uninterrupted success. In the great rebellion of the Gallic part of the Visigothic kingdom, Paul, who had usurped the throne, and Hilderic, Count of Nismes, had recalled the Jews into the realm.⁴ King Wamba, the predecessor of Ervig, on the suppression of the rebellion took vengeance on the Jews by re-enforcing the persecuting edicts of Sisebut I.; but in later days the wiser monarchs of the Visigothic kingdom in France altogether renounced the intolerant policy of the Merovingian race.

¹ Concil. Remense, can. xi.; Concil. Cabill. IX., circiter ann. 650.

² See back, p. 253. This tale is thus told in the curious Chronicle of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, translated for the Oriental Fund by M. Biallobotski:—"And it came to pass in the twenty-first year of his reign, that Heraclius, being very wise in the knowledge of the planets, saw in his wisdom the kingdom of Rome fall in his days under the soles of the feet of the circumcised. And this Belial said in his heart, 'The Lord will do this glorious thing on behalf of the Jews only, for they are circumcised.' And his wrath was kindled against them; and he commanded in all the cities of his kingdom to kill all the Jews who refused to change their glory for that which doth not profit. And he sent messengers to Dagobert, king of France, that he also might act according to this wicked saying. And Dagobert hearkened unto him; and many Jews changed their glory, and many were slain with the edge of the sword in France in those days. May the Eternal avenge the blood and repay vengeance to his enemies! Amen and Amen! And Heraclius, the Belial, knew not this word related to the Nazarenes, for like unto us they are circumcised" (vol. i. p. 10).

Rabbi Joshua is a late writer, but may have known traditions from earlier documents, which have not been detected in those writings by modern scholars. The Christian authorities are silent on these persecutions.

³ Gesta Dagoberti.

⁴ Archbishop Rodriguez, quoted by Amador de los Rios, p. 31; Mariana, vi. 13. King Wamba reigned A.C. 672-680.

BOOK XXIII

GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM

The Jews under the Caliphs—Rise of Karaism—Kingdom of Khosar—Jews under the Byzantine Empire—Jews breakers of Images—Jews of Italy—Jews under Charlemagne and Louis Debonnaire—Agobard, Bishop of Lyons—Jews in Spain—High state of Literature—Moses Maimonides.

WE enter upon a period which I shall venture to denominate the Golden Age of the modern Jews. To them, the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the Caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and his successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigour and solidity to the Christian Empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mohammedanism; everywhere we behold the Jews not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendour and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mohammedan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world. In the East it was, before long, interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire, we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question, and that which followed it. In the West of Europe it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain, the daylight endured the longest—to set in deep and total darkness.

The religious persecutions of the Jews by the Mohammedans were confined within the borders of Arabia. The Prophet was content with enforcing uniformity of worship within the sacred peninsula which gave him birth. The holy cities of Mecca and Medina were not to be profaned by the unclean

footstep of an unbeliever. His immediate successors rose (or degenerated, shall we say?) from stern fanatics to ambitious conquerors. "The Koran or the sword" was still the battle-cry; but whoever would submit to the dominion of the triumphant Caliph, or render himself useful in the extension of his conquests, might easily evade the recognition of the Prophet's title. The Jews had little reason to regret, or rather had ample cause to triumph in, the ruin of their former masters. The kings of Persia, who had sometimes vouchsafed to protect, but had sometimes cruelly persecuted the Jews, were now cast from their thrones, without any compassion, or rather with inward feelings of triumph and revenge from their Jewish subjects. Whether they paid tribute to a Magian or Mohammedan sovereign, was to the Jews indifferent. Feeble governments are in general more tyrannical, more iniquitous in the distribution of justice, more rapacious in their taxation, than strong ones. An Islamite sovereign on the throne of Damascus or Bagdad would not be more oppressive than a Byzantine on the throne of Constantinople, or a Persian on the throne of Ctesiphon. The Jew would receive as substantial—and not more capricious—justice from an Islamite Cadi as from a Roman Prefect or Magian Satrap. The capitation tax, or whatever form the new assessment bore, if as inexorably exacted, was more simple, less ingeniously extortionate than that of the Byzantine Exchequer, or the Persian Treasury. His religion the Jew knew too well to be odious, to be despised, often persecuted, by Gueber and Christian. Doomed indeed by the laws of Omar to perpetual inferiority, it might be more respected, it could not be trampled on more contemptuously or more mercilessly than by the Magian or the Christian. Though, doubtless, during the terrible conflict and the general plunder which attended on the Mohammedan conquests, the wealth of the Jews did not escape, yet in the East, as in the North, they would not scruple to make up their losses, by following in the train of the yet fierce and uncivilised conqueror, and by making use of their superior judgment, or command of money, to drive a lucrative bargain with the plunderer. Whenever a commissariat was wanting to the disorganised hordes which followed the Crescent with irresistible valour, the corn-ships or caravans of the Jews would follow in the wake of the fleet or army. At the capture of Rhodes, the celebrated fallen Colossus, which once bestrode the harbour

of that city, one of the wonders of the world, was sold to a Jew of Emesa, who is reported to have loaded nine hundred camels with the metal.¹ The greater and more certain emoluments of the mercantile life would lead the Jews to addict themselves more and more to traffic, and to abandon the cultivation of the soil, which they had hitherto pursued in many places. For, as the Moslemite sovereigns levied a disproportioned tribute on the believer and the unbeliever, the former paying only a tenth, the latter a fifth, or even a third, of the produce, the Jew would readily cede his land, which remunerated him so ill, for trade which offered, at least, the chance of rapid wealth.²

In every respect the Jew, under his Mohammedan rulers, rose in the social scale. The persecution of their Arabian brethren, if known by the Jews scattered over the wide face of the Persian and Roman empires, would be heard almost with indifference. The Arabian Jews, in fact Bedouins like the rest of the Arabs, had no relations with their remote brethren. The bloody scenes at Nadhir, at Koraidha, at Khaibar, were but the collisions of hostile Arab tribes; and beyond the boundaries of Arabia, the sword of religious persecution had been sheathed. The religious sympathies of the Jews would be more disposed towards, at least be less sternly hostile to, the Monotheism of Islam, than to the Fire-worship of Persia, or what they, in common with the Mohammedans, did not scruple to condemn as the Polytheism of the Christians. There was no Mohammedan priesthood like the Magian and Christian hierarchy, whose pride and duty it was to compel mankind to accept their faith. Proselytism no doubt had its temptations and advantages, and so went on to some extent; but the sincere religious Jew was not searched out, and followed into his privacy, to detect his hateful opinions. He was not proscribed by the law as almost as bad as a heretic. The Caliph, the successor of the Prophet, was content with the submission, something approaching to adoration from the true believer, but this was the Moslem's special privilege and distinction. To the rest of the world his toleration might be contemptuous, condescending, but it was still toleration; it was not an active, busy, ubiquitous scrutiny of the faith and opinions of his subject. Provided they demeaned themselves peaceably, and

¹ Theophanes, Chronographia, i. p. 327, Edit. Bonn.

² Jost, vi. 14.

paid their tribute, they might go to the Synagogue rather than to the Mosque. Mohammedanism had borrowed so much from Judaism, that there was not that constant and flagrant opposition between their habits and modes of life. The circumcised Mohammedan could not object to the circumcised Jew; the aversion to swine's flesh was common; the Koran was full of recognitions of the sanctity of the Mosaic Law; and altogether the Eastern cast of their usages approximated the Mohammedan and the Jew, much more intimately than the Jew and the Christian. The Jew, though usually at this time become monogamous, could hardly, in the face of his patriarchs and kings, hold polygamy to be licentious or unlawful. The wealthy Jews among the Mohammedans sometimes followed the example of their masters. There was another link, which perhaps joined them more closely, at least in aversion to Christianity, the common hatred of images and image-worship.

When the Caliphs began to delegate to others the sword of conquest or extermination, and to establish themselves in the splendid state of peaceful sovereigns, the Jews were equally useful in teaching these stern barbarians the arts and luxuries of civilised life. They spoke a kindred language. Hebrew and Arabic are the two most prolific branches of what are now called the Semitic family of tongues. The Hebrew literature was admirably adapted to the kindred taste of the Arabians. The extravagant legends of the Talmud would harmonise with their bold poetical spirit; their picturesque apologetics were the form of instruction in which the Arab tribes had ever delighted to listen to moral wisdom; even the niceties of their verbal disputes would not be without charm to their masters, who soon began to pay attention to the polish of their own rich and copious language. Already, in the time of Omar, the second Caliph, and his successor Abdalmelech, a trust of great importance, the coinage, had been committed to the care of a Jew. Either shocked that faithful Moslemites should use money stamped with an image, or eager to assume that distinction of sovereignty, the uttering coin, the Caliph instructed the Jew to substitute the emphatic sentence, "Say there is one God, one."¹ The traffic of the Jews would disseminate that coin which their art had enabled them to provide. But it was not by mechanical operations alone, like the coinage, or by traffic, in which, as

¹ Al Makrizi, Hist. Mon. Arab. Tychsen, quoted by Jost, vi. 15.

single traders, or even as mercantile firms, they pervaded the whole East as well as the West, that the Jews rendered invaluable services to the Barbarian conquerors ; and aided very powerfully in raising them from the chieftains of wild, marauding tribes into magnificent, in some respects enlightened, sovereigns. In the interworking of European civilisation, its knowledge, sciences, and arts, into the Oriental mind, who were so qualified to be the mediate agents as the Jews ? Besides the rigid Rabbinical Jews, who formed their constituted communities, there were no doubt a great number who, perhaps, held more loosely to the tenets of their forefathers, and were the descendants and representatives of the Græcised Jews in the time of our Saviour. It is well known that the works of many of the great Greek writers, especially their natural philosophers, writers on medicine (Jewish physicians were in great repute in the East as in the West), metaphysical philosophers, were, sooner or later, translated into the Arabic. And who so likely to be the translators as the Jews, who stood between the Asiatic and European races ? By traffic, residence, perhaps habits, they were familiar with Greek, and acquired Arabic, as a kindred language to their own, with great facility : Arabic, indeed, to a great extent became the vernacular tongue of the Jews.¹ Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, became a sort of sacred language. We know what took place to a great extent under the flourishing dominion of the Mussulmen in Spain ; when Europe, seeking her old lost treasures of arts and knowledge among the more enlightened descendants of the Arabs, found the learned Jews of Cordova and Toledo, as it were, half-way between the East and West, and used them as intermediate agents in that intellectual intercourse. So, in all probability, at an earlier period, in Damascus and Bagdad, the Jews were the most active interpreters, not only of the Western languages, but of the Western mind, to the conquerors. The Caliph readily acknowledged as his vassal the Prince of the Captivity, who maintained his state as representative of the Jewish community ; probably, through him the tribute was levied on his brethren. A singular story is told of Omar the Second, which illustrates the high degree of credit which the Jews were permitted to attain in the court of the Caliphs.

¹ Compare E. Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, p. 164. Basnage claims as a Jew Honain, the famous translator of many works from Greek into Syriac. (D'Herbelot, art. "Honain.") Euclid, and the Almagest of Ptolemy, some works of Hippocrates and Galen, were translated by him and his scholars.

Omar, a secret follower of Ali, whose name was still cursed in the mosques, was anxious to reconcile his people to the name of the Prophet's vicar upon earth. An innocent comedy was got up in his court, in which a Jew played a principal part. The Jew came boldly forward, while the throne was encircled by the splendid retinue of courtiers and people, and asked in marriage the daughter of the Caliph. Omar calmly answered, "How can I give my daughter in marriage to a man of another faith?" "Did not Mohammed," rejoined the Jew, "give his daughter in marriage to Ali?" "That is another case," said the Caliph, "for Ali was a Moslemite, and the commander of the faithful." "Why, then," rejoined the Jew, "if Ali was one of the faithful, do ye curse him in your mosques?" The Caliph turned to the courtiers and said, "Answer ye the Jew?" A long silence ensued, broken at length by the Caliph, who arose, and declared the curse to be rejected as impious, and ordered these words to be substituted in the prayer: "Forgive us, Lord, our sins, and forgive all who have the same faith with us." At a later period, A.C. 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews entrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians. It was a tax which comprehended ecclesiastics, monks, hermits, those who stood on columns.¹ The sacred vessels of churches were seized, and purchased by the Jews. Under this fostering government the schools flourished; those in Sura and Pumbeditha were crowded with hearers: the Gaonim, or the Illustrious, were at the height of their fame;² they formed a sort of senate, and while the Prince of the Captivity maintained the sovereign executive power, they assumed the legislative. Their reign was for the most part undisturbed, though sometimes a rapacious Caliph or an over-zealous Iman might make them feel that the sword of authority still hung over them, and that the fire of zealous Islamism was not yet burned out. Giafar the Great is reported to have framed an edict to force Jews and Christians to embrace Islamism. The Sultan Vathek held them in contempt and dislike. His brother and successor, Motavakel, was a sterner persecutor. He issued an edict that all the Jews and Christians in his empire should wear a leather girdle, to distinguish them from the faithful. He prohibited them from

¹ Κλούτας τῷ Θεῷ εὐαρεστούντας. Theoph. Chronog. 357, p. 663, Edit. Bonn.

² Jost gives a list of these teachers, mostly undistinguished men, from the Seder Haddoroth. Anhang. vi. p. 354.

sitting on the Divan of Justice. At first he only forbade their use of iron stirrups; but he degraded them still farther; they were no longer to mount the noble horse, they were only permitted to ride the mule or the ass. This debasing distinction is still put in force by law or by usage, enforced by popular hatred, in many parts of the Turkish dominions.¹

On the whole, however, the long and unaccustomed interval of peace, and the free intercourse with their enlightened masters, introduced a spirit of bold inquiry, which threatened, even at this zenith of its power, to shake the dominion of the Rabbins to its basis.² The Karaites, the Protestants of Judaism, who perhaps had never entirely been extinct, began to grow again into a formidable sect. The older Karaites (it is quite uncertain when they assumed the name) probably fell into disrepute through the abuse of their doctrines by the unpopular Sadducees. After the fall of Jerusalem, Pharisaism, under its more regular and organised form Rabbinism, obscured her once dangerous rival. The Sadducean doctrine was probably too loosely rooted in the heart to withstand the hour of trial. The present world displayed such a scene of interminable dreariness to those who denied a world to come, that we cannot wonder if their creed refused to support them when the first obstinacy of resistance had worn away. The Sadducees dwindled into an unnoticed sect; and, though the worst part of their doctrines might retain a secret hold on the hearts of the unprincipled, it could no longer balance the prevailing power of Pharisaism, which was the main support both of the spiritual and temporal throne—the sole acknowledged doctrine of the national universities. Karaism was now revived in its purer form, rejecting entirely the authority of tradition, and resting its whole faith on the letter of the written Law. The Mischna, the Gemara, the Cabala—all Talmudic lore—the Karaites threw indignantly aside.

The Luther of this Reformation, which perhaps was not less rapidly diffused for its similarity to the simpler creed of Islamism, was named Anan, who, with his son Saul, revolted from Rabbinism. What is known concerning the lives of these men rests chiefly on the authority of the Rabbins, and

¹ Some add that their houses were marked or defaced by images of swine, apes, or devils. Jost, vi. 85; D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. art. "Motavakel."

² The great Jewish astronomer Mashalla was held in high honour at the court of the Caliph Almamon, A.C. 831. Basnage, ix. 2.

must be received with the same mistrust as the accounts of our own Reformers from the writings of their adversaries. In a contest for the succession to the Princedom of the Captivity, or to some other high office, Anan was passed by, and his younger brother appointed. Embittered by the affront, Anan assembled the wreck of the Sadducean party, so called probably by contempt, and persuaded them to name him to the dignity. Tumults arose; the government interfered; and Anan was thrown into prison. He recovered his freedom, some say by a large sum of money, which his followers gladly paid, as he gave out that he had been visited in a dream by the Prophet Elias, who encouraged him in his adherence to the pure Law of Moses. But his success was chiefly owing to an artifice suggested by an Arabian philosopher, whom he met with in the prison. He demanded of the Vizier a public disputation with his adversaries, and represented the only cause of their differences to be a dispute about the period of the new moon. The Caliph was a dabbler in astronomy; and Anan, by dexterously adopting his opinion, obtained a triumph.¹ The Karaites retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, to maintain in peace their simple creed—in their adherence to which, the sight of the Holy City might confirm them. They hoped that thus a pure and righteous people might be ready to hail the accomplishment of its last Article. The following were, and still are, the Articles of the Karaite belief:—I. That the world was created; II. That it had an uncreated Creator; III. That God is without form, and in every sense One; IV. That God sent Moses; V. That God delivered the Law to Moses; VI. That the believer must deduce his creed from the knowledge of the Law in its original language, and from the pure interpretation of it; VII. That God inspired the rest of the prophets; VIII. That God will raise the dead; IX. That God will reward and punish all men before his throne; X. That God has not rejected his unhappy people, but is purifying them by affliction, and that they must daily strive to render themselves worthy of redemption through the Messiah, the Son of David. The Karaites formed a regular community,

¹ Anan the Karaite, according to Scherina Gaon and Abraham ben David, was contemporary with R. Juda Gaon, who died in 763 A.C. Mordecai makes him contemporary with Caliph Abu Giafar, who began to reign 754 A.C.—no great difference.

The Karaites have been described in Triglandius de Karaitis. Woolf, Bibliotheca Hebraica, and "Mordecai." Other tracts may be found in Ugolini's Thesaurus.

under their Nasi, which name afterwards gave place to that of Hachim ; they have since spread into many countries, where they are hated and denounced as heretics by the Rabbins. They found their way from the East into Spain at the height of Jewish prosperity and learning. They made more progress in the Christian states than among the Arabic Jews. They were met with jealous opposition by the Rabbinical authorities ; they made proselytes from their familiarity with Arabic, more vernacular with the Jew than the Rabbinical Hebrew. But all intermarriages were forbidden by the dominant party ; their trade was discouraged ; they had no great or eloquent writers, and had dwindled away almost to nothing before the great expulsion of the Jews from Spain.¹ Their chief settlements in later days have been in Poland and the East of Europe, in the Taurus, and in Tartary.

If their own writers deserve credit, at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the East attained to a still more eminent height of power and splendour. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian Sea—a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavoured to exclude its inroads by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveller : while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khozar ;² it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had gradually abandoned their nomadic habits and maintained considerable commerce : their capital, Bilangiar, was situated at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the North, and slaves, for the gold and silver, and the luxuries of southern climates. Merchants of all religions, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, were freely admitted, and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects induced one of their kings, Bulan (A.C. 740), to embrace the religion of the strangers. By one account he was admonished by an angel—by another he decided in this singular manner between the conflicting claims of Christianity, Moslemism, and Judaism. He examined the different teachers apart, and asked the Christian if Judaism was not better than Mohammedanism—the Mohammedan

¹ There seems likewise to have been a Sadducaic sect in Spain.

² Basnage discredited the whole story, as he could not trace the existence of such a kingdom ; but De Guignes, and the more recent accounts of the Russian empire, have satisfactorily proved that point.

whether it was not better than Christianity. Both replied in the affirmative; on which the monarch decided in favour of Judaism. According to one statement secretly, to another openly, he embraced the faith of Moses, and induced learned teachers of the Law to settle in his dominions. Judaism became a necessary condition on the succession to the throne, but there was the most liberal toleration of all other forms of faith. The dynasty lasted for above two centuries and a half; and when R. Hasdai, a learned Jew, was in the highest confidence with Abderrahman, the Caliph of Cordova, he received intelligence of this sovereignty possessed by his brethren, through the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor. After considerable difficulty Hasdai succeeded in establishing a correspondence with Joseph, the reigning king. The letter of Hasdai is extant, and an answer of the king, which does not possess equal claims to authenticity. The whole history has been wrought out into a religious romance called *Cosri*, which has involved the question in great obscurity: Basnage rejected the whole as a fiction of the Rabbins—anxious to prove that "the sceptre had not entirely departed from Israel:" Jost inclines to the opinion that there is a groundwork of truth under the veil of poetic embellishment. More modern writers admit without hesitation, and almost boast of the kingdom of Khasar.¹

We travel westward, not, as usually, to sadden our eyes and chill our hearts with tales of persecution and misery, but to behold the Jews the companions and confidential ministers of princes. We pause to glean the slight and barren information which we possess of the state of the Jews in the Byzantine empire. The writers of the opposite party accuse the Jews as instigators and abettors of the iconoclastic emperors (the destroyers of images); and a fable, equally irreconcilable with chronology and history, has been repeated of their zeal in this, by some called sacrilegious, warfare. It is said that they instigated the Caliph Yezid the Second to order the demolition of images in his dominions.² The outraged saints were revenged by the untimely death of Yezid, attributed to their prayers. The successor of Yezid acknowledged, it is added, his father's impiety, and determined to wreak vengeance on his advisers. They fled; but two of them, resting near a fountain in Isauria,

¹ Cassel, in Ersch und Grüber, p. 21.

² Cedrenus, i. 789, Edit. Bonn. With this account Zonares and Theophanes mainly agree.

beheld a youth, driving an ass laden with petty merchandise. They looked on him with fixed eyes, saluted him as the future emperor, but at the same time they strongly urged his compliance with the second commandment of the Law.¹ Unfortunately, among the few facts which are known of the period is this, that Leo the Isaurian, in the early part of his reign, persecuted the Jews. It is highly probable that, when the emperors gave the signal for havoc, the Jews, stimulated by covetousness as well as religious zeal, would not be the last to strip or break in pieces, or melt the costly ornaments, and even the images themselves, made of the precious metals. We may conceive the religious horror which the devout image-worshipper would feel, when the unclean hands of the circumcised either seized, or bought from authorised plunderers, the object of his profound adoration, and converted it, like any other object of traffic, to profane uses. But, inured to hatred, the Jew would have no fear to encounter it for the gratification at once of his revenge and his avarice. We know little further of their state, but that they were under the avowed protection of some of the succeeding emperors. Constantine Copronymus, probably on account of his hatred of images, was called a Jew;² and Nicephorus and Michael the Stammerer are named, as extending their paternal care over this usually proscribed race.³

In Italy we know little of the condition of the Israelites; but the silence of history concurs with the single fact with which we are acquainted, to represent those days as days of peace. The Pope Zacharias found it necessary to interdict not only the old grievance, the possession of Christian slaves by Jews, but also unlawful sexual intercourse and marriage between the two races.

Whatever guilt, either of secret perfidy⁴ or prayer for the

¹ Enough of Leo's early life is known utterly to confute this fable. Leo, though an Isaurian, left his native country early. The whole family was transported to Thrace by Justinian; Leo was in Justinian's guard in 705. Le Beau, xii. 175, relates these idle fictions.

² Theophanes, Chron. p. 617, Edit. Bonn.

³ Michael the Stammerer, perhaps on account of his equal toleration, was called by some a Jew, by others the sink of all religions. Basnage, ix. 9.

⁴ They are accused of betraying Toulouse to the enemy; but the siege of that city by the Moors appears altogether apocryphal. The singular custom which certainly existed for a considerable period in Toulouse, by which a syndic or representative of the Jews was constrained to appear before the authorities and receive three boxes on the ear, originated no doubt in some other unknown cause. See Hist. de Languedoc, ii. p. 151. See also, *infra*, p. 285.

success of the invader, might attach to the Jewish inhabitants of the South of France during the invasion of that country by the Moors of Spain; yet when the barrier of the Pyrenees was established by the valour of Charles Martel, and by the ability of the new race of sovereigns who succeeded to the feeble Merovingians, Pepin and Charlemagne, these monarchs not merely refrained from all retribution, but displayed the more enlightened policy of conciliation towards their wealthy and useful subjects.¹ Though even under Charlemagne, at the commencement of his reign, they were treated with the old Roman or religious contempt; they were disqualified like slaves, infamous persons, Pagans, and heretics, from bringing criminal actions;² though they were prohibited from hiring the lands of Christians, or letting their lands to Christians (a proof that they were still cultivators of the soil),³ yet the legislator, as time advanced, seemed to become more liberal. The Jews were only restricted in the possession of Christian slaves, subjected to the general marriage law of the empire, commanded to observe the prohibited degrees, and to conform to the general law of dower. The offender was liable to a fine of one hundred sous, and to suffer one hundred stripes.⁴ Their commerce was unrestricted, except by a limitation enforced on Charlemagne, rather by the irreverent covetousness of the clergy, than by the misconduct of the Jews. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses were only prevented by a severe inhibition from pledging or selling to the circumcised the costly vestments, rich furniture, and precious vessels of the churches.⁵

¹ Beugnot, *Juifs d'Occident*, p. 74.

² "Placuit ut omnes servi . . . ad accusationem non admittantur, omnes etiam infamiae maculis aspersi, et turpitudinibus subjectae personae, heretici etiam sive Pagani sive Judæi." Capit. i. 1.

³ "Non liceat Christianis Judæorum neque Paganorum res emphyteosis vel conductionis titulo habere, neque suorum similiter eis accommodare." Addit. 3, c. xv.

⁴ "Nulli Christianorum vel Judæorum liceat matrimonium contrahere nisi præmissâ dotis promissione. Illud tamen fore præcipimus ut si quis Christianus vel Christiana, aut Judæus vel Judæa, nuptiale festum celebrare voluerit, non aliter quam sacerdotali benedictione intra sinum sanctæ ecclesiæ perceptâ, conjugium cuiquam ex iis adire permittimus. Quod si absque benedictione sacerdotis quispiam Christianorum vel Judæorum noviter conjugium duxerit; aut 100 principi solidos exsolvat, aut 100 verberatus publice flagella suscipiat." Was this law really carried into execution? and were the Jews compelled to be married in Christian churches? Did the Jews prefer the payment of the fine? and was it, in so far, a tax on their marriages? If the Jews would scruple to enter the church, many ecclesiastics doubtless would hold their churches desecrated by the presence of Jews, and certainly would not bless an unbaptized Jew.

⁵ "Ut singuli, episcopi, abbates, et abbatissæ diligenter considerent thesauros ecclesiasticos ne propter perfidiam aut negligentem custodiam aliquod

To the flourishing commerce of the Israelites, the extended dominions of Charlemagne opened a wide field. From the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne their vessels kept up a constant communication with the East. In Narbonne they were so flourishing that, of the two prefects, or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew; and, as we shall presently see, the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons was the Jewish quarter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust. They were the physicians, the ministers of finance, to nobles and monarchs. As physicians they alone perhaps (for they had taught the Arabians) kept up the sacred traditions of the art, the knowledge of the properties of drugs, which had come down from the East and from the Greeks. They were in the courts of kings, in the schools of Salerno and Montpellier. It is true that if their medical skill (which all mankind must submit to the necessity of employing) forced them into places of trust and honour, it exposed them to inevitable dangers. If they were successful they were liable to the suspicion of sorcery and unlawful dealing. Knowledge and magic were so closely allied in the popular mind, that a wonderful cure wrought by a Jew could not be wrought by science, still less by divine aid, therefore must be wrought by diabolic aid. If they were unsuccessful, the dying patient must have been the victim, not of incurable malady or even of ignorance; the Jewish physician must knowingly have administered poison, as in the case of Zedekiah, the physician of Louis the Pious, accused of the death of Charles the Bald.

As financiers too we find them in the courts of kings and of the great vassals, encountering all the hatred which attaches to the levying heavy, mostly ill-apportioned, taxation upon an impoverished people. Their wisest measures probably, as beyond the political economy of the age, would be arraigned as the most cruel and iniquitous; yet they were unable or unwilling to decline these perilous dignities, by which, honestly or dishonestly, they obtained great opportunities of advantage, and stored up wealth to themselves, to be the righteous or unrighteous pretext for the plunder by the sovereign whom they served, or the vengeance of the people whom they

aut de gemnis aut de vasis reliquo quoque thesauro perditum sit; quia dictum est nobis quod *negociatores Judei*, necnon et alii, gloriantur, quod quicquid illis placeat, possent ab eis emere." Capit. A.C. 806; Bouquet, v. p. 677.

stripped. In them the possession of wealth was sufficient proof of extortion and iniquity. At all events, they were usurers, and whether they exercised usury, on what might now be called fair or unfair terms, usury was in itself a sin and a crime. They rose even to higher dignities; when Charlemagne, either with some secret political design, or from an ostentatious show of magnificence, determined on sending an ambassador to the splendid Caliph, Haroun al Raschid, Europe and Asia beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Jew, named Isaac,¹ setting forth on this mission, with two Christian Counts, who died on the road, and conducting the political correspondence between the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Bagdad. It cannot be wondered if this embassy gave rise to the wildest speculations in that ignorant age, both as to its objects and its event. It was given out that the Caliph granted Judæa as a free gift to Charlemagne; others limited his generosity to Jerusalem, others to the key of the Holy Sepulchre. The secret objects probably never transpired beyond the councils of Charlemagne; but it was known that Isaac returned with presents of a wonderful nature from the East. Among these was an enormous elephant, of such importance that his death is faithfully chronicled by the monkish annalists; jewels, gold, spices, apes, a clock, and some rich robes, doubtless of silk. To these were added, by universal tradition, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.²

¹ His acquaintance with the language and manners of the East no doubt designated the Jew for this mission. One reads in Basnage with surprise:—“On est étonné de ce que l’Empereur choisissait un Juif pour cet emploi, pendant qu’il avoit dans ses états un si grand nombre de sujets capables de le remplir.” Charlemagne would have been puzzled to find many subjects capable, without the Jew, of negotiating in the East. Basnage contradicts himself in the next sentences.

² Eginard. *Vit. Carol. M.* This was magnified, in later days, into a grant of Jerusalem and the whole of Judæa, but, according to the quaint speech attributed to Haroun al Raschid, as the emperor lived so far off, and if he moved his troops to Palestine the provinces of France would revolt, the Caliph therefore would still defend the country, and pay over the revenues to Charlemagne. The grant is affirmed by the monks of St. Gall (*apud Pertz, Annales Fulenses, ibid.*), and by the Saxon poet:—

“ . . . Persarum denique princeps
Hunc Aaron, idem fuerat cui subditus, Indis
Exceptis, Oriens totus: curaverat ultro
Ejus amicitia se foedere jungere firmo.
Nam gemmas, aurum, vestes, et aromata crebro
Ac reliquas Orientis opes direxerat illi;
Ascribique locum sanctum Hierosolymarum
Concessit propriæ Caroli semper ditioni.”

Lib. iv. *apud Pertz.*

The death of the elephant Bubalus is recorded by Eginhart, sub ann. 810. *Monach. Engolism. apud Pertz.*

Isaac acquitted himself with such ability, that he was entrusted by his imperial protector with another mission to the same quarter.

The golden age of the Jews endured, in still-increasing prosperity, during the reign of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Débonnaire, or the Pious. At his court the Jews were so powerful, that their interest was solicited by the presents of nobles and princes. His most confidential adviser was a Jewish physician, named Zedekiah. The wondering people attributed Zedekiah's influence over the emperor to magic, in which he was considered a profound adept. The monkish historians relate, with awe-struck sincerity, tales of his swallowing a whole cart of hay, horses and all, and flying in the air like Simon Magus of old.¹ A sort of representative of the community, the defender of their privileges, the master of the Jews,² resided within the precincts of the court. The general privileges of the race were preserved with rigid equity. They were permitted to build synagogues; their appeals were listened to with equal—their enemies said, with partial—justice; they had free power to traffic, and to dispose of real or personal property; even their slave-trade was protected.³ They had moreover interest enough to procure the alteration of certain markets, which were customarily held on their Sabbath, to another day. They began to be recognised as under the special protection of the emperor, as in later days in feudal language they were “the men of the emperor.”⁴ They were to appear at the court annually, or every two years, to render their accounts in the king's chamber (no doubt they were taxed with rigid impartiality), and to do the emperor service.⁵ Besides this general protection, several charters are extant, granting special privileges to certain Jewish communities and individuals. One to certain Jews of Languedoc, securing to

¹ Chronic. Hirsaugen.

² This title was borne by Evrard, who appears in the inquiry on the charges advanced by Bishop Agobard.

³ “Habeant etiam licentiam mancipia peregrina emere, et intra imperium nostrum vendere, et nemo fidelium nostrorum præsumat eorum mancipia peregrina sine eorum consensu baptisare.” Charta Lud. Pii, 32, 33, 34; Bouquet, iv.

⁴ The Jews certainly had the power of holding allodial property in the Narbonnese, by the grants of Pepin le Bref, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious, the historians of Languedoc say, “parce qu'ils y étoient très puissants et en grand nombre.” Compare Hist. de Languedoc, i. Notes, p. 739.

⁵ See this remarkable charter, Histoire de Languedoc, i., preuve 75, p. 322.

them the right of possessing and holding in perpetual tenure certain hereditaments, of which they had been unjustly despoiled. This showed that they were landowners on a considerable scale. They were to hold these estates, with the houses and other buildings, lands cultivated and uncultivated, vineyards, meadows, pastures, water-courses, mills, rights of way. They held these estates in full right of property, of alienation, gift or exchange, without let or hindrance.¹ Another to a certain Domat Rabbi, and his grandson Samuel,² granting them exemption from various tolls and taxes—permission to hire Christian slaves, who were, however, not to be forced to work on Sundays and holidays—and generally to deal in slaves within the limits of the empire. Every litigation with a Christian was to be settled by the evidence of three Jews and three Christians. It forbade all persons to encourage their Christian slaves in disobedience under pretence of being Christians and seeking baptism.³ It took the persons of the above-named under imperial protection.⁴ Their death was to be punished at the price of ten pounds of gold. They were not to be submitted to the ordeal of fire or water, nor scourged—but allowed in every respect the free observance of their Law.

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, beheld with jealous indignation this alien people occupying the fairest part of his city, displaying openly their enviable opulence. Their vessels crowded the ports—their bales encumbered the quays—their slaves thronged the streets. In a Christian city, the Church seemed to veil its head before the Synagogue. He endeavoured, by the exercise of his episcopal authority, to prevent that approximation of the two races which seemed

¹ It was "Actum Francofurdi palatio regis, in Dei nomine feliciter. Amen. Ita ut deinceps annis singulis, aut post duorum annorum curriculum, mandante missionum ministro, ad nostrum veniant palatum, atque ad cameram nostram fideliter, unusquisque ex suo negotio ac nostro deseruire studeat." Charta Lud. Pii, 32, 33, 34; Bouquet, 624.

² Charter to Domat Rabbi, apud Bouquet, vi. 649.

³ "Suggesserunt etiam iidem Judæi Celsitudini nostræ de quibusdam hominibus, qui contra Christianam religionem suadent mancipia Hebræorum sub antenu (obtentu) Christianæ religionis contemnere dominos suos et baptisari; vel potius persuadent illis ut baptisentur ut a servitio dominorum suorum liberentur, quod nequaquam sacri canones constituant, immo talia perpetrantes districtâ anathematis sententiâ puniendos dijudicant." This alludes to a canon of the Council of Gangra. No wonder that the clergy were indignant at the imperial favour towards the Jews. Compare Agobard's Letter. There are two similar precepts in favour of other Jews, p. 650.

⁴ "Sub mundebundo et defensione nostrâ."

rapidly advancing.¹ He forbade his flock, among other things, to sell Christian slaves to the Jews—to labour for the Jews on Sundays—to eat with them during Lent—to buy the flesh of animals slain by them—or to drink their wine. As far as he could he prohibited all social intercourse, which seems not to have been uncommon.

The Jews considered these laws of Agobard an infringement of their rights; they appealed to their royal protector for redress. A commission of inquiry was issued, a commission which Agobard describes as terrible to the Christians, mild to the Jews,² and at the head of it was Count Evrard, called in other places protector of the Jews. The Archbishop was commanded to withdraw his obnoxious edicts. Agobard was at Nantes. He declared himself ready to submit to the royal decree, but proceeded to offer a petition to the king against his adversaries. He accused them (a strange charge!) of selling to the Christians meat unclean to themselves, because the Mosaic law about slaying cattle was not rigidly observed, which, he said, they called Christians' meat, and wine unclean, as partly spilled on the ground. He accused them of cursing daily the Christians and Christ in their synagogues. He accused them of the insufferable pride with which they vaunted the royal favour; that they went freely in and out of the royal palaces; that the highest persons solicited their prayers and blessings; that they boasted of gifts of splendid dresses to their wives and matrons from royal and princely donors.³ He complained of the bad effects produced by the concession of the change of the market-day from the Jewish Sabbath, the Saturday, and that the Jewish had many

¹ Louis the Pious granted exemptions to Jews, who held his diplomas, from certain tolls and taxes characteristic of the times. 1. Teloneum, tax on goods conveyed by water carriage; Paraverdum, the obligation to furnish post-horses for the public use on the military roads; Mansionaticum, free quarters for soldiers; Pulveraticum, tax levied on farmers *pro labore et pulvere*; Cespitaticum, obligation to make hedges on the roadside; Ripaticum, duties on landing goods on quays; Portalicum, port dues; Tranaticum, toll on sledges, &c.; Coenaticum, provisions for soldiers on march.

² "Christianis terribilis, Judæis mitis."

³ De insolentia Judæorum, Oper. Agobardi: "Dum enim gloriantur, mentientes simplicibus Christianis, quod cari sint vobis propter Patriarchas; quod honorabiliter ingrediantur in conspectu vestro et egrediantur; quod excellentissimæ personæ cupiant eorum orationes et benedictiones; et fateantur talem se legi auctorem habere velle quam ipsi habent . . . dum ostendunt præcepta ex nomine vestro, aureis sigillis signata, et continentia verba, ut putamus non vera; dum ostendunt vestes muliebres, quasi a consanguineis vestris vel matronis Palatincrum uxoribus eorum directis," &c.

more hearers than the Christian preachers, and, indeed, were held by the uninstructed to be the better preachers.¹ He added the more weighty charge, that the Jews frequently stole Christian children to sell them as slaves. This petition was followed by a long theological argument, to prove the wisdom and justice of persecuting the Jews—the most detestable of unbelievers.² The Archbishop pressed St. Paul into his service. He cited, with as little justice, the example of many of the most illustrious bishops—Hilary and Sidonius Apollinaris, Ambrose, Cyprian, Athanasius, besides a host of Gallic Bishops and Gallic Councils. He entered into long details of the absurdities taught by the Rabbins, their anthropomorphic notions of the Deity (among the rest he charged them with holding the eternity of the letters of the alphabet, and the assertion that the Mosaic Law was written many ages before the world began), and of the blasphemies which they uttered concerning Christ.³ It was all in vain: the court turned a deaf ear to his complaints, and Agobard set off for Paris, to try the influence of his personal weight and character before his sovereign. He was received with cold civility—constrained to wait in an antechamber while the councillors of state laid his appeal before the king—and then received permission to retire to his diocese.⁴ He wrote another despatch, bitterly

¹ "At dicunt imperiti Christiani melius eis prædicare Judæos quam presbyteros nostros."

M. Bédarride (*Les Juifs en France, en Italie, et en Espagne*, Paris, 1859) observes with justice on this fact:—"Il paraît qu'ils comptaient parmi eux des hommes à qui le talent de la parole n'était pas étranger, puisqu'ils prêchaient publiquement. Il paraît, de plus, que ces prédicateurs parlaient la langue du pays, puisqu'ils étaient à portée de se faire entendre des Chrétiens" (p. 85). M. Bédarride mentions conversions from Christianity to Judaism, among which was "un diacre du Palais, nommé Putho."

² "Ex quibus demonstratur quam detestabiles habendi sunt inimici veritatis, et quomodo pejores sunt omnibus incredulis, Scripturis divinis hoc docentibus, et quam indigniora omnibus infidelibus de Deo sentiant et rebus coelestibus." *Ibid.*

³ Many of these charges are very curious, as showing that some of the stranger notions in the Talmud, of course made infinitely more strange by misconception and misrepresentation, were current concerning the Jews in Europe.

⁴ He humbly acknowledges that he was overawed by the manifest favour of the court towards the Jews: "Nuper cum in Palatio tempus redeundi nobis jam fuisset indultum, suavissima Dilectio vestra sedit [the councillors were Adalhard Wala, and Elisachar, who then reigned supreme over Louis the Pious], et audivit me mussitantem potius quam loquentem contra eos qui Judæorum querelas atruebant." Adalhard and Wala were of the high ecclesiastical party. Agobard contents himself with urging more justly the protection of certain slaves of the Jews, who desired baptism. But he admits that the Jews ought to be paid for the loss. On Adalhard and Wala, see *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 246, &c.

inveighing against the influence and conduct of the Grand Master of the Jews. But his sorrows were poured forth more fully into the confidential bosom of Nebridius, Bishop of Narbonne, whom he called upon to co-operate with him in separating the Christians from a people who, he says, "are clothed with cursing as with a garment. The curse penetrates into their bones, their marrow, and their entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body.¹ They are accursed in the city and the country, at the beginning and ending of their lives: their flocks, their meat, their granaries, their cellars, their magazines, are accursed." His denunciations were as unavailing as his petitions: while an instance is related of an officer of the palace joining the synagogue, the Archbishop was constrained to complain once more of the violence offered to a Jewess who had embraced Christianity.²

In the reign of Charles the Bald, the Jews maintained their high estate, but dark signs of the approaching Age of Iron began to lower around.³ Amilo, Archbishop of Lyons, the successor of Agobard, accuses the Jews, who were tax-gatherers, of forcing the poor peasants in remote districts by the cruelty of their exactions to deny Christ.⁴ But the active hostility of the clergy was no longer checked by the stern protection of the royal authority. In Lyons many converts were made, by whose agency so many children were seduced from their parents, that the Jews were obliged to send their offspring for education to the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. Remigius, later Archbishop of Lyons, announced his triumph to the king, and desired that the Bishop of Arles might be admonished to follow the example of his zeal. The Councils began again to launch their thunders; that of Meaux (A.C. 845) re-enacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices. This decree was followed up

¹ "Scientes . . . omnes qui sub lege sunt, sub maledicto esse, et induitos maledictione sicut vestimento, quæ intrat sicut aqua in interiora eorum, et sicut oleum in ossa eorum," &c.

² Agobard of Lyons was a prelate in some respects in advance of his age: he dared to condemn many popular superstitions. On image-worship he adopted the moderate view, nearly that of the Council of Frankfort; above all, he wrote a treatise of great power and strong sense against judicial ordeals.

³ Jewish merchants (*negotiatores*) by a law of Charles the Bald were to pay a tenth in duty, while the Christians paid an eleventh. Cap. Car. Calv. apud Balusium.

⁴ "Quidem ipsorum qui in nonnullis civitatibus inlicitè constituuntur, solent in remotioribus locis Christianos pauperes et ignaros pro eodem telonio acriter constringere, deinde ut Christum negent persuadere."

by that of Paris (A.C. 845); but in the distracted state into which the kingdom soon fell, probably these ordinances were not executed. If it be true (but of its truth there is not much probability) that Charles the Bald was poisoned by the famous Jewish physician of his father, Zedekiah, an act, which so weakened the royal authority, was a measure most pernicious to his countrymen. The Jews thenceforth, instead of being under the protection of a powerful monarch, fell rapidly under the dominion of those countless petty independent sovereigns who rose under the feudal system, whose will was law, and whose wants would not submit to the slow process of exaction and tribute, but preferred the raising more expeditious supplies by plunder and massacre. An edict of Charles the Simple, among other gifts, bestows on the Archbishop of Narbonne all the lands and vineyards possessed by the Jews, however acquired, in the whole county (A.C. 897). The King seems to have had no doubt of his right to give, the Archbishop no doubt of the justice of receiving, this donation; these properties had before belonged to them. It would seem that the Jews were no longer to hold real property.

Still commerce, even in the rudest and most anarchical times, is a necessity of mankind. But in all these Germanic kingdoms in general, the kings, princes, warriors, were too proud to engage in what they held to be base and degrading occupations; the serfs were too indigent and down-trodden to rise above daily labour. The cities with their guilds had not yet risen to, or recovered, their mercantile importance. Yet the interchange of commodities between remote countries was never entirely broken off; foreign wares found their way from one region to another; the diffusion of articles of necessity or of luxury might be precarious, interrupted, irregular, yet it never entirely ceased. Europe was never without some of the precious treasures, the stuffs, the spices, of Asia; queens and high-born ladies must be decked with jewels; rich stuffs were demanded for the array of knights, for the housings of their coursers.¹ The Church above all, from her own wealth or the wealth of her votaries, must have gold and velvet and precious stones for her vessels and monstrances; her censers must be filled with frankincense. Spices for banquets, or even for

¹ The monk of St. Gall mentions a Jewish merchant, a favourite of Charlemagne, "qui terram reprobmissionis saepius adire, et inde ad cismarinias provincias multa pretiosa et incognita solitus erat afferre." De Gest. C. M. i. 18.

more common use, were still supplied ; medicinal drugs, many of which came from the East, were furnished, it is probable, as well as administered by Jewish physicians, who were everywhere : above all, the slave-trade, the traffic in captives taken in war, was still active. The inroads of the Northmen, and later of the Hungarians, no doubt gave it new life. The constant legislation on that subject, even to a late period, shows how deeply the Jews were concerned in this traffic, which in those days brought much property and little discredit to the Jew, thus dealing to Christians some revengeful satisfaction for their insults and wrongs. The Jews probably alone, the wealthier of them, had capital ; they alone had mutual intelligence and correspondence ; they frequented every fair and market ; they knew and communicated to each other the prices of commodities ; they were a vast mercantile firm spread through Europe, and having some, it might be precarious, connection with their brethren in the East, in Africa, in Spain, in most Mohammedan countries. Trade alone, active prosperous trade, will account for their vast numbers, their dangerous wealth, even their rising intellectual importance. There was silent continued intercommunication of thoughts and ideas between the East and West, as well as constant traffic in material things. In the North of Germany and in Northern France their position and influence were seemingly not so high ; they were, however, already in a certain sense under special imperial protection. But the vast numbers which were found in all the flourishing German cities on the Rhine, and their great and tempting wealth before the Crusades, must have been the growth of previous centuries. Their relation to the Christian merchant-citizens till that outburst of fanaticism seems in general to have been amicable. In the South of France we hear of Jewish fleets on the Mediterranean. The Norman piracies probably, making peaceful navigation next to impossible, rather than want of capital or activity, put an end to these enterprises. We may safely therefore dismiss as an unhistoric legend their betrayal of Bordeaux to the Normans,¹ whom they must have been wise enough to know to be their most fatal enemies. The incessant and increasing hostility of the bishops in Languedoc and Dauphiny betrays the jealousy as well as the aversion of these prelates. Towards the end of the ninth century (A.C. 889), the Archbishop of Sens, from

¹ This accusation is found in the Ann. Bertin. sub ann. 847. They are also accused of betraying Barcelona to the Moors, A.C. 853.

some motive which the monk Oleron thinks fit not to reveal, expelled the Jews from his diocese.¹

Even the strange usage that the Syndic of the Jews in Toulouse presented himself three times a year to receive a box on the ear from the Christian mayor, shows at once their importance and their odiousness to the Christians; an usage of which the well-attested barbarous close seems to prove the historic truth, though its origin is lost in obscurity.² A stern, iron-handed magistrate struck the poor Syndic with such force as to scatter the brains of the unfortunate unbeliever. But even the title of Syndic implied the regular and organised community. The Jews appealed to the king against this and other acts of oppression. The king answered that "they only suffered the penalties due to their sins."³

It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendour. Yet, during its earlier period, from the conquest by the Moors till towards the end of the tenth century, when, while Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mohammedan Cordova might be considered the centre of civilisation, of arts, and of letters, though we are certain that the Jews, under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, rivalled their masters, or rather their compatriots, in their advancement to wealth, splendour, and cultivation; though they had their full share, or, perhaps, as more intelligent, a disproportionate share, in the high ministerial and confidential offices of the court; though by the perpetual intercourse kept up with their brethren in the East, we may safely infer that by land along the North of Africa,⁴ and by sea along the course of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success; yet we have not much distinct information concerning their state and proceedings. In fact, it is difficult to discriminate them from the race among whom they lived on terms of the closest amity during these halcyon days. In emulation of their Moslemite brethren, they began to cultivate

¹ "Judæos certâ de causâ, ab urbe expulit." Apud Bouquet, viii. 237.

² It is attributed to the betrayal of Toulouse by the Jews to the Saracens, and its recapture by Charlemagne, who punished their treachery by this ignominious ordinance, and with a fine of a certain number of pounds of wax, no doubt for religious uses. But Basnage has well exposed the anachronisms and want of historic truth in the whole story of the capture (not the siege, which is confounded with that of Toulouse by the Saracens), and its recovery by Charlemagne. Hist. des Juifs, tom. xx. ch. 3.

³ Vit. S. Theodardi, apud Bouquet, vii.

⁴ According to Condé, Hist. des Arabes, i. 144, the Jews were very numerous and prosperous at Tunis and in Morocco (ii. 234).

their long disused and neglected poetry ; the harp of Judah was heard to sound again, though with something of a foreign tone—for they borrowed the rhythm peculiar to the Arabic verse. Yet, though but a feeble echo of their better days, we would gladly explore this almost hidden source of Jewish poetry. There too Rabbinism, while its throne was tottering to decay in the East, found a refuge, and commenced a new era of power and authority. The Talmud was translated into Arabic, under the auspices of Moses “clad in sackcloth.” Moses was one of the most learned men of the East. A singular adventure cast him upon the hospitable shore of Spain, and through him the light of learning, which, by the rapid progress of the iron age of Judaism in Babylonia, by the extinction of the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, the dispersion of the illustrious teachers, and the final closing of the great schools, seemed to have set for ever, suddenly rose again in the West, in renewed and undiminished splendour. Four Babylonian Rabbins, of great distinction, of whom R. Moses was one, fell into the hands of a Spanish pirate.¹ The wife of Moses accompanied him in his voyage ; the high-minded woman, dreading defilement, looked to her husband for advice. Moses uttered the verse of the Psalm, “The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea.” She plunged at once into the ocean, and perished.² Moses was brought as a slave to Cordova, and redeemed, though his quality was unknown, by a Jew. One day he entered the synagogue, clad as a slave in a scanty sackcloth. Nathan, the judge of the Jews in Cordova, presided. In the course of the debate the slave displayed such knowledge, that Nathan exclaimed, “I am no more judge ; yon slave in sackcloth is my master, and I am his scholar.” Moses was installed by acclamation as head of the community. Moses, and his son and successor, Enoch, enjoyed the protection of Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the minister of the Caliph ; and though the learned pre-eminence of this family was disturbed by the rivalry of R. Joseph, to whom the task of translating the Talmud had been committed, yet such was the popularity of his grandson, Nathan, and such the wealth of his

¹ A.C. 990. The name of one of these Rabbins has not been preserved. One was R. Shemariah ben Elchanan, who was bought by the Jews of Alexandria, ignorant of his learning. He became head of the community at Alexandria. The third was R. Huschiel, who was bought at Tunis. He became head of the community at Kairouan. The fourth was R. Moses.

² Compare Basnage, ix. 130, and Jost, vi. 107.

compatriots, that as often as the head of the Jewish community went forth to enjoy the delicious refreshment of the groves and gardens near Cordova, he was attended by his admiring disciples in immense numbers, and in most sumptuous apparel. It is said that seven hundred chariots swelled his pomp.

The long line of learned descendants, which formed the great school of Arabico-Jewish learning, belongs to the history of their literature, for which our work has not space. This line stretched away to the end of the twelfth century, when it produced its greatest ornament—the wise Maimonides, the first who, instead of gazing with blind adoration and unintelligent wonder at the great fabric of the Mosaic Law, dared to survey it with the searching eye of reason, and was rewarded by discovering the indelible marks of the Divine wisdom and goodness.¹ The life of Maimonides marks an epoch in the civil as well as in the literary and philosophic history of Judaism; and that life is a most instructive exposition of the extent and influence of Judaism, of the state and condition of the Jews at that eventful period. He was born at Cordova, March 30th, 1135. His father, a distinguished Talmudist, was the author of a Commentary on the Astronomic Treatise of Alfarghani. His father was his first instructor; but in the Arabian schools he was a disciple of Aben Pace. The youth of Maimonides witnessed the great revolution in the relation between Islamism and Judaism. To the wise tolerance, the peaceful harmony, which had raised the Ommyad Caliphs to their height of splendour, succeeded, when Maimonides was thirteen years old, the fanatic dynasty of the Almohades. Abd-el-Mouhmen, the founder of the dynasty, was a predecessor of Philip II., rather than a successor of the Abderrahmans. The fanatic Caliph issued a decree that, on pain of exile, the Jews and the Christians must alike embrace Islamism. Many Jewish families, as in the later days of the Inquisition, made a base and hypocritical profession of Mohammedanism.

¹ There are many Lives of Maimonides.

I would venture to recommend a singularly clear and fair statement of his life and his opinions in the *Etudes Orientales* of M. Franck, author of an excellent book (*La Kabbale*, Paris, 1861). I subjoin the concluding sentences on the *More Nevochim*: "Ce livre, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, peut être considéré comme la première tentative du Rationalisme, et par cette qualité seule, de quelque manière qu'on le juge, il acquiert dans l'histoire générale des idées une incontestable importance. Mais il inspire également le respect par les puissantes facultés de l'auteur, la prodigieuse souplesse de son esprit, la variété de ses connaissances, l'élévation de son spiritualisme, enfin par la lumière qu'il répand sur quelques-uns des points les plus obscurs de l'histoire de l'esprit humain" (p. 360).

Among these was the family of Maimonides, and, at sixteen years old, the great doctor of the synagogue, the glory of Israel, the second Moses, was a professed Mohammedan. But the profound study of the religious writings of his people wrought conviction in the mind of the youth. Before the age of twenty-three he had composed a treatise on the Calendar, commented certain parts of the Talmud, and begun his great work on the Mischna (the *Porta Mosis*, translated by Pococke). Maimonides, with his father and his family, determined to leave the inhospitable shores of Spain. Africa was under the dominion of the Almohades; but the persecuting laws were executed with less severity. He passed to Morocco, dwelt some time at Fez, and then embarked for the Holy Land. He reached St. Jean d'Acre, and from thence made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He finally settled at Fostat, the port of Cairo. The famous Saladin had founded the Fatimite empire. The Vizier of Saladin, the Kadhi al Fâdhil, took the learned Jew under his protection; and at Fostat the fame of Maimonides, as the most skilful physician, as the most profound philosopher, and the oracle of the religious belief among the most enlightened Jews and Arabians, grew to its height. At the early dawn Maimonides used to pass over to Cairo to transact his business in the capital; he was the court physician. On his return, such were the crowds of all classes and orders who came to consult him on all questions, medical, philosophical, religious, that he had hardly time to snatch a hasty meal: he was compelled to intrude on the night for his profounder studies. Thus oppressed with business, Maimonides found time to complete his voluminous medical, philosophical, and theological writings.¹ His fame chiefly rests on

¹ Maimonides was probably one of the first of his nation, notwithstanding their study in Spain and elsewhere of astronomy, who anticipated most Christians in the bold assertion that the heavenly bodies were not created for the sole use of man. The assertion itself, and the arguments by which it is maintained, are equally remarkable. "It is shown by demonstration that the distance from the centre of the earth to the supreme altitude of the planet Saturn is a journey of nearly 8700 years, reckoning 365 days in the year, and forty miles for each day's journey, according to the mile in the Law, which is of a thousand cubits." Maimonides deduces from this the insignificance of the earth as compared to all the celestial spheres, of man as compared to the earth: "and from the height of the heavens do not we learn how limited is our apprehension of Almighty God?" (lib. iii. cap. xiv.). The chapters on the Origin of Evil, in which he urges and expands the notion, much received in later times, that it is the privation of Good, are very curious, and deserve the study of the philosopher and divine. Like all Jewish philosophers, his great tenet is the absolute Incorporeity of God (lib. i. cap. xxvi., &c.). On the meaning of the Law being written by the finger of God, see lib. i. cap. lxvi. His favourite phrase is that the Law "speaks the language of the sons of men."

the More Nevochim, "the guide to those who have lost their way." Maimonides may be held as the founder of Rationalism; the first who endeavoured on broad principles to establish the harmony of reason and religion. He was the speculative parent of Spinoza and of Mendelssohn. His knowledge was vast: he was master not only of the Bible, but of all the Talmudic writings, of the genuine Aristotle, and of the Aristotelian Arabic philosophies; he had read earlier Eastern writings, with how severe a critical spirit remains to be determined. He was a profoundly religious man. On such subjects as the Unity of the Godhead, the Creation, the Providence of God, on Foreknowledge and Free-will, while he asserts the power and authority of Reason, he limits its range with calm severity. He discusses all these questions with the freedom and fulness of the best Christian schoolmen, but without their arid logic and cold, subtle dialectics. To my judgment his spiritualism is more pure and lofty. During his life, such was the awe of his name that men hardly dared to reprove the fearless reasoner. After his death he was anathematised by the more superstitious of his brethren. But in later ages, the more enlightened the race of Israel, the higher has stood the fame of him whom his ardent admirers proclaimed a second Moses.¹

We revert to a sadder spectacle—the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the East and in the West, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem indefeasible, inheritance of hatred and contempt. They had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to regain wealth that might be plundered and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy as extensive, to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Kingdom after kingdom, and people after people, followed the dreadful example, and strove to peal the knell of the descendants of Israel; till at length, what we blush to call Christianity, with the Inquisition in its train, cleared the fair

¹ The More Nevochim I only knew with the aid of Buxtorf's translation. A large part, however, may now be read in the French of M. Munk, whose profound Hebrew learning, wide range of philosophical inquiry, and perspicuous language, are full guarantees for the trustworthiness of his translation.

and smiling provinces of Spain of this industrious part of its population, and self-inflicted a curse of barrenness upon the benighted land.¹

¹ By far the most complete, I fear the most veracious, account of the persecutions of the Jews during the Middle Ages, has been collected, with his indefatigable industry, by Dr. Zunz in the preliminary chapters to his *Synagogal Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855. It fills about forty-three pages, from pp. 15 to 58. It is interspersed with extracts from Hebrew poetry translated into German. In some parts it rests on Jewish authorities, occasionally manuscript. It is a most hideous chronicle of human cruelty (as far as my researches have gone, fearfully true). Of the number of victims of course I cannot speak with full reliance. Perhaps it is the more hideous, because the most continuous, to be found among nations above the state of savages. Alas! that it should be among nations called Christian, though occasionally the Mohanmedan persecutor vied with the Christian in barbarity.

BOOK XXIV

IRON AGE OF JUDAISM

Persecutions in the East—Extinction of the Princes of the Captivity—Jews in Palestine—in the Byzantine Empire—Feudal System—Chivalry—Power of the Church—Usury—Persecutions in Spain—Massacres by the Crusaders—Persecutions in France—Philip Augustus—Saint Louis—Spain—France—Philip the Fair—War of the Shepherds—Pestilence—Poisoning of the Fountains—Charles the Fourth—Charles the Fifth—Charles the Sixth—Final Expulsion from France—Germany—The Flagellants—Miracle of the Host at Brussels.

OUR Iron Age commences in the East, where it witnessed the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity by the ignominious death of the last sovereign, the downfall of the schools, and the dispersion of the community, which from that period remained an abject and degraded part of the population. Pride and civil dissension, as well as the tyranny of a feeble despot, led to their fall. About the middle of the ninth century, both the Jews and Christians suffered some persecution under the Sultan Motavakel, A.C. 847. His edict was issued prohibiting their riding on lordly horses; they were to aspire no higher than humble asses and mules; they were forbidden to have an iron stirrup, and commanded to wear a leather girdle. They were to be distinguished from the faithful by a brand-mark, and their houses were defaced by figures of swine, devils, or apes. The latter addition throws some improbability on the story.¹ After the reign of Motavakel, the Caliphate in the East fell into confusion, split up into separate kingdoms under conflicting sovereigns.² About this time Saccai was Prince of the Captivity. Towards the middle of the tenth century (A.C. 934), David ben Saccai held that high office. Under David ben Saccai the Resch-Glutha resumed the pomp, title, and independence of a king. The Jews boast that, while his weaker ancestors had condescended to pay tribute, David refused that humiliating act of submission. But it was the feebleness of the Caliphate under Muctador, rather than the

¹ See *ante*, pp. 269, 270.

² Jost, vi. 84, 85.

power of the Resch-Glutha, which encouraged this contumacy.¹ It has been conjectured that the interval during both these periods,² from A.C. 817 to about A.C. 916, was filled by a line of hereditary princes. The learned aristocracy, the Heads of the Schools of Sura and Pumbeditha, by whom the power of the Resch-Glutha, which sometimes aspired to tyranny, was limited,³ seem likewise to have been hereditary. The race of that of Sura expired, and the Resch-Glutha, David ben Saccai, took upon himself to name an obscure successor called Om. Tob.⁴ Om. Tob's incompetency became apparent, and R. Saadiah was summoned from Egypt. Saadiah was a great opponent of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, then a received article of the Jewish creed. Perpetual feuds distracted this singular state. The tribunals of the Resch-Glutha and of the Masters of the Schools, the civil and spiritual powers, were in perpetual collision. David, the Prince, on some dispute about money, laid his ban on Saadiah. Saadiah hurled back the ban upon the Prince, and transferred the sovereignty to his brother. For seven years this strife lasted, till at length peace was restored, and the whole community beheld, with the utmost satisfaction, the Prince of the Captivity, who, on the death of his brother, regained his uncontested authority, entering the house of the Master of the School to celebrate together the joyful feast of Purim. The peace remained unbroken till the death of the Prince of the Captivity and that of his son. Saadiah became the guardian of his grandson. Saadiah was a man noted for the strictest justice, and his literary works were esteemed of the highest value.

Both the great dignities seem to have been united in the person of Scherira, who ruled and taught with universal admiration in the School of Pherutz Schabur from 967 to 997 A.C. Pherutz Schabur was a city five miles from Babylon. It is asserted, no doubt with the usual Jewish exaggeration, that this city was inhabited by 900,000 Jews. At the end of thirty years Scherira felt the approach of age, and associated his son Hai in the supremacy. But the term of this high office drew near. A violent and rapacious sovereign, Ahmed

¹ The obscure intrigues which led to the elevation of David ben Saccai may be read in Jost, vi. 96.

² Ganz, *Tsemach David*, p. 130; Basnage, iv. 4; Jost, vi. p. 77, &c.

³ David ben Saccai attempted also to nominate the chief of the School of Pumbeditha. This caused great discord and confusion.

⁴ In Jost, the rival of Saadiah, Om. Tob, is R. Semaiah.

Kader, filled the throne of the Caliphs. He cast a jealous look upon the powers and wealth of this vassal sovereign. Scherira, now one hundred years old, and his son Hai, were seized either with or without pretext, their riches confiscated, and the old man hung up by the hand. Hai escaped to resume his office, and to transmit its honours and its dangers to Hezekiah, who was elected Chief of the Captivity. But, after a reign of two years, Hezekiah was arrested with his whole family by the order of the Caliph, Abdallah Kaim ben Marillah (A.C. 1036). The Schools were closed. Many of the learned fled to Egypt or Spain (the revulsion in Spain under the Almohades had not yet taken place); all were dispersed. Among the rest two sons of the unfortunate Prince of the Captivity effected their escape to Spain, while the last of the House of David (for of that lineage they fondly boasted), who reigned over the Jews of the Dispersion in Babylonia, perished on an ignominious scaffold.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. If credit is to be given to the facts relating to the revolutions in the East, in that singular compilation, the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which bears the date of the following century, from A.C. 1160 to 1173,¹ we may safely select his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land.² There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on some others. In Tyre Benjamin found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem; but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but 50. This account

¹ The object of this author seems to have been not unlike that of the celebrated Sir John Mandeville, besides the account, seemingly credible, of the countries which he really visited, to throw together all he had ever heard or read of the strange and unvisited regions of the farther East.—*Original Note.*

² Much light has been thrown on the travels of Benjamin of Tudela by the new edition and English translation, with valuable Notes and Essays, especially by Dr. Zunz, published by Asher, Berlin, 1840. It seems clear that Benjamin of Tudela, probably as a merchant, travelled as far eastward as Bagdad. So far his descriptions are perfectly trustworthy. Dr. Zunz has traced the names of many of the Rabbins and distinguished men of whom Benjamin writes, and vouches for their accuracy. Beyond Bagdad Benjamin writes from hearsay, with a large admixture of fable, in parts curiously resembling Marco Polo. See Asher's Preface; and Dr. Zunz, in his valuable Essay on the contributions of the Hebrews to the science of geography, vol. ii.

of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps, be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions. It is curious, after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings. Still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. "The air of the land of Israel," says one, "makes a man wise;"¹ another writes, "He who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life that is to come." "The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to embrace its ruins, and roll themselves in its dust." "The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel." He who is buried there is reconciled with God as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan come first to life in the days of the Messiah. He who dies out of the Holy Land dies a double death. Rabbi Simeon said,² "All they who are buried out of the land of Canaan must perish everlasting; but for the just, God will make deep caverns beneath the earth, by which they will work their way till they come to the land of Israel; when they are there, God will breathe the breath of life into their nostrils, and they will rise again."³

In the Byzantine empire, if we may place any reliance, as we surely may, on the same authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained 300 Jews; Thebes, 2000 silk-workers and dyers. Two hundred cultivated gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number; Constantinople, 2000 silk-workers and merchants, with 500 Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We pursue our dark progress to the West, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity

¹ Bava Bathra.

² Ketuboth.

³ "Postquam Judæi patriâ pulsi, et extortæ facti sunt, amant terræ ejus cineres tam impotenter ut miræ felicitatis loco habeant, si cui contigit vel mortuo ibidem sepeliri, vel pugillo illius pulveris post fata conspergere, vel viventi ibidem degere." From the Dissertation of John a Lent de Pseudo-Messias, apud Ugolini, Thesaurus—a melancholy picture of wretched depression and frantic hope.

against the race of Israel. Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice ; the nobility by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry ; the clergy by bigotry ; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes which were gradually taking place in the state of the world seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds. Confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind ; the despised will usually become despicable. I proceed in a few brief sentences (all my limits will allow) to explain the effects of the more remarkable changes in society which developed themselves during these dark ages, as far as they affect the character and condition of the Jewish people : 1st. The feudal system ; 2nd. Chivalry ; 3rd. The power of the clergy ; 4th. The almost general adoption of the trade of money-lending and usury by the Jews themselves. I shall then pursue the course of time, which will lead us successively to the different countries in which the Jews were domiciliated.

I. In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews alone found no proper place. They were a sort of outlying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming part of it ; recognised by the constitution, but not belonging to it ; a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity.¹ Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain and in the South of France, were in some respects under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognised, freedom of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from all military service. The last was a privilege

¹ Comp. Beugnot, *Juifs d'Occident*, Introduction, pp. 58, 59 : "Qui-conque ne trouvait pas sa place dans la hiérarchie féodale n'était rien. . . . Tels ont été les Juifs au sein de la féodalité, privés de tout espèce de droits quand chacun venait d'en acquérir ; isolés au milieu d'une société qui avait réglé ses rangs à manière à n'oublier personne, partout ils étaient traités comme étrangers, et dans ce temps l'étranger était un ennemi."

not likely to be extorted from them. The noble profession of arms would have been profaned by such votaries.

The whole Jewish community were considered as special servants of the imperial chamber, *i.e.* the emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice or make appeal to their liege-lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognised by the great vassals as allowing the emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege-lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves to accept, dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to shield them from the violence of the populace. In France and in England they were the property of the king. It will appear hereafter how the kings granted them to favourites, like lands, resumed them, and treated them altogether as goods pertaining to the Crown.¹ In Italy, at least in the South, besides the doubtful protection of the emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner under the special jurisdiction of the See of Rome.² In the Norman kingdom of

¹ In France, according to Gul Brito, king Philip Augustus (see hereafter), who at one time only demanded for himself a fifth part of the debts due to the Jews, might legally have taken the whole:—

“Et poterat totum sibi tollere si voluisset.
Nec præjudicium super hoc fecisset eisdem,
Tanquam servorum res et catalla suorum.”—Lib. i.

² Thomas Aquinas (*Summa 22, x. 10*) lays down the axiom that the Jews are slaves of the Church (the Church in its widest sense), “quia cum ipsi

Naples the feudal system soon makes its appearance. Sichelgaite, wife of Roger Duke of Apulia (son of Robert Guiscard), bequeaths the revenue of the Jews in the city of Salerno to the Church of Our Lady.¹ Duke Roger makes over the Jewry and all the Jews, except those of his proper domain, to the Archbishop of Salerno.² In the South of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the North, of the king. For while the edicts of the sovereign for their expulsion and readmission into the land were recognised in the North, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the South. The general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil, though it worked more slowly in some countries—in the South of France and in Spain—than in others. They could not be lords, they were not serfs—they would not serve, or by the older law were exempted from military service to their lords. But this almost extra-legal protection under the great vassals was of course subject to every caprice of the lawless and ignorant petty chieftains who exercised these local sovereignties.³ It was obtained only by proving to the liege-lord that it was his interest to protect; and his eyes, blinded by ignorance and perhaps bigotry, could only be opened to his real interests by immediate and palpable advantages. The Jew must pay largely for precarious protection; he was only tolerated as a source of revenue, and till almost his life-blood was drawn, it would be difficult to satisfy the inevitable demands of a needy and rapacious master. The Jew thus often became a valuable property; he was granted away, he was named in

Judæi sint servi Ecclesiæ." He proceeds to the question, whether if the slave of a Jew becomes Christian he becomes free without any price being paid for his redemption? It is answered in the affirmative, because, the Jews themselves being slaves of the Church, the Church can dispose at her will of the property of her slaves. This applies to persons born in slavery, or if, being infidels, they had been bought for the purpose of domestic slavery. If the slaves had been bought merely for the purpose of sale, they were to be brought to market in three months. This clause (if it does not refer to former times) seems to imply an active slave-trade still going on in Europe and in the hands of the Jews. I may take the opportunity of adding that Thomas Aquinas takes the milder view (that of Pope Gregory the Great), as to tolerating the religious rites of the Jews, and condemns the forcible baptism of Jewish infants against the will of their parents.

¹ Charter quoted from Pirrus, *Sicilia Sacra*.

² Charter of Duke Roger, Muratori, *Antiq.* vol. i.; Depping, p. 150.

³ "À l'exemple des Rois, les Barons s'étaient appropriés les Juifs. Un Baron disait 'mes Juifs' comme il disait 'mes terres,' quand il énumérait ses revenus." Depping, p. 174.

a marriage settlement,¹ he was bequeathed,² in fact he was pawned,³ he was sold, he was stolen.⁴ Permission to the Jew to employ his industry for his own profit implied a share in that profit to the lord.⁵ Even churchmen of the highest rank did not disdain such lucrative property. Louis, King of Provence, grants to the Archbishop of Arles all the possessions which his predecessors have held of former kings, including the Jews. Philip the Fair, after contesting the property of forty-three Jews, bought of his brother, Charles of Valois, all the Jews of his dominions and lordships. These Jews produced four hundred and thirty francs six sous every quarter; a Jew of Rouen, Samuel Viola, brought in to the same king three hundred livres a quarter.⁶

II. Chivalry, the parent of so much good and evil, both in its own age and in the spirit which has descended from it and has become infused into the institutions and character of modern Europe, was a source of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as the splendour which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. The enterprising Jew often probably made a considerable commission on the Milan corslet, the Damascus

¹ In a contract of marriage between Rostang de Pasquier and the daughter of Bernard Atto, Viscount of Nismes, Agde, and Beziers, "damus tibi et filiæ nostræ unum Judæum et unum burgensem in Biterris, Burgensem, Raymon-dam Durante, Judæum Benjamin, ambo cum tenezonibus eorum, et successores eisdem, et cum eisdem tenezonibus." Here the Burgher and the Jew were granted in the same manner. *Histoire de Languedoc*, ii.; *Preuves*, 419. William of Montpellier adds to her dower all his Jews of Montpellier. *Ibid.* 478. Aymeric, Viscount of Narbonne, endowed his wife, A.C. 1087, with the city of Narbonne and the taxes on the Jews therein. *Ibid.* ii. 266; *Preuves*, p. 557.

² Raymond of Trincavel in his will bequeaths a Jew. *Ibid.* 550.

³ The same Raymond of Trincavel pawns all his customary rights to payments in kind, of honey, canelle, and pepper, from the Jews on feast-days. *Ib.*

⁴ Thibault, Count of Champagne, made a treaty with King Philip that neither should retain the Jews of the other. Some of Thibault's Jews had taken refuge from his oppressions in the territory of the king. His widow reclaimed them. There was a long negotiation about the property of Cres-solin, a very rich Jew. *Ibid.*

⁵ A modern writer has well expressed this: "Ils pouvaient donner un libre cours à leur industrie commerciale à la charge de partager de gré ou de force avec les Seigneurs les profits qu'ils en avaient retirés. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi les Seigneurs étaient si soigneux de conserver les Juifs qui leurs appartenaient. C'était la portion la plus productive de leur Seigneurie. Aussi la personne des Juifs était elle un objet de commerce: on se les vendait, on se les donnait, quelquefois les Seigneurs se les volaient les uns les autres, et ne permettaient plus au Juif qui se trouvait sur leurs terres de retourner dans celles de leurs maîtres." *Bédarride, Les Juifs en Italie, en France, et en Espagne*, p. 103.

⁶ Other instances in Depping.

or Toledo blade, the gorgeous attire which the knight wore, or the jewels in which his lady glittered in the tournament.¹ Magnificence was the fashion of the times, and magnificence would often throw the impoverished noble into the power of the lowly man of traffic. But the knight was bound by the tenure of his rank to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry. When Clovis, the King of the Franks, embraced Christianity, while the pious preacher was dilating on the sufferings of the crucified Redeemer, the fiery convert sprang up and exclaimed, "Had I and my brave Franks been there, they dared not to have done it." The spirit of this speech was that of the knighthood of the Middle Ages. What they could not prevent they could revenge. The knight was the servant of God, bound with his good sword to protect his honour, and to extirpate all the enemies of Christ and his Virgin Mother. Those enemies were all unbelievers, more particularly the Jew, whose stiff-necked obstinacy still condemned him; every Jew was as deadly a foe as if he had joined in the frantic cry of *Crucify him! Crucify him!* The only refuge of the Jew from the hatred of the knight was in his contempt. The knight was not suffered to profane his sword with such vile blood; it was loftier revenge to trample him under foot. But the animosity without the pride of this chivalrous feeling descended to the lower orders; he who could not presume to show his zeal for his Redeemer on the person of a Moslemite unbeliever, contented himself with the humbler satisfaction of persecuting a Jew. In awful disregard of the one great Atonement, it was a prevailing feeling that men might wash away their sins by the blood of their infidel fellow-creatures. We shall see this inhuman sentiment dreadfully exemplified in the history of the Crusaders.

III. The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this general detestation against the unhappy Jew. Their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. In that age of darkness, hatred of heresy and unbelief was the first article in the creed of him who taught the religion of love. But it is remarkable that not only were there splendid and redeeming instances of superiority to this unchristian spirit (they will hereafter be noticed), but it was only in the

¹ This has not escaped the author of that noblest of historical romances, "Ivanhoe," who on this point is as true to history as in the rest of the work he is full of the loftiest spirit of poetry.

dark and remote parts of the Christian world that this total gloom prevailed. Light still shone in the centre. Of all European sovereigns, the Popes, with some exceptions, have pursued the most generous policy towards the Jews. Among the exceptions it is melancholy not to be able to inscribe the great name of Innocent III. without some reservation. Innocent's first edict about the Jews is one of calm and enlightened humanity. Though it opens with the usual ill-omened phrase concerning Jewish perfidy, yet it confirms all the favourable statutes of his predecessors, protects their synagogues, their cemeteries, their festivals from insult; condemns in strong terms compulsory baptism, and places their persons and property under the safeguard of the law.¹ But in later days Innocent could not behold their wealth, their power, their influence in France, without jealousy. In a letter to the Count of Nevers, with words tending to inflame the worst passions, he declared them to be under the wrath of God, branded with the curse of Cain, guilty of the blood of the Redeemer.² He is indignant that they should be employed in finance and in the collection of taxes; imputes to the French nobles that they render more than equal justice to the Jews in their litigations with Christians about debts; he threatens the Count with the severest chastisement as guilty of this favour towards the enemies of God.³ But if there be a shade of darkness on the bright fame of Innocent III., there is a gleam of light thrown on the dark character of Innocent IV., by his remarkable enactment in favour of the Jews of Germany.⁴ In Italy, and even in Rome, the Jews have been more rarely molested than in other countries. They have long inhabited in Rome a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt—a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society.⁵ The adversaries of the Roman

¹ Innocent. Epist. ii. 302.

² "Quanto magis ergo divinam formidare potes offensam quod favorem præstare non metuis, qui unigenitum Dei filium cruci affigere præsumperunt, et adhuc a blasphemias non quiescunt." Innocent III., Epist. x. 190.

³ Among the strange charges brought by Innocent III. against the Jews is that they sell the milk of women for ordinary milk to nourish Christian children: "Ita similia Judæis mulieribus facientibus de lacte quod publice venditur pro parvulis nutriendis." They trampled the wine-presses in linen stockings, drew out the best wine for themselves, and sold the refuse to the Christians, even though that wine might be used for the Holy Eucharist.

⁴ This calm, firm, enlightened edict will shortly appear at full length.

⁵ The Ghetto, Judæa, Judaica, Judæaria; hence the Venetian Giudecca; in Verona, La Zuecca. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert., &c. See the curious

Church may ascribe this to "the wisdom of the serpent," which discovered the advantages to be derived from the industry of the Jews, rather than to "the gentleness of the dove"; but where humanity is the result, let us not too invincibly explore its motives. Since the reign of Innocent II. (1130), at the accession of the Pope, the Jews have been permitted to approach the presence of the Pontiff, and to offer a copy of their Law.¹ The Pontiff receives their homage, and mildly expresses his desire that their understandings may be enlightened to perceive the hidden meaning of their own sacred volume. In the remote provinces it is to be feared that religious animosity was often aggravated by that hatred which unprincipled men feel towards those who possess the secret of their crimes. The sacred property of the Church was still often pawned by the licentious monks or clergy. No one would dare to receive the sacred pledge but a Jew, who thus frequently became odious, not only as an importunate creditor, but as exposing, by clamorous and public demands of payment, transactions never meant to meet the light. As early as the reign of the Emperor Henry I., among the pious emperor's gifts to the Monastery of Monte Casino was a vest or altar-cloth, which he redeemed from a Jew, to whom it had been pledged for fifty gold pieces.² Guifred, Archbishop of Narbonne, in order to raise money to buy the Bishopric of Urgel for his brother, sold the crosses, the reliquaries, the vessels and all the plate of the Church of Narbonne to certain Jewish goldsmiths, who trafficked with them in Spain.³ The Chapter of Strasburg complain that the abbot Godfrey, of the Monastery of St. Leonard, had pledged the Missal, Moralia Job (St. Gregory's book), a gilded cross and chandeliers, two altar-cloths, three copes, and a chasuble for five marks to the Jews of Einheim; a chalice, three chasubles, and four books for nine marks and twenty deniers to the Jews of Rodesheim.⁴

grant, quoted above, from Roger Duke of Apulia to the Archbishop of Salerno and his successors (A.C. 1090) of all the Judæa and Jews of that city, excepting those of his own domain or those whom he may have brought with him, "quod huc ego tantum conduxero." There was a Giudecca in Constantinople. See the curious grant of the Doge of Venice, *ibid.*

¹ The first act of this kind took place on the visit of Innocent II. to Paris. The Pope replies, "May God remove the veil which is now over your eyes!" Sugerii Abbat. Vit. Ludovic. Grossi; Bouquet, xii. 58. The Jews had also a place at the coronation of the emperors at Rome. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 192.

² Leo Ostiensis, ii. 43.

³ Hist. de Languedoc, ii. p. 184.

⁴ Schœffler, *Alsatia Diplomatica*, note sub ann. 1215. Compare for England, Madox, *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 153.

In many cases it was religion itself which seemed to the Christian clergy to impose the duty of persecution. In Beziers, at the beginning of the Holy Week (of the week during which the sufferings of the Redeemer on the cross and his divine patience were represented, in symbol and in language, to the eyes and to the heart of the believer, not forgetting his sublime words of prayer for his enemies, even the Jews), it was an ancient usage to pelt the Jews with stones—a perilous licence for a fierce rabble. The preacher mounted the pulpit: "You have around you," he said, "those who crucified the Messiah, who deny Mary the Mother of God. Now is the time when you should feel most deeply the iniquity of which Christ was the victim. This is the day on which our Prince has graciously given us permission to avenge this crime. Like your pious ancestors, hurl stones at the Jews, and show your sense of his wrongs by the vigour with which you resent them."¹ The bishop who put down this practice, Raymond of Trincavel, was accused of having been bribed: no other motive could be suggested for this act of humanity, justice, and piety.²

IV. But avarice and usurious practices were doubtless charged, not without justice, against the race of Israel. In the nation and in the individual, the pursuit of gain as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally. All the circumstances of the times contributed to this debasing change. The more extended branches of commerce were almost entirely cut off. Their brethren in the East had lost their wealth; the navigation of the Mediterranean was interrupted by the Norman pirates; the slave-trade had entirely ceased or was prohibited, as well by the habits of the times as by law. In the cities and free towns they were excluded by the jealous corporate spirit from all share in the burghers' privileges. The spirit of the age despised traffic, and the merchant is honourable only where he is held in honour. The Jews no doubt possessed great wealth; what was extorted from them is ample proof of the fact, and some of them by stealth enjoyed it; but even the wealthiest and most liberal were often obliged to put on the sordid demeanour and affect the miserable poverty of the poor pedlar of their own nation,

¹ Ex Chronic. Gaufridi Vosiensis. Apud Bouquet, xii. 194.

² Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 488. The Jews of Beziers then lived in a separate quarter surrounded with walls.

whose whole stock consisted in his pack of the cheapest portable articles.

This necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. Their chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivalled and driven out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own Law, and all the Scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church, as unlawful, contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure. He argued, not unfairly, that the more precarious, the greater ought to be his gains : he took refuge in fraud from violence and injustice. Society was at war with the Jew. Some sudden demand of tribute, or some lawless plunderer, would sweep away at once the hard-wrung earnings of years ;¹ the Jew, therefore, still practised slow and perpetual reprisals, and reimbursed himself from the wants of the needy, for his losses from the violent. Demolish his secret hive, like the ant, the model suggested by his wise king, he would reconstruct it again, and ever at the expense of his enemy. It was, generally throughout the world, the Christian, who, according to our universal Master of nature, would spit upon and spurn the Jew ; and the Jew, who, when he found his advantage, would have the pound of flesh nearest the heart of his bondsman. It was a contest of religious zeal which had degenerated into the blindest bigotry, and associated itself with the most ferocious and unchristian passions, against industry and patience, which had made a forced but intimate alliance with the most sordid craft and the most unfeeling avarice, to the utter extinction of every lofty principle of integrity and honour.

Attempts were constantly made to restrict the exactions of the Jews from the poor : they were prohibited from taking in

¹ Montesquieu thus observes of the Middle Ages : "Le commerce passa à une nation pour lors couverte d'infamie, et bientôt il ne fut distingué des usures les plus affreuses, des monopoles, de la levée des subsides, et de toutes les manières malhonnêtes d'acquérir de l'argent. Les Juifs, enrichis par leurs exactions, étaient pillés par les princes avec la même tyrannie : chose qui consoloit le peuple, et ne les soulageoit pas." *Esprit des Lois*, xxi. 20.

pawn the tools of the artisan and the implements of husbandry. By a law of Philip Augustus the interest on loans was limited to two deniers per week on the livre: this would amount to above forty per cent. Later the rate of interest was doubled, for it was found that the debtor was compelled by the Jew to inscribe a larger sum than he actually borrowed. Interest on debts was generally limited to the year, to prevent—which it did not do—all accumulation. The weekly interest was manifestly intended for the debts of the poor. There is a very curious parchment roll in the French royal archives,¹ according to which (probably during one of the expulsions of the Jews) certain inhabitants of the small town of Vitry, about five hundred, claimed sums said to have been extorted from them by the Jews to the amount of eight hundred and forty-four livres nine sous. This may show how widely these exactions spread, and how they affected the poorest classes of society. It shows, too, the utter insecurity of all these debts, and that the Jews, almost the only holders of that rare commodity, money, could hardly be expected to refrain from making as rich a harvest as possible during their short gleam of broken sunshine.

It is time to proceed to our melancholy task, the rapid picture of the Iron Age of Judaism in the West. The first dark scene in our tragic drama is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Grenada. It took place when the Golden Age was in all its brightness, a foreshadowing of darkness to come. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem: R. Samuel Levi was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, Mohammed ben Gehwar, when one of the Wise Men, Joseph Hallevi, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and fifteen hundred families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendour, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sank into disgrace and destitution.²

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a

¹ Cited by M. Depping. Compare his book, p. 180.

² Basnage, ix. 5. This was near a century before the persecution from which Maimonides took refuge in Egypt.

war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honour, the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander the Second, who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity.¹ The sterner Hildebrand assumed a different tone; he rebuked Alfonso the Sixth for having made laws restoring to the Jews certain rights, submitting, as the Pontiff declared, the Church to the synagogue of devils.² During this whole period of contest between the Christians for the recovery of Spain and the Mussulmen in their desperate defence of their conquests, the Jews stood on a perilous neutral ground. Their creed was obnoxious in different degrees to both. If they could have lived a peaceful life, they were disposed to submit quietly to the conqueror: but their wealth tempted the cupidity of both; both were inclined to employ them in the unpopular but lucrative functions of financiers and tax-gatherers; and their own propensities to gain induced them to undertake these offices under Christian or Mohammedan rulers.

Of all people the zealous Jews must have beheld with the greatest amazement the preparations for the Crusades, when the whole Christian world, from the king to the peasant, was suddenly seized with a resolution to conquer the Holy Land of *their* fathers, in order that they might be masters of the sepulchre of the crucified Nazarene. Though they had been so long exiled from that holy soil, though the few Jews who dwelt in Palestine were but as strangers in the land, Jewish tradition had still clung, as has been said, with undying fondness to their rightful ownership, to the hopes of returning to that blessed country. Their restoration to Judæa, to Jerusalem, was to be the great work—the final triumph of the Messiah, whensover or wheresover he should appear. And now of that land to breathe the air of which was wisdom, to

¹ "Noverit prudentia vestra nobis placuisse quod Judæos qui sub vestrâ potestate habitant, tutati estis ne occiderentur: non enim gaudet Deus effusione sanguinis, neque lætatur perditione malorum." Alexander II. Berengario, Vice-Comiti Narbonensi (*circa* 1061).

² "Dilectionem tuam monemus ut in terrâ tuâ Judæos Christianis dominari, vel supra eos potestatem exercere, ulterius nullatenus sinas. Quid est enim Judæis Christianos supponere vel hos eorum judicio subjicere, nisi ecclesiam Dei suppressare et Satanae synagogam exaltare, et dum inimicis Christi velis placere, ipsum Christum contemnere." Greg. VII. Epist., apud Baronius, sub ann. 1080.

tread the soil of which seemed to the living happiness, to the buried a share in the first resurrection, the Christians were about to usurp the lordship. The followers of Jesus, the false Messiah, were to take possession of the realm which awaited the coming of the true Messiah.

But the times must have opened a most extensive field for traffic and usury; and no doubt the Jews, suppressing their astonishment, did not scruple to avail themselves of such a golden opportunity of gain. Nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross. If the more prudent and less zealous monarchs, like our William the Second, or nobles or churchmen, profited by the reckless ardour of their compatriots to appropriate, at the lowest prices, their fair fields and goodly inheritances, no doubt the Jews wrung no unprofitable bargains from the lower class of more needy and as reckless adventurers. Arms and money must be had;¹ and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms.

But little did this prudent people foresee the storm which impended over them.² The nation was widely dispersed in Germany; some statutes of King Ladislaus show their existence in Hungary; in Bohemia they had rendered good service, and lived on amicable terms with the Christians; in Franconia they were numerous; but their chief numbers and wealth were found in the flourishing cities along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. When the first immense horde of undisci-

¹ Even towards the close of the Crusades, the princes, knights, even the clergy, were dependent on Jewish money-lenders for the sums requisite for their own equipment and that of their followers. The Lateran Council, which is the fullest exposition of the privileges of the Crusaders, contains the following canon:—"Judæos vero ad remittendas usuras per sæcularem compelli præcipimus potestatem, et donec illis remiserint ab universis Christi fidelibus per excommunicationis sententiam eis omnino communio denegetur. His autem qui Judæis debita solvere nequeunt in præsenti, sic Principes sæculares utili dilatione provideant: quod post iter arreptum, usquequo de eorum obitu vel reditu certissime cognoscatur, usurarum incommoda non incurvant, compulsis Judæis proventus pignorum, quos interim ipsi perceperint in sortem, expensis deductis necessariis, computare, cum hujusmodi beneficium non multum videatur habere dispendii, quod solutionem sic prorogat, quod debitum non absorbet." Mansi, Concil. xxii. p. 1097, *et seqq.*

² The Jews had been accused, at an earlier period, the beginning of the eleventh century, of stimulating the persecutions of the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem by the Mohammedan Sultans Azed and Hakim in Egypt. These sovereigns had destroyed the Christian temple over the Holy Sepulchre. Cedrenus, ii. 486 (Edit. Bonn); Zonaras. Radulph Glaber has a story of the persecutions of the Jews at Orleans on account of (premature) information given to the Mussulmen of an intended crusade. Compare Le Beau, Hist. du Bas Empire, xiv. p. 202.

plined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, and under the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp, that while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the Infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord.¹ In the words of Jewish tradition, no doubt generally faithful in its record of their calamities, "the abominable Germans and French rose up against them, people of a fierce countenance that have no respect to the persons of the old, neither have they mercy upon the young, and they said, 'Let us be revenged for our Messiah upon the Jews that are among us, and let us destroy them from being a nation, that the name of Israel may be had no more in remembrance; so shall they change their glory and be like unto us; then will we go to the East.'" With one impulse the Crusaders rushed to the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usage of these savages. Women, having deliberately tied stones round themselves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge, to save their honour and escape baptism. Their husbands had rather send them to the bosom of Abraham than leave them to the mercy, or rather the lustful cruelties, of the Christians.² The rest fled to the bishop's palace as a place of refuge. They were received by the bishop, Engelbert, with these words: "Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated his Mother. This is the cause of your present miseries—this, if ye persist in your obduracy, will destroy you body and soul for ever." He reproached them with their disregard of Daniel's prophecy of our Lord's coming, and promised protection to their persons, and respect to their property, on their conversion and baptism. Micha, the head of the Jews, mildly requested instruction in the Christian tenets; the

¹ "Nos Dei hostes, inquiunt, Orientem versus, longis terrarum tractibus transmissis, desideramus aggredi, cum ante oculos sint Judæi, quibus inimicitior extitit gens nulla Dei." Guibert Abbas, ad ann. 1095.

² Brower, Ann. Trevirenses, i. p. 571, describes this scene, and would persuade his readers that the Jews were driven to desperation only by their fears. He says nothing of the previous massacre. The Jews "non parcerent ætati, cui etiam Christiani pepercissent." The affair at the bridge he turns against the Jews: "Liberos parentes letho ipsi potius quam offerri baptismo vellent stolidè jactitabant."

bishop repeated a short creed ; the Jews, in the agony of terror, assented. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Metz, in Spiers, in Worms, in Mentz, in Cologne. It was the Sabbath in Spiers ; ten were slain, a woman killed herself to escape pollution. The bishop (all bishops were not like Engelbert of Treves) saved the rest, for, says Jewish tradition, "he had compassion on them, and he delivered them out of the power of the enemy." The bishop is accused, not by the Jews, of having received a large bribe for his mercy. Did his Christian flock suppose that his humanity could not be accounted for but by his venality ? In Worms the Jews took refuge in the bishop's palace ; all their houses were pulled down ; all that had not escaped were put to the sword. The books of the Law were trampled under foot ; none were spared but children and sucklings, who were forcibly baptized, in Jewish language, "defiled with the proud water." Many killed themselves ; the brother slew his brother, the neighbour his neighbour, the father his sons and daughters, the bridegroom his bride, the husband the wife of his bosom. The bishop's house was surprised ; all, except a very small remnant, fell by the hands of the murderers or their own. About eight hundred perished ; a young Levite stabbed a noble kinsman of the bishop, and of course was cut to pieces. In Mentz again they fled to the bishop's palace, but in vain ; a massacre of 1300 took place ; the women killed themselves, and some of the old men covered themselves with their praying garments, and said, "He is the Rock ; his works are perfect." Sixty lay concealed in the bishop's treasure-house ; they fled to the Rheingau to their brethren there, were pursued and slain, all but two, Uri and Isaac, who were forcibly baptized. Isaac's two daughters were also forcibly baptized. Isaac slew his polluted daughters, lit a fire in his house, and offered a burnt offering as an atonement ; then the two went into the synagogue, and, as they saw the flame arise, slew themselves. In Cologne the terror was overwhelming, but here the power of the bishop, again the protector of the Jews, was more equal to his humanity. The synagogues were sacked, the books of the Law trampled in the dust ; but the bishop sent them into the neighbouring villages with directions that they should be well treated. One obstinate man, probably a Rabbi, Isaac, refused to fly ; he was dragged into the church, where he spat upon and blasphemed the Image ; he was put to death, and his death, with that of a woman, are the only murders recorded

at Cologne in the Jewish Chronicle.¹ The locust band passed on; ² everywhere the tracks of the Crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood. A troop, under Count Emico, offered the same horrid sacrifices to the God of Mercy, in the cities on the Maine and the Danube, even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence.³ How little horror these massacres excited may be judged from the coolness with which they are related by the faithful representatives of the spirit of the times, the monkish historians. The Emperor Henry the Fourth alone saw their atrocity; in an edict issued from Ratisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptized by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period many took refuge in Silesia and Poland.

Nor were the persecutions of the Jews in the First Crusade confined to Europe. On the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boulogne, all the Jews in the Holy City—so reports Jewish tradition—were put to the sword by the devout worshippers of him who wept over the foreseen doom of the children of Jerusalem on its first capture.⁴

Half a century elapsed for the Jews to multiply again their devoted race, and to heap up new treasures to undergo their

¹ Many of these incidents are from the very curious Chronicle of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, the Sphardi, translated from the Hebrew for the Oriental Fund by C. H. F. Biallobotsky, London, 1835. The names of other cities and towns in the book of R. Joshua are so disguised that it is impossible to make them out. Some of the scenes, especially that in Mirah, are very striking. It is curious to compare the general tone of the monkish annalists of the Crusades: "Per orbem universum omnium Christianorum consensu decretum est, ut omnes Judæi ab illorum terris vel civitatibus funditus pellerentur. Hique universi odio habiti, expulsi de civitatibus, alii gladiis trucidati, alii fluminibus necati, diversisque mortuum generibus interempti. Nonnulli etiam sese diversâ clade interemerunt." Radulph. The Chronicon Virdun. says, "Quanquam a multis improbetur factum et religioni adversari judicetur." Apud Bouquet, xiii. That they sent all these Jews to hell (ad Tartara demittunt) is a common phrase. The number of the Jews massacred is of course variously stated. Some Jewish accounts give only 5000, seemingly heads of families. Aventinus (Annal. Bohem.) gives 12,000 in Bavaria and the cities on the Danube. The Add. to Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus relates the massacre at Mentz: "Apud Moguntiam vero utriusque sexus Judæi numero mille et quatuor decem interfici sunt, et maxima pars civitatis exusta est. Judæi qui per diversas provincias, metu compellente, Christiani facti sunt, iterum a Christianitate paulatim recesserunt." Sub ann. 1097. Compare Sig. Gembl. sub ann. 1096.

² It is curious that R. Joshua (my book was written before the appearance of the translation) uses the same image: "The locusts have no honey, and yet go they forth, all of them, by bands" (Prov. xxx. 27, p. 30).

³ Macius represents less favourably the conduct of the King of Hungary: "Rexque Ungarorum, persuasus principibus hoc facere, non restitut" (c. xv.).

⁴ Dr. Zunz, Notes to Benjamin of Tudela, pp. 89 and 396.

inalienable doom of pillage and massacre. A second storm was seen gathering in the distance; and, like a bird of evil omen, which predicts the tempest, the monk Rodolph passed through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking vengeance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of "HEP," the signal for the massacre of the Jews (supposed to be an abbreviation of "Hierosolyma est perdita"—*Jerusalem is lost*) ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spiers, and Strasburg. They found an unexpected protector, the holy St. Bernard,¹ who openly reprobated these barbarities, and, in a letter to the Bishop of Spiers, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. Jewish tradition does justice to St. Bernard: "And he [God] sent after this Belial [Rodolph the Monk] the Abbot St. Bernard from Clairvaux, a city that is in Tzarphath [France]. And he called also after their manner, saying, 'Let us go up into Zion, to the sepulchre of the Messiah. But take thou heed that thou speak to the Jews neither good nor bad, for whosoever toucheth them is like as if he had touched the apple of the eye of Jesus; for they are his flesh and bone; and my disciple Rodolph has not spoken aright—for of them it is said in the Psalms, "Slay them not, lest my people forget." . . . And he took no ransom of the Jews, for he spake good of Israel from his heart. . . . If it had not been for the compassion of the Lord that he had sent this priest, there would have none escaped or remained of these. Blessed be he that ransometh and delivereth!' In other places, to which St. Bernard's influence did not extend, the Jews bought security at a heavy price.² If in truth St. Bernard was disposed to mercy, other

¹ I have elsewhere observed the curious fact, that of the biographers of St. Bernard among the moderns are two converted Jews, Neander and the Père Ravaignan.

² "And in other places the Jews gave their silver and their gold to deliver their lives from destruction; they withheld nothing from them of all they demanded, and the Lord delivered them." R. Joshua, p. 119. In Cologne an aged Jew refused to submit to baptism. A fierce Crusader struck off his head, placed it on the roof of a house, and trampled the body under foot. The Jews appealed to the mayor; the body was removed and buried in their cemetery. They purchased of the bishop, by pledging their houses and all their property in the city, the strong castle of Wolkenberg, in which they defied the wild assaults of the rabble. A murder was committed on two young Jews near Wolkenburg. The Jews bought of the bishop the surrender of the murderer. They put out his eyes; he died in three days. The Jews' fierce exultation of triumph was, "Thus may all thy enemies be destroyed, O Lord!" (p. 121).

churchmen, who approached the nearest to St. Bernard in influence and authority, spoke a different language. Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Clugny, addressed a letter to the King of France, denouncing the wickedness of sparing the most detestable and impious Jews, while they wage war on the less detestable and impious Saracens.¹ He would not condemn them to a general massacre (such was his mercy), but in pure charity only to general pillage. For their great crime, according to Peter the Venerable, besides their obduracy and blindness to the Saviour, was not their cruel and grinding usury, but the receiving of stolen goods, the furniture and sacred vessels of the Church, which they treated with contumely so dreadful that it might not be thought of, much less described in words.² Peter arraigns a royal statute, an antiquated and diabolic statute,³ which secured the Jews in the possession of such property, and did not compel them to declare from whence they had obtained it. The Abbot forgot the ordinances which had so frequently prohibited the clergy from selling or pawning

¹ "Sed quid proderit inimicos Christianæ spei in exteris aut remotis finibus insequi ac persequi, si nequam blasphemari, longè Saracenis deteriores Judæi, non longè a nobis, sed in medio nostro, tam libere, tam audacter, Christum, cunctaque Christiana Sacra menta, impune blasphemaverint, conculcaverint, deturpaverint. . . . Si detestandi sunt Saraceni (quia quamvis Christum de Virgine, ut nos, natum fateantur, multaque nobiscum de ipso sentiunt, tamen Deum, Deique filium quod magis est, negant, mortemque ipsius ac resurrectionem, in quibus tota summa salutis nostra est, diffidentur), quantum execrandi et odio habendi sunt Judæi, qui nihil prorsus de Christo vel fide Christianâ sentientes, ipsum virginem partum, cunctaque redemptionis humanae sacramenta abjiciunt, blasphemant, subsannant!"

² "Non inquam ut occidantur admoneo, sed ut congruente nequitiae suæ modo puniantur, exhortor. Et quid congruentius ad puniendos illos impios modus, quam ille quo et damnatur iniquitas, et *adjuvatur charitas*. Quid justius quam ut his quæ fraudulenter lucrati sunt, destituantur; quæ nequiter furati sunt, ut furibus, et quod pejus est, hucusque audacibus et impunitis, auferantur! Quod loquor oninibus notum est; non enim de simplici agricultura, non de legali militia, non de quolibet honesto et utili officio, horrea sua frugibus, cellaria vino, marsupia nummis, arcas auro vel argento cumulant, quantum de his, quæ ut dixi dolose Christicolis subtrahunt; de his quæ furtim furibus empta vili pretio res carissimas comparant." He goes on to say that the Jews bought of thieves censers, crosses, consecrated chalices; that they insulted these holy vessels. ". . . quia, ut a veracibus viris audivi, eis usibus coelestia illa vasa ad ejusdem Christi nostrumque dedecus nefandum illi applicant, quos horrendum est cogitare, et detestandum dicere." Petri Venerab. Epist.

³ "Insuper ut tam nefarium furum Judæorumque commercium tutius esset, lex jam vetusta, sed vere diabolica, ab ipsis Christianis principibus processit, ut si res ecclesiastica, vel quod deterius aliquod sacrum vas apud Judæum repertum fuerit, nec rem sacrilego furto possessam reddere, nec usquam furem Judæus prodere compellatur. Manet inultum scelus detestabile in Judæo, quod horridâ morte suspendii punitur in Christiano. Pinguescit deinde et deliciis afflit Judæus, unde laqueo suspenditur Christianus."

the sacred treasures. The law may have been intended to shield such ecclesiastics from shame and punishment. With the zealous Peter these men perhaps were no better than thieves, thus alienating the inalienable property of their churches. His conclusion is¹ that it was just that the Jews should be plundered without scruple or remorse, in order that the expense of a war against one race of Infidels should be maintained by the ill-gotten and justly confiscated wealth of another race of Infidels. Throughout this Crusade the absence of the Emperor Conrad in the Holy Land deprived the Jews of their legal protector, so that many cruel acts of individual murder took place, despite the merciful intervention of St. Bernard and the Pope, at Mentz, at Bacharach, at Aschaffenburg (where a woman drowned herself to avoid baptism), at Wurtzburg, where the rabble accused them of drowning a young man who was made a martyr. The army passed on, as the Jews record with triumph, to perish by plague, famine, and the sword. "The Jews returned to dwell in quiet throughout the land of Ashkinaz [Germany]." An attempt to raise the old terrible cry of "Hep," before the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, was put down by the stern vigour of the emperor. The Jews testified their gratitude by lavish presents.² The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part, and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

These atrocities, however (and I cannot lament my want of space, which prevents me from entering more at large into such and similar crimes), were the acts of a fanatic mob in the highest state of religious intoxication. We must now behold a mighty sovereign and his barons uniting in deeds, if less sanguinary, not less unjust. Both in the North and South of France, the Jews were numerous and wealthy.³ They boast

¹ "Auferatur ergo vel ex maximâ parte imminuatur Judaicarum divitiarum male parta pinguedo; et Christianos exercitus, qui ut Saracenos expugnet, pecuniis vel terris propriis Christi Domini sui amore non parcit, Judæorum thesauris tam male acquisitis non parcat. Reservetur eis vita, auferatur pecunia, ut per dextras Christianorum adjutas pecuniis blasphemantium Judæorum expugnetur infidelium audacia Saracenorum. Hæc tibi, benigne Rex, scripsi, amore Christi, tuique atque exercitus Christiani." Epist. Petri Venerab. apud Bouquet, xv. p. 641.

² R. Joshua, 186.

³ See the payments made by the Jews to the Bishop of Beziers, Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 293 (Preuves, 209). William, Viscount of Montpellier, grants the appointment of a Jew (or Saracen) as Bayle in Montpellier, p. 422 (A.C. 1146). Preuves, p. 46. Lands pledged to Jews, ib. (Preuves, p. 101).

that they were as numerous as when they went forth from Egypt.¹ In the South they were the most flourishing, they were more mingled with the people, were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property, and were sometimes called to manage the finances of the great feudatories. In Narbonne, according to Benjamin of Tudela, who visited them, they held great domains under the protection of the princes of the land. In Beziers, in Montpellier, they still drove a most prosperous traffic. They had great establishments in Lunel, where there was a famous synagogue, in St. Gilles, in Arles, in Circassonne. In Toulouse, Roger, Viscount of Carcassonne, had a Jew for his minister of finance. In these, and other southern cities, lived their most distinguished Rabbis, and flourished their most prosperous schools. In the North they were spread throughout the country; hardly a large city or town was without them. Their synagogues in Troyes, Dijon, Macon, vied in the learning of their Rabbis, and in the wealth of the communities, with Beziers, Montpellier, and Marseilles. While the Christians were but scantily instructed in the cathedral schools, the Jewish seminaries of learning flourished in many cities. But Paris was their headquarters. Jewish tradition and the monkish Christian annals agree in their numbers, their wealth, their luxury; they had numerous households, domestic servants, "worshippers of strange gods;" the Christianity of those days was idolatry to the Jews. That they possessed, in Paris and its neighbourhood, lands, houses, meadows, vineyards, barns, and other immovable property, was sadly shown when the edict for the confiscation of all these possessions was issued. It is said by the monkish writers that they owned half Paris.²

But public detestation lowered upon them with a threatening aspect. Stories were now propagated, and found an easy belief among ignorant and prejudiced minds, of the most

¹ "Tantus vero tamque innumerabilis in illis regnis propemodum Judæorum numerus fuit ut altero tanto plures fuisse dixeris quam olim ex Egypto egressi sunt." Schevet Judah, 186.

² "And the Jews multiplied in Paris in those days, and waxed very mighty in riches and goods, and they took unto themselves man-servants and maid-servants, the daughters of strange gods, from every one whom they chose." R. Joseph, p. 191.

"Siquidem . . . multitudo maxima Judæorum Parisiis habitabat, quæ de diversis orbis partibus ob pacis diuturnitatem illuc convenerat." Vincent de Beauvais, quoted in the Fortalitium Fidei, p. 193. "Ubi longam habentes conversationem in tantum ditati sunt quod fere medietatem totius civitatis sibi vindicaverant." Vincent de Beauvais and Rigord (Bouquet, xvii.) use the same words.

blasphemous and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Jews. A renegade monk accused them of intelligence with the infidel sovereigns of Palestine. No deaths could take place under mysterious circumstances but, if Jews were to be found, the Jews were guilty of the murder. It was generally believed that they often decoyed Christian children into their houses, and crucified them alive;¹ that, by bribery or theft, they would obtain possession of the consecrated Host, and submit it to every kind of insult. Yet both kings and nobles felt that to this odious race they stood in the humiliating relation of debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the Crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government, made it necessary to raise money on any terms.² Their only alternative lay between the Jews and the few Lombard money-lenders, whom St. Bernard seems to mean when he denounces certain Christians as more extortionate usurers than the Jews. Thus the Jews had a hold upon almost all the estates of the country; they had mortgages on half Paris—this perhaps was their ownership—and scarcely any one but had some article in pawn; even the clergy, whose pleasures were not without expense, had still committed vessels, reliquaries, even reliques, to the profane hands of these relentless extortioners, who probably scrupled little to wring the greatest profit from the general distress.³ These vessels they were charged with mis-

¹ It was the same in Germany. See in R. Joshua, where they are accused of throwing a child into the water (in that case there was no child), and of having drowned a Gentile girl who had fallen into the Rhine near Biberich. When they arrived at Cologne all who were in the Jewish barges were thrown into the river, and there was a general cry to force the Jews to be baptized. It must be added that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa seized the opportunity of fining the city of Cologne 500 pieces of gold, the bishop 4200 (p. 178).

"Certissimè enim" (so writes an author quoted in the *Fortalitium Fidei*) "compertum est quod omni anno in qualibet provincia sortes mittuntur, quæ civitas vel oppidum Christianum sanguinem aliis civitatibus tradat." "And they began to hate them more, and found false accusations against them, saying that every year they nailed a Gentile on the cross in a cave; and so they embittered their lives." R. Joshua. The monk Rigord is even more minute and particular. He says that the Jews every year, at Easter, descended into their caves, and perpetrated the cruel and impious rite. Rigord, in Bouquet, or in Guizot, *Coll. des Mémoires*.

² See the remarkable letter of Innocent III., quoted above, to the Count of Nevers. Not only were the widows and orphans despoiled of their inheritance, but the Church of her tithes, "Cum Judæi castella et villas detineant occupata, qui ecclesiarum prælatis de parochiali jure contemnunt penitus respondere." Epist. x. 190. Also to the Bishop of Auxerre, "Judæi qui cum villas, prædias et vineas emerant decimus ex eisdem ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis debitas reddere contradicunt." Epist. x. 61.

³ "Sed et vasa sacra pro instantे ecclesiæ necessitate sibi nomine vadere supposita tam viliter tractatant, quod eorum infantes in calicibus offas in vino

using in the most revolting and contemptuous manner; they made the chalices serve as porringers for their children. The Jews stood to the rest of society something in the relation of the patricians in early Rome and in Athens to the impoverished commonalty, but without their power; it is said, indeed, that they imprisoned their debtors in their own houses.¹ Such was the state of affairs on the accession of the ambitious Philip Augustus. The predecessor of Philip Augustus, Louis VII., though he had passed a severe law against Jewish converts to Christianity who had relapsed to Judaism, punishing them with death and mutilation, yet had been so mild to the Jews as to merit a rebuke from Pope Alexander III. It is his reproach by a historian of the day, that, though a defender of the Church, yet from excessive cupidity he had favoured the Jews too much, and given them privileges contrary to the laws of God and of the realm.² During the youth of Philip Augustus, it is said that a Jew (whether, as is often the case, the frequent mention of a crime had excited some man of disordered imagination to perpetrate it) had crucified a youth named Richard at Pontoise;³ the body was brought to Paris, and wrought many miracles. No sooner had Philip ascended the throne, than he took a short way to relieve his burthened subjects, by an edict which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands.⁴ Among the effects a golden crucifix, and a Gospel,

fartas comedebant, et cum eis bibebant." Quoted in *Fortalitium Fidei*. "And they laid against them false accusations, saying, 'Ye take the silver vessels and the goblets which are in the churches as a pledge, and despise them, and give to drink out of them unto your sons and your daughters for the sake of displaying them.'" R. Joshua, p. 191.

¹ "Alii Parisiis in domibus Judæorum sub juramento adstricto, quasi in carcere tenebantur captivi." Rigord, apud Bouquet, xvii.

² Apud Bouquet, xii. p. 186.

³ "Saint Richard, dont le corps repose dans l'Eglise de S. Innocent des Champeaux à Paris, fut ainsi égorgé et crucifié par les Juifs, et merite par ce martyre de monter dans le royaume des cieux." Rigord, in Guizot, p. 15.

Jost seems to admit the truth of the crucifixion of Richard of Pontoise, I know not on what grounds. I can conceive such things at a later period of the persecutions. At such later period Rabbi Joseph acknowledges that in the city of Nosa (?) in Germany, a Hebrew, a foolish man, met a Gentile girl, and slaughtered her and cast her into the midst of a well, before the face of the sun, *for he raved with madness*. The result was a rising of the people, in which the murderer was killed; many Jews were broken on the wheel, among them the brothers of the murderer. His mother was buried alive. The bishop exacted a heavy fine from all the Jews (p. 219).

⁴ The hatred of the Jews to Philip Augustus was indelible. R. Joseph thus announces his birth: "And in his old age he [Louis VII.] begat a son, and he called his name Philip, and by surname Deodatus, and others called him

adorned with precious stones, were found. Soon after this the Jews were peacefully assembled in their synagogues on the Sabbath (February 14),¹ when suddenly all these buildings were surrounded by the royal troops, the Jews dragged to prison, while the officers took possession of their houses. A new edict followed (April), which confiscated all their unmovable goods, houses, vineyards, fields, barns, wine-presses, to the use of the king and his successors,² and commanded them instantly to sell their movables and to depart from the kingdom. As they had in vain appealed to the king, who was as hard as a rock or as iron,³ so in vain they appealed to the nobles and to the ministers of the Gospel. Holy bishops as well as fierce barons closed their ears against the supplications of unfortunate creditors and obstinate unbelievers. Obliged to part with their effects at the lowest prices, the Jews sadly departed, amid the execrations of the people, and bearing away little but their destitute wives and children, from the scenes of their birth and infancy. Some submitted to conversion; some offered, in vain, splendid presents to the king and to the nobles. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains;⁴ in the South of France the great vassals

Augustus; and he was an oppressor of the Jews from his birth, and from the womb, and from his conception" (p. 141).

"And Philip (he came to the throne at fifteen) was pleasing in the sight of his servants, because he was an oppressor of the Jews. And when he was chosen, he executed judgments among them, for they accused them wrongfully; but every year they shed innocent blood, and Israel was brought very low" (p. 176).

¹ "Venerabilis ergo Philippus rex quod vivente patre diu mente clausum gestaverat et ob patris reverentiam perficere formidaverat, in ipso regni initio zelo Dei flammatus, aggressus est. Nam ad ipsius mandatum capti sunt Judæi per totam Franciam in Synagogis suis in Sabbato." Vincent. Bellov. in Fortalit. Fidei. As Philip's accession was at the age of fifteen, he must have been a precocious persecutor. Alberic des Trois Fontaines thus relates the act of Philip, sub ann. 1182: "Et quia Judæos odio habebat et multos in eis de nomine Jesu Christi blasphemare audebat, omnes eorum debitores a debitis absolvit, quintâ parte summæ fisco retentâ, et eodem anno omnes de regno ejecit, datis prius induciis vendendi supellectiles suas, et parandi ea quæ necessaria sunt egressui, antequam eos omnino ejiceret. Domos autem et vineas et alias possessiones retinuit fisco."

² "Quant à leurs domaines tels que maisons, champs, vignes, granges, pressoirs, et autres immeubles, il (le Roi) s'en réserve la propriété pour ses successeurs en trône de France et pour lui." Rigord.

³ "Il eut été plus facile d'attendrir les rochers, et changer le fer en plomb, que de faire renoncer l'âme du Roi très Crétien, à la resolution que Dieu lui avait inspiré." Rigord.

⁴ In 1181, when Philip Augustus banished the Jews from his kingdom, they had two synagogues in Paris; one in the City, Rue de la Juiverie, was, after their expulsion, turned into a church, by the name of S. Mary Magdalene in the City; the other was in the Rue de la Tacherie, which formerly had the

paid less respect to the royal edict, even where it had authority, and the Jews were still found in these provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

But, strange as it might appear to them, the nation was neither more wealthy nor the public burthens less grievous, after this summary mode of wiping off the national debt. Before twenty years had elapsed, France beheld her haughty monarch bargaining with this detested race for their readmission into the country, and, what is no less extraordinary,¹ the Jews, forgetting all past injustice, in the steady pursuit of gain, on the faith of such a king, settling again in this inhospitable kingdom,² and filling many streets of Paris which were assigned for their residence. It was not till twenty years after, that an edict was issued to regulate their usurious exactions and the persons to whom it might be lawful to lend money. This ordinance, by tacitly sanctioning all transactions but those inhibited, recognised at once the extent, the legality, and the importance of these affairs. The Jews became as it were the standing and authorised money-lenders of the realm. They were forbidden to lend to those who lived by daily labour, and therefore had nothing to pledge for their debts; to any Monk or Regular Canon without consent of the Abbot or his Chapter, signified in their letters patent. They were forbidden to take in pawn any church ornaments, any vestment stained with blood, any ploughshare, any animal used in husbandry, or unwinnowed corn. Knight, burgess, or merchant must give

name of La Juiverie. In 1198, when recalled into France by the same king, they repaired the synagogue in the Rue de la Tacherie and established a second in an ancient tower of one of the walls of Paris, near the cloister of S. Jean de Grève. This tower and the adjacent street were called "Pet au Diable," in mockery, it is said, of this synagogue. They had two cemeteries, one in the Rue Galande, the other at the bottom of the Rue de la Harpe, near the banks of the Seine; lower down on the river was a mill for their exclusive use. They had afterwards establishments in the Cul de Sac de S. Faron, Rue de la Tisanderie, hence called Cul de Sac des Juifs, in the Rue de Judas, Mont S. Genéviève, in the Rue des Lombards, in the Rue Quincampoix in the City, and in the Enceinte du Palais. From Dulaure, Hist. de Paris, i. p. 526.

¹ *Ordonnance des Rois*, 1198. "And in the year 4958 Philip, the king of Tzarpath (France) allowed the Jews to dwell in Paris *against the will of the nation*, but they did not lengthen out their days there, for they cast them out a second time into another country." R. Joseph, p. 220.

² Jost is almost as indignant against his forefathers as against the king: "Beide Theile machten sich keine Erklärungen, keine Ehrenrettungsversuche, keine Versprechungen: Beide Theile waren geldgierig, und beide schlossen den Vergleich, jeder in der Absicht den andern zu berücken: die Juden wollten, durch Wücher die alten Verluste ersetzen; der König hoffte durch sie seinen Schatz zu füllen; wenigstens nahm er vorher so viel das er dem andern Theile Zeit lassen könnte sich zu erholen" (vi. p. 272).

an assignment of some hereditament, tenement, or rent, with consent of the lord. The Jew was rescued from violence in enforcing his just demands. The interest was limited to two deniers on the livre per week (more than 40 per cent.). The other articles of this decree regulated the payment of existing debts. Philip Augustus and some of his barons made another ordinance for the regulation of debts to Jews. It enforced their having a common seal as the register of their debts under appointed officers. This ordinance limited the interest to the same amount; all old debts were to be resealed on a stated day. If the debtor was on his travels, the debt was to be officially recorded and the interest due thereon. No Church property was to be pledged without the assent of the Count or Baron. As soon as a loan is paid over to a debtor, both parties shall swear that the sum received is in accordance with the agreement; if this is not done, the creditor loses his right, the debtor is liable to punishment by the king. No debt is good without the signature and seal of the parties, unless the Jew has some gold, silver, or valuable article in pawn. Two substantial men in each city shall keep, one the seal, the other the roll of the debt. These men must take an oath not to affix the seal without having carefully investigated the transaction; every town shall keep a notary for Jewish business, and give security for the accuracy of all the legal instruments. In the South the condition of the Jews was still comparatively prosperous; it was among the bitter charges of Pope Innocent the Third against Raymond, the heretical Count of Toulouse, that he employed Jews in high official situations.

On the accession of Louis VIII., A.C. 1223, he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate instalments.¹ The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories,² or rather

¹ *Ordonnances des Rois*, A.C. 1298. Second Ordinance, Sept. 1.

² *Ordonnances des Rois*, i. 47. See the words of the statute in Hallam, Middle Ages, i. p. 167. The preamble is declared to be enacted, "per assensum Archeepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, Baronum et Militum regni Franciae qui Judæos habent et qui non habent." A.C. 1223. "Ordinavimus de statu Judæorum quod nullus nostrum alterius Judæos recipere potest vel retinere." It was renewed with some alterations in 1230.

In 1278 the seneschal of Carcassonne is ordered to compel the Jews, who had transferred themselves from the Jewry of the king (the king had by this time acquired greater power in the South) in Beziers to that of the bishop,

recognised as property belonging to them of right; no one might receive or retain the Jew of another. In the crusade against Raymond, the seventh Count of Toulouse, it was among the terms of his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers.

Louis IX. ascended the throne A.C. 1226; a man whose greatness and whose weakness make us alternately applaud and reprobate his claim to the designation of Saint. But his greatness was his own, his weakness that of his age. Unhappily it was this darker part of his character which necessarily predominated in his transactions with the Jews. Already during his minority an edict had been passed, again prohibiting all future interest on debts due to Jews. Louis himself entered into the policy of forcing them to give up what was considered the nefarious trade of usury. Another law (soon after his accession) recognised the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another.¹ In 1234, Louis, for the welfare of his soul, the souls of his father and all his ancestors, annulled one-third of all debts due to Jews.² No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his hereditaments. The populace readily concurred with their devout monarch in the persecution of their creditors. Louis was actuated by two motives, both grounded on religion: one, implacable hatred towards the enemies of Christ;³ the other, a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury.⁴

to return to their former synagogue. The bishop was fined and ordered to destroy the new synagogue which he had built for them. Hist. de Languedoc, iv. p. 27. They are said to be "taillables à la volonté" of their lords (iv. 75-98).

¹ "Ubiunque aliquis invenerit Judæum suum licet capere poterit tanquam proprium servum." On this M. Depping justly observes, "C'est ainsi que les planteurs d'Amérique reclament leurs nègres partout où ceux-ci se sont réfugiés. Les Juifs soumis aux Barons n'étaient donc guère meilleurs que les esclaves dans les colonies, si n'est qu'on les laissait exercer leur industrie," the gains of which they claimed to share, and often confiscated. Depping, p. 190.

² "Quietavit . . . tertiam partem totius debiti quod debebant Judæos."

³ "Aussi vous dis je, me dist le roy, que nul si n'est grand clerc et théologien parfait ne doit disputer aux Juifs, mais doit l'omme lay, quand il oit mesdire à la foy Chrétienne, defendre la chose non pas seulement des paroles, mais à bonne espée tranchant, et en frappant les médisans et mescreans à travers le corps, tant qu'il put le faire entrer." Joinville, Vie de S. Louis.

⁴ The Marquis Pastoret observes, "Les mesures que prit Louis IX. contre les Juifs eurent bien plus pour objet de garantir ou de protéger des Français tourmentés par leurs usures, que d'en enrichir par les confiscations le-trésor de l'état." Preface, xv., Ordonnances des Rois.

The Lombards and Cahorsins shared in the devout abhorrence of the saintly monarch, but the Christians were left to the tender mercies of the Church; the king took upon himself the duty of repressing the usuries of the Jews, at least those which were his own (it may be doubtful how far he interfered with those of his feudatories), or preventing their poison from infecting his realm.¹ Much of his injustice may be traced to a desire of converting the Jews from usurious money-lenders into laborious artisans. It may be observed, too, that even the pious king, in his zeal for the Crusades, had been obliged to borrow of the Jews, even on usurious terms. There is a singular struggle between conscience and bigotry in the good king, and conscience gets the upper hand. He orders that measures be taken by trustworthy persons to make restitution even to the heirs of those usurers to whom debts are due. There is, too, a singular conflict between the intolerance and the piety of the Saint. Though in one place the law states that the Jews are to be expelled from the realm and their property sold, yet their synagogues with their cemeteries are to be restored, as though he would not cut them off from the worship of God.² But policy or justice entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful ravages. Their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The Assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism or injustice of sovereign or people.³ It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian

¹ "De Christianis fœneratoribus et usuris eorum ad prælatos ecclesiæ pertinere videtur, ad me vero pertinet de Judæis, qui jugo servitutis mihi subjecti sunt ne scilicet per usuras Christianos opprimant . . . et veneno suo inficiant terram meam." Gul. Carnot, quoted by Ducange, *Sur les Établissements.*

² So I understand the Ordinance of 1257-8, though it is not quite clear: "Cum antequam iter arripuissemus transmarinum quædam bona percepimus a Judæis, non tamen animo retinendi. Et postmodum cum Judæos ipsos de terrâ nostrâ mandavissemus expelli, aliqua percepimus quæ habebant; insuper et de bonis quorundam usuriariorum in Normanniâ defunctorum invenerimus aliqua percepisse Restituantur usuræ hiis a quibus habitæ fuerunt, vel eorum hæredibus, si possunt inveniri." *Ordonnances des Rois, sub ann.*

³ Compare Beugnot, *Juifs d'Occident*, p. 99.

who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder.

The next ordinance of the pious Louis was aimed not only at the usuries, but also at the religion of the Jews. Something of awe mingled with the general feeling of detestation against this devoted race. The Jews were suspected of possessing much dark knowledge which they employed to wreak their revenge on Christians. They were in alliance with the evil spirits. They were the masters of many fearful secrets and cabalistic spells. A Council prohibited their practising as physicians; for who knew by what assistance they might heal? The great source as well of their blasphemies against Christ as of these dangerous and mysterious secrets, was their dark and unintelligible Talmud. An edict was issued for the destruction of these volumes. Four-and-twenty carts full of ponderous tomes were committed to the flames in Paris.¹

Could St. Louis have completed his task, and eradicated the Talmud from the hearts of the Jewish people, he might have shaken the Rabbinical power, and inflicted a fatal blow upon the religion. Many of the Wise Men fled, to secure their treasures of knowledge. The emigration was well timed for St. Louis, who wanted money for his Crusade. The goods of the emigrants and their debts were seized for the Crown. One thing was yet wanting to fill the cup of misery. Notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, in the common dress of the country, the Israelite might escape the blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a sort of conspicuous outward brand upon his dress; this was called the Rouelle. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. It was enacted as a general usage throughout Christendom by the Council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third—a pontiff in his later days more hostile than his predecessors to the Jews.² It was enforced by other councils, as at

¹ "Cæterum ordinationem factam in perpetuum de Judæis observari distinctè præcipimus quæ talis est: Judæi cessent ab usuris, et blasphemis, sortilegis et characteribus, et tam Talibus [the Talmud] quam aliis libri, in quibus inveniuntur blasphemiae, comburantur, et Judæi qui hæc observare noluerunt expellantur et transgressores legitimè puniantur. Et vivant omnes Judæi de laboribus manuum suarum, vel negociationibus sine terminis vel usuris." Ordonnance, sub ann. 1254, c. 32.

² See above, p. 314, note 2.

Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm by St. Louis, in the year before his death,¹ who thus bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

We are fatigued, our readers also are perhaps equally so, with the dreary prospect, which, like the desert wilderness, still spreads before us. We know not where to look for gleams of Christian mercy through these clouds of fanaticism and injustice. In Germany, indeed, the emperors strove against the spirit of the age; Frederick Barbarossa was accused of too great leniency to the Jews. The Archbishop of Cologne, it has appeared, was called to account by the emperor for arbitrary maltreatment of the Jews.² That most extraordinary man, Frederick the Second, aggravated the suspicions which attached to his Christianity on account of his high-minded resistance to the Papal power, by extending what was deemed unchristian protection over this proscribed race. They brought him intelligence that three Christian children had been found dead, at the time of the Passover, in the house of a Jew. "Let them be buried then," coolly replied the philosophic emperor.³ But the emperor rendered the Jews a more effectual service, by instituting an investigation of the fact whether Jews were bound to murder children on that day. The cause was decided by grave theologians by the acquittal of the Jews from this monstrous charge. But our astonishment is great (our History has already dwelt on this strange fact) on finding Frederick's mortal antagonist, Innocent IV., one of the haughtiest bigots who ever sat on the Papal throne, issuing a Bull to the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of Germany, in which he treats with scorn the figments of murders charged against the Jews, and brands as crimes the cruelties exercised against them.⁴

¹ Bouquet, xii. 286.

² See above, p. 314, note 1.

³ Zemach David, quoted by Jost, vii. p. 242.

⁴ I cannot refrain from quoting this remarkable Bull, from which extracts have been given, at full length: "Archeepiscopis et Episcopis per Alemanniam constitutis lachrymabilem Judæorum Alemanniæ recepimus quæstionem, quod nonnulli tam ecclesiastici quam sacerdotes principes, ac alii nobiles et potentes vestrarum civitatum et diocesum, ut eorum bona injuste diripiant et usurpent, adversus illos impia consilia cogitantes et fingentes occasiones varias et diversas; hoc considerato prudenter, quod quasi ex archivis eorum Christianæ fidei testimonia prodierunt, Scripturâ divinâ inter alia mandata legis dicente 'Non occides,' ac prohibente illos in solemnitate paschali, quicquam morticinum non contingere, falso imponunt eisdem, quod in ipsâ solemnitate se corde pueri communicant interficti, credendo id ipsam legem præcipere cum sit legi manifestè contrarium: ac eis maliciose objiciunt

Of all the Bulls issued from the Vatican this is one of the most extraordinary (I would fain suppress the suspicion that there was temptation to usurp authority and display his supremacy over the subjects of the emperor). Among the thunders of terrible excommunications, the strong winds of ambitious usurpation, it is something to hear the "still small voice" of humanity, justice, and charity. As to Frederick II., wherever there was learning there was sure to be the patronage of the enlightened emperor.¹ The Jews contributed their share to the cultivation of Oriental learning, which Frederick had so much at heart. A grateful pensioner gives him the praise of loving knowledge, and those who made it their occupation.²

We pass over many similar incidents, which show the barbarous credulity of the Christians, and pause only to relate the most extravagant of all. When the victorious hordes of the Mongolian Tartars threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, the Jews are said to have held a meeting, to have solemnly recognised this wild people as brethren, descendants of their own ancestors, and determined to assist their plans of conquest over their Christian oppressors. For this purpose

hominis cadaver mortui, si contigerit illud alicubi reperiri. Et per hoc et alia quamplurima figmenta sœvientes in ipsis, eos super his non accusatos, non confessos nec convictos contra privilegia illis ab Apostolicâ Sede clementer indulta spoliant contra Deum et justitiam omnibus bonis suis; et inediâ, carceribus, ac tot molestiis, tantisque gravaminibus premunt ipsos, diversis poenarum affligendo generibus, et morte turpissimâ eorum quamplurimos condemnando, quod iidem Judæi quasi existentes sub prædictorum nobilium et potentium dominio, deterioris conditionis, quam eorum patres sub Pharacse fuerunt in Ægypto, coguntur de locis inhabitatis ab eis et suis antecessoribus, a tempore cujus non extat memoria, miserabiliter exulare: unde hoc exterminium metuentes duxerunt ad Apostolicæ Sedis prudentiam recurrentum. Nolentes igitur præfatos Judæos injuste vexari, quorum conversionem Dominus misericorditer expectat; cum testante Prophetâ, credantur reliquæ salvæ fieri eorundem; mandamus quatenus eis vos exhibentes favorabiles et benignos, quicquid super præmissis contra eosdem Judæos per prædictos prælatos, nobiles, et fidentes inveneritis temere intentatum, instantum debitum legitimè revocato, non permittatis ipsos de cætero super iis, vel similibus indebite molestari." Raynold. Ann., sub ann. 1241, c. lxxxiv. Notwithstanding this Bull, the Cardinal Raynaldus relates the story of Hugh of Lincoln as an undoubted historical fact (1255); also another case in London, on the authority of M. Paris, 12, 1244.

¹ On the manner in which the legislation of Frederick II. affected the Jews of Sicily compare Von Raumer, *Die Hohenstauffen*, iii. 486, 498, 540, and more hereafter.

² "L'Empereur Frederick II. encouragea les travaux des Juifs. Jacob ben Abba Mar-i-ben-Antoli, qui vivait à Naples, dit, à la fin de sa traduction du Commentaire d'Ibn Rosch sur l'Organon, achevée en 1232, qu'il avait une pension de l'Empereur, qui, ajoute il, 'aima la science et ceux qui 'en occupent.' Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 335.

they made proposals to the emperor to enter into a feigned league with the fierce savages to supply them with the rich wine of the country, which they promised to mingle with poison. The waggons set forth with their freight ; they were stopped on a bridge over the Danube by a collector of tolls ; they insisted on passing free, as being employed on a service of vital interest to the empire. The toll-collector suspected their truth, and forced open one of the casks—which was found to contain arms. Yet even this tale was received with ready credulity.¹

The Council of Vienna, A.C. 1267, urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution, the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies, of their fellow-men. The canons of this Council are a singular record of the relation in which the two races stood to each other at this time. The canons were not only addressed to the prelates of Vienna, but also to the Archbishops of Salzburg and Prague, and to their suffragans. So great was the insolence of the Jew, that he presumed to pass himself off as a Christian, and so escape contempt, if not insult ; Christian holiness was in danger of infection by this audacious familiarity.² The Jew was ordered to wear the high horned cap,³ under pain of an arbitrary fine by his liege-lord. The Jew was to pay to the parish priest not only tithes, but all dues which might have been demanded if his house had been occupied by a Christian. The Jews were not to frequent the stoves, the baths, or the shops of the Christians ; they were not to have any Christian servants, man or maid, especially not nurses. Sexual intercourse with a Christian woman was severely punished, in the man with imprisonment, the woman was to be flogged out of the town. No Christian might receive a Jew at a banquet, or eat and drink with Jews, or dance at their weddings, or buy meat of them, lest it should be

¹ This strange, wild story is told, as if he believed it, by Matthew Paris, sub ann. 1241. The Tartars were the descendants of those Jews who were shut up by God, at the prayer of Alexander the Great, within the Caspian Gates. The Christians were persuaded, it is said, that the Tartars were Jews, and would only drink wine made by Jews. The ungrateful Jews had rather succour the enemies of the human race than the Christians who allowed them to live and to conduct their commerce among themselves, and even to practise, according to their Law, usury among the Christians as strangers and Egyptians.

² "Cum in tantum insolentia Judæorum excreverit ut per eos in quam plurimis Christianis jam dicatur infici puritas Christianæ sanctitatis."

³ "Cornutum pileum."

poisoned.¹ Strange contradiction! showing at once the intimacy which had grown up between both the rich and the poor of both races, and the aversion instilled into their heart, as if the Jew would inevitably poison the Christian if he could. The attempt to suppress extravagant usury, according to one canon, is more intelligible; such bargains came under the cognisance of the Ecclesiastical Courts. When the Host was carried through the streets the Jews, at the sound of the bell, were to shut themselves up in their houses, and to close their doors and windows. Yet there was a singular dread that this hated race was by no means so despicable, or rather had, in some respects, a dangerous superiority. Not only was there a prohibition against disputing on religious subjects, not only were the Jews not to prevent their wives and children from becoming converts to Christianity, but a prohibition was thought necessary against alluring Christians to Judaism, a prohibition against circumcising Christian proselytes. Their increasing wealth and prosperity, too, was acknowledged by the inhibition to build new synagogues; they might repair, but neither make them larger, nor more costly, above all, not of a greater height.²

In Spain, the darkness gathered more slowly; as the Christian kingdoms gradually encroached on the still retreating Mohammedans, the Jews seem to have changed their masters with no great reluctance, and the moderation or the policy of the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon usually refrained from any act which might array these useful subjects against them. It has been seen³ that the later Islamite sovereigns departed from the lofty policy of the great founders and monarchs of Mohammedan Spain; as though the atmosphere of Spain was fatal to that rare virtue, the King of Grenada had renounced toleration. These petty sovereigns had degenerated from the magnificent Abder-rahmans. The persecution which compelled the young Maimonides to dissemble or deny his faith, and drove him to the more hospitable court of the Sultan in Cairo, could not but leave at least apathy among the Jews towards the progress of the Christians. They remained in their neutral position. The first Christian monarchs, who, in general, allowed the conquered Moors to

¹ "Ne forte Judæi per hoc Christianos quos hostes reputant fraudulenter machinentur venenatum."

² Concil. Vienn., apud Labbe, sub ann. 1267.

³ See back, p. 304.

dwell in peace in their dominions, would hardly proscribe the less hostile Jews. No doubt at first they retained possession of their wealth, their synagogues were unviolated, they might even dare to appear wealthy. What commerce there was, was in their hands, and was enjoyed without rivalry in the kingdoms hardly won and hardly maintained by the swords of the Christians; such occupation was beneath the warriors of the Cross, even if they had had time, leisure, or capital, to devote to mercantile pursuits. The Jews were still frequently entrusted by Christian and Moorish kings with the administration of the finances, and, as they were permitted to maintain a loftier rank in society, so they did not disgrace that rank by those base and extortionate practices to which they sank or were reduced under less generous masters; they were respected, and respected themselves. Thus, on the surrender of Toledo (May 25, 1085) to Alfonso, King of Castile, according to the terms of the capitulation,¹ the Moorish inhabitants retained their houses, their property, and one mosque for their worship; no doubt the Jews, then at least less obnoxious, were included under the same favourable terms. It would be curious to inquire whether they then retained the magnificent synagogue, resembling in its architecture the famous mosque of Cordova, which afterwards became the Church of S. Benet, a surprising monument of their wealth, their splendour, and their Asiatic taste for gorgeousness.² It is said that seventeen years after the capitulation and reconciling edict there was a furious insurrection of the Christians, whom Alfonso had induced in great numbers to people the con-

¹ "Les Capitulaires signées et jurées par le Roi Alphonse [the VI., at Toledo] accordaient aux Maures le droit de rester dans leurs foyers, de se gouverner par leurs propres lois, de conserver les rites de leur religion. Les Juifs obtinrent le même privilége, et dans la culte Chrétienne on vit continuer de vivre en même temps les trois populations, qui avoient vécu pendant leur esclavage." Amador de los Rios (Magnabal), p. 42. The extracts from the Fueros, cited by Amador de los Rios, are not quite intelligible, and seemingly contradictory. The fine in one for the death of a Jew seems to have been very light. In another, the Christian who struck a Jew, on conviction paid four maravedis; the Jew who struck a Christian, ten. If the Christian killed the Jew, he paid 100 maravedis; if a Jew a Christian, he suffered death and forfeited all his property, in kind, to the Alcaldes. This Fuero is not of unquestioned authenticity. But in the Fuero of Najara (A.D. 1076) the murder of a gentleman, a monk, and a Jew, were ranked together. The fine was inflicted on the inhabitants of the town.

² See the print of the church, with its fine Moorish horseshoe arches, in the *España artística y monumental*, por D. Gennaro Pérez de Villa Amil., Paris, 1702. There is a second synagogue, now S. Maria le Buena, more Moorish and fantastic.

quered city, and a massacre of the Jews from religious hatred, and perhaps even stronger jealousy of their wealth. The streets of Toledo ran with blood ; fires consumed a vast mass of wealth, and saved it from the hands of the plunderers. The synagogues were pillaged, the Rabbins murdered in their seats. The king in vain attempted to allay the tumult ; law and authority were feeble against bigotry and rapacity.¹

Nearly a century passed, in which the almost total silence of history, Jewish and Christian, is the best proof of the peace and prosperity of the Jews under the Christian sovereigns. No doubt they were made to contribute from their wealth to the Christian conquests, a subsidy readily paid for protection. The persecutions by the Mohammedan kings of Morocco drove multitudes of Jews into the rising kingdom of Portugal, where they bore a large proportion to the Christians.² It is a singular admission of the Jewish historian that the period of advancing civilisation, and it may be added of Christian amity, facilitated the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Even as early as 1106 a famous physician of Alfonso VI. (the conqueror of Toledo), after careful study of the Jewish writings, at the age of twenty-four embraced the faith of the Gospel. The king was his sponsor ; he was named Petrus Alphonsi. The proselyte endeavoured, in writings yet extant, to convert his brethren.³

We return to France to witness a repetition of the same extraordinary proceedings which signalised the reign of Philip Augustus ; the monarch oppressing, and finally expelling the Jews ; Philip Augustus himself, and his successor,⁴ reduced by his poverty to enter into an ignominious treaty with these exiles, and the indefatigable Jews as readily returning to undergo the same or worse calamities. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX.⁵ During his wars in Languedoc, in 1296, Philip had extorted large sums from the Jews on the charge of immoderate usury.⁶

Philip IV. (the Fair) was the most rapacious, perhaps the most cruel, sovereign who ever sat on the throne of France.

¹ Mariana, iv. c. 16.

² Amador de los Rios, p. 44, with authorities.

³ Jost, ix. 249 : " Die fortschreitende Bildung erleichtete den Juden den übertritt zur Kirche."

⁴ Ordonnance du Roi (Philip le Hardi), without date.

⁵ Ordonnance, A.C. 1290; Ordonnance, 1299; Ordonnance, 1302. The clergy might inflict canonical punishment.

⁶ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. p. 83.

His whole reign was a period of financial difficulty. He resorted to every measure, however unscrupulous, which could fill his still craving coffers. He was constantly tampering with the coin of the realm. He plundered though he employed the Italian usurers. His primary quarrel with the Pope, Boniface VIII., whom he persecuted to madness and to death, was about money matters. His chief motive in the suppression of the Templars was the hope, baffled by the subtlety of another Pope, of the confiscation of their vast estates to his own use. Such a king was not likely to leave the rich Jews in peace. Among his first acts was the expulsion of the Jews, who had fled from England to Gascony (they had been already plundered), from his realm : they were too poor to be received as subjects. Now, however, Philip the Fair, after some vain attempts to wean the Jews from their usurious dealings, and to enforce their adoption of commercial habits, after selling his protection to individuals, and even limiting the power of the clergy over their persons, and prohibiting the Inquisition from proceeding against them, adopted the policy of Philip Augustus, the total expulsion of the race. It might seem as if by his former indulgence and protection he had fed them up to be more secure and richer victims of his avarice. In one day (the 22nd July 1306) the most wealthy Jews of Languedoc were seized, their goods sold, and their debts confiscated to the Crown.¹ The establishments of greater or less splendour which they had held for centuries in Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beziers, Narbonne, Pamiers, Montpellier, Nismes, Lunel, Beaucaire, were at once to be abandoned, were broken up and pillaged.² Gerard of Cortona, Canon of Pisa, with two others, were sent to sell all their goods for the king's benefit, especially at Narbonne, Pamiers, and Capestang.³ The same scene took place in Paris ; their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building. Five years after, whether the law of expulsion had been imperfectly executed, or many of them had stolen back to the place of their former abode, or whether, as the king declared, they had been allowed to return to prove their own debts for the advantage of the

¹ "Et le secret fut si bien gardé qu'il n'en échappa aucun." Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 135. Philip was a consummate adept in these summary and well-organised arrests. He practised them even more successfully against the Templars. See Hist. of Latin Christianity.

² Ordonnance, 1306, to the Seneschals of Toulouse and Bigorre.

³ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 136.

Crown, a second total expulsion took place, and the soil of France was for a time secured from the profanation of the feet of the circumcised.¹

Yet scarcely had the son of Philip the Fair, Louis X. (Hutin), ascended the throne, than the disordered state of the royal finances, and the common clamour of the people (so states the royal ordinance), constrained the submission of the king and all his nobles² to the readmission of the Jews, and the Jews without hesitation consented to purchase, at a considerable price, the happiness of inhabiting a land where they had already been thus plundered and maltreated.³ Unhappy race—the earth perhaps offered them no safer asylum! They were permitted to settle in the kingdom of France for twelve years; their cemeteries, their synagogues, and their sacred books were restored, except the Talmud; they were encouraged to reclaim before the tribunals such debts as had not been recovered by the royal commissioners, of which they were to receive one-third; the other two-thirds went to the king.⁴ The secret motive of this mercy is sufficiently clear. But dearly did they purchase the precarious life which they

¹ For the first expulsion and plunder in 1306, no reason is assigned but the king's will. In 1311 Philip the Fair is become piously jealous about the morals and religion of his Christian subjects, as well as their oppression by usury: "Ex multiplici fide dignorum clamor auribus nostris insonuit, quod Judæi, quos, quamvis eorum exigentibus nephandis sceleribus, de regno nostro expulsos pro declaratione veritatis debitorum ipsorum toleramus revocari ad tempus." The edict goes on first to accuse them of making, though some just, many false demands on Christians, of cruelly vexing and oppressing widows and orphans, of compelling innocent persons to fraudulent and extortionate bargains, of making usurious and intolerable contracts (*gestus intolerabiles ducunt*), and then, "moresque et actus fidelium quos alias exprimere fas prohibet, illicitis modis et variis dehonestant, et tot mala etiam pullulant et divulgant, quod ex eorum morâ, si protrahatur amplius, sequeretur errore priore novissimus longè pejor." Ordinance, 1311.

² It is remarkable that R. Joshua preserves no tradition of the cruel persecutions under Philip the Fair. He records the hatred of the King for Pope Boniface VIII., the outrage of Sciarra Colonna at Anagni; as if this event had absorbed the awe of the world. But on the milder edicts of Louis X. he has this grateful sentence: "And he allowed the Jews to live in the cities of his kingdom, for they found favour in his eyes, and he accepted their persons and made a covenant with them" (p. 236). The ordonnance says: "Comme nous avons pris les dis Juifs en notre espécial protection." They were still under most of the restrictions of the law of St. Louis.

³ Ordinance du Roi, July 1315. The sort of apologetic preamble to this ordinance is curious: "Since our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, tolerates them in memory of the Passion of our Lord, and for their conversion to Christianity by conversation with Christians."

⁴ Louis grants the petition of the nobles of Provence, that the property of their Jews seized by the Crown, by himself, or his father, be restored to them.

led in this unsettled land.¹ The next king, Philip the Long, issued an ordinance in some degree favourable to the Jews on the royal domains. The king's Jews were not to be challenged by Christians to wager of battle, except in case of murder. Their taxes were to be regulated; such taxes were to be levied on the Jews of Champagne and other royal domains according to their property. They were excused, when on journeys, from wearing their distinguishing mark. They ceased to be serfs as they had been. Their property was no longer held in mortmain, but passed to the nearest relatives. Another ordinance renewed the prohibition to lend money to daily labourers, or take tools or instruments of husbandry in pledge, or church ornaments, or unthreshed corn; to lend to monks without consent of their superiors. If any knight would pawn his horse, his clothes, or other movables, the Jew might receive them in pledge without the interference of the lord. The debtor was not bound to sell his hereditament or rent to pay his debts; but two-thirds were to be assigned to the Jew; the third he was to retain to live upon.² Thus the Jews seem again to acquire a legal state and position in society. They might live by manual labour, by merchandise, and acquire property in houses and lands. But of all strange laws (its meaning is obvious, and will hereafter be explained) was one, abrogated only in 1381, which confiscated the whole property of the Jew converted to Christianity.³ Still, however, despite of these tolerant edicts, besides that the king himself on one occasion extorted from them a fine of 150,000 livres,⁴ they were exposed to the

¹ There is a curious ordinance of this time, addressed to certain commissioners in the Bailiwick of Bourges, concerning the affairs of Jews expelled from the realm. Their confiscated wealth no doubt consisted in considerable part of debts due from Christians. The Crown must lay down rules for the recovery of these debts. It was assumed that debts not claimed by Jews for twenty years could not be valid, as no Jew would have refrained so long from claiming them. If a debtor could be proved from Jewish cartularies to have paid his debt, he was to be held free. On the other hand, the debts only were to be exacted without usurious interest; and no one was to be imprisoned for a debt due to a Jew. The Crown was content to get possession of the goods volentes credere bonis.

² Ordonnance, February 1318.

³ There is an account of the goods of the Jews in the Bailiwick of Orleans, in Depping, quoted from Broussel, *Usage des Fiefs*. The sale of their property, not reckoning merchandise, jewels, and plate, amounted to 33,700 livres 46 sous 5 deniers. A building, their great school, brought 340 livres. Another school in the city, 140. Depping, p. 219.

⁴ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 190, with the assessment on the different cities in Languedoc. Preuves, 164.

tyranny of their lords the Barons, to the jealousy of the clergy, and to the usurpations of the Inquisition, eagerly watching an opportunity to comprehend them within its fatal sphere.¹

But these evils, through strong faith,—it may be feared, through far stronger avarice,—might have been endured. A worse and more unforeseen devastation burst upon their heads. This was the rising of the peasants. Long before, during the captivity of Saint Louis, a multitude of the lowest orders had assembled, and announced their intention, or rather their Divine commission, to rescue their beloved saint and king. They had signalised their zeal by great barbarities against the Jews. Now a more general commotion took place ; under the guidance of a priest and a monk the peasants and shepherds drew together from all quarters. Their design they probably knew not themselves. Some vague prophecies were said to be received among them, that the Holy Land was to be conquered only by shepherds and by the poor in spirit. They travelled in still increasing masses, committing no violence or outrage, entreating bread at the gates of the wondering cities for the love of God. They had neither arms nor discipline ; many were without shoes. The flocks, the labours of the field, were abandoned as they passed ; young and old fell into their ranks. They marched in a kind of order behind a banner with a white cross. So they traversed the kingdom from Bourges, one party northward to Paris, where the government was appalled by their appearance ; the greatest number spread into Languedoc.² They were driven only by famine to excesses against their Christian brethren, but by the sternest fanaticism to the most relentless barbarities against the Jews. The plunder of the defenceless, feeble, and wealthy Jews, would enable them to purchase arms, and all they wanted. They might then war on the Saracens. In their agony of distress, the Jews appealed to the king. He sent an

¹ In the reign of Philip the Long (A.C. 1319) an inquest was held on certain Jews of Lunel, accused of having performed what seems to have been a kind of mock Mystery of the Saviour's Passion. A crucifix was carried in public procession, the Jews, dancing and shouting (tripudiantes) dragging it through the mire, treating it with the utmost derision, and even striking the sacred image. The offenders were found guilty, and were to be amerced in person and property. Hist. de Languedoc (Preuves, p. 161). In the same year Bernard Guido, the Inquisitor of Toulouse, burned two cartloads of Talmuds, "pour les impiétés et les blasphèmes qui étaient dans ce livre contre Jésus Christ et la Sainte Vierge" (iv. p. 181).

² For the Pastoureaux compare Latin Christianity, v. p. 280; Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 288 *et seqq.*

idle monition, and a few horsemen to their defence. The Shepherds laughed to scorn their feeble aid. They appealed to the Pope, at Avignon, who issued an anathema, equally ineffectual. Everywhere this unhappy race, which the government could not perhaps have protected if it would, were pillaged, massacred, or put to the torture. Where they could, they fled to the fortified places; five hundred made their escape to Verdun, on the Garonne; the governor gave them a tower to defend; the Shepherds assailed them, set fire to the gates; the desperate Jews threw their children, in hopes of mercy, down to the besiegers, and slew each other to a man.¹

In almost all the cities of Languedoc these frightful scenes took place. At Angoulême, at Bordeaux, at Agen. At Castel Sarasin they were persuaded to be so merciful as to allow the alternative of baptism or death. All but one woman yielded. As it appears from a commission issued by the new king, Charles IV., there had been indiscriminate massacre in Auch, Gimont, Verdun, Toulouse, Rabenstein, Guillan, and many other cities.² This, however, was but the beginning of sorrows. An epidemic pestilence followed in the ensuing years. But a people in such a state of excitement could not look to the natural causes of such a visitation, the universal distress and famine consequent on the general abandonment of labour, and the widespread devastation. Dark rumours were propagated that the fountains, and even the rivers, of the kingdom had been poisoned. Public detestation pointed at once to the authors of this dire crime, the Lepers and the Jews; the Lepers as the agents, the Jews as the principals. A correspondence was said to have been detected between the King of Tunis and other Infidel kings and the Jews, offering them large rewards for their co-operation in this diabolic scheme. The poor Lepers were first tortured to confess, and on their confession condemned. The Jews' turn came next, for the partial plague seemed to give them comparative exemption.

¹ The Schevet Judah (*Historia Judaica*), as translated by Gentius, now begins to be historical; it contains one curious and not improbable circumstance concerning this outbreak. It originated in a vision seen by a boy, confirmed by the sign of a miraculous cross upon his arm. There were 300,000 in the host. Some one (quidam) suggested, "primum aggrediamur Judæos, populum imbellem, fractum, omnique destitutum auxilio, quem vel uno etiam digitulo sternere poterimus. Victores Judeorum, qui divitiis abundant, spoliis potiti, bellica arma comparabimus, et multis augebimus divitiis. Tunc Saracenis bellum inferre" (p. 8 *et seqq.*).

² Continuator Nangis. These persecutions are related in the Schevet Judah, Persecutio xiv.

from its ravages, whether from the cleanliness of their habits from frequent ablutions, possibly better food, or from constitutional causes. This was enough to designate them as accomplices in some dark way with the dire pestilence. The Pope, John XXII., had seized the opportunity of their misery, during the preceding year, to aggravate it, by denouncing their detestable sorceries and magic, and by commanding their Talmuds to be burned.¹ The Papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, says a chronicler, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and 160 of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though they were going to a wedding. Many women with their children threw themselves in to escape forcible baptism.² At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes, but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils 150,000 livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died A.C. 1322, and the heir, King Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment: 57,000 livres were assessed on the Jews of Languedoc; they were permitted to leave their prisons to collect the sum required, and then, as the height of mercy, allowed to gather together the rest of their effects and leave the kingdom. A third time the same strange scene was enacted.

A second pestilence, in 1348, completed the wretchedness

¹ It is just to add, in favour of John XXII., the following sentence from the Abbas Uspergensis: "De hac peste infamati Judæi, quod fontibus infectis promoverint et propterea combusti fuerunt a mari usque ad Alemanniam, *præter civitatem Avinionem*, ubi Papa eos tutatus fuit." Sub ann. 1334.

² The description of the later Plague, the Black Plague, the Plague of Boccaccio, in Rabbi Joshua is striking: "In the second year of King Philip there was a great plague, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, and there was no city that was too high for it. And there was a great cry from one end of the world to the other, the like whereof never was. In the city which went out by a thousand there were but one hundred left, and of that which went out by one hundred only ten were left at that time; and for one that died or was sick, of the Jews, there died and sickened one hundred of the people of the land, and they clothed themselves with jealousy." R. Joshua chiefly dwells on the persecutions in Arragon and Catalonia, especially in Barcelona and Tarigah (Tarragona). He adds, "Also in the kingdom of Provence the Jews drank the cup of astonishment in those days. . . . And in Ashkenaz [Germany] they accused them of casting poison into the wells. And they chastened them with rods and with thorns, and burned them with fire. May the Lord avenge the blood of his servants that was shed. Amen! amen!" (pp. 239-243). Compare Schevet Judah, p. 151.

of the few Jews that remained in this desolated country: while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.¹

The Jews, driven in this merciless manner from the country where their portion had been the unrestrained excesses of the boors, and legal punishment as authors of a great national calamity, the pestilence, by which they as well as the Christians had suffered so dreadfully²—loaded, in short, with every

¹ Trithemius (*Chron. Hirsaug et Sponheim*) thus describes the plague, the rumours about poisoning the fountains, the horrible massacre of the Jews, which was by no means confined to France, sub ann. 1349: “Hujus calamitatis causa Judæis fuit imposita, quod fontes et aerem intoxicassent, unde persecutio in eos Christianorum gravissima fuit subsequuta. Nam in diversis mundi partibus cum talis in eos aestimatio Christianorum fuisse publicata, alii fuerunt miserabiliter suffocati, alii præcipitati in aquam, alii submersi, alii capitibus truncati, alii combusti, alii gladiis et lanceis perfossi, atque alii vario tormentorum genere interempti. Nonnulli vero illorum cernentes in malo se positos, necatis liberis primum cum uxoribus, ne in manus crudeliter sævientium Christianorum devenirent, se cum domibus et mansionibus, igne supposito, incendio peremerunt. Hæc autem in Judæos persecutio prænotato anno incipiens, biennio duravit; quæ utrum jure an injuriâ peracta sit non est nostrum judicare, quamvis non nobis videtur verisimile, *quod omnes totius orbis fontes, etiam si voluissent, veneno inficere potuissent.*”

They were received with kindness by Clement VI., in the territory of Avignon.

² As late as Velly and Villarêt this monstrous story retained its place in what were considered the authoritative histories of France. It is worth while to transcribe the narrative: “Les Infidèles en furent alarmés, et pour rompre ce dessein [a new Crusade] prirent les mesures les plus abominables. Le Roi de Grénade, animé sans doute par les Mahométans d'Asie, excita les Juifs à empoisonner tous les puits, et toutes les fontaines. Souvent chassés, quelquefois massacrés, toujours persécutés en France, nourrissant dans leur cœur une haine secrète, mais implacable, contre la nation, les Juifs acceptent la proposition; mais surveillés de près, ils jugent prudent de charger les lépreux de l'exécution; et pour les y déterminer, ils leurs donnent de l'argent et leurs font croire que ceux qui ne mourront pas du poison deviendront lépreux. Ceux-ci, rebut de la société à cause de leur mal, cédant à cette double tentation, empoisonnent toutes les eaux de la Haute Guienne et du Poitou, suivant les uns avec *du sang humain, de l'urine, trois sortes d'herbes, et des hosties consacrées*: tout cela desséché, mis en poudre dans un sachet, était jeté dans les puits et dans les fontaines; suivant d'autres, on employait *la tête d'une couleuvre, des pattes de crapaud, et des cheveux de femmes*, souillés d'une liqueur noire et puante, le tout à preuve des flammes. Le complot fut découvert par deux lettres Arabes, interceptées, et que l'on conserve, avec la traduction, dans le Trésor des Chartes. Des lépreux et des Juifs, *mis à la torture*, s'avouent coupables de la plus horrible conspiration qui eut jamais été tramée. Ils sont brûlés vifs et leurs biens confisqués. A Paris on livre aux flammes les Juifs coupables; on bannit les autres en *retenant les biens des plus riches*, qui fournirent au Roi la somme alors énorme de 150,000 livres. Ailleurs, *coupables ou non*, on les brûla indistinctement. Quant aux lépreux, on les enferma tous à perpétuité.” Velly or Villarêt, *Hist. de France*, Philip V., A.C. 1321. Are these letters still in the Trésor des Chartes? This account, in substance the same, varies much in different copies. In the modern reprint of Velly by Desodoards the crime as against the Jews and Lepers is declared to be inadmissible.

popular outrage and calumny—began nevertheless to steal back into a land where their sordid industry still found a harvest. And no sooner were the distresses of the kingdom at their height, through the civil wars, the conquests of the English, and the captivity of the king (John), than they opened a negotiation with the Regent to purchase the privilege of returning to this land of lawlessness and blood. Miserable truly was the condition of the kingdom which led to the peace of Bretigny, A.C. May 8, 1360; there seemed to be no resource but to acknowledge the dependence of France on Jewish industry and wealth. In these times the Dauphin, as Regent, had debased the coin; the Jacquerie suppressed only by horrible massacres, the licence of the disbanded soldiery, which ravaged almost the whole country; the intolerable taxation, had reduced France to the lowest extremity.¹ It was a strange event, the capitulation of a great kingdom with subjects despised with ineffable scorn, but recently persecuted without remorse and forced to fly the realm, yet who dictated terms, if not honourable, yet advantageous to themselves. And on these terms, outcasts, indeed, equally in the rest of the world, the Jews were content to purchase a limited period of residence, precarious safety, with the chance of gain among a people who, from the king in his palace, the noble in his castle, to the insurgent peasant, looked on them with undisguised hatred, and were ready, on the first impulse, to renew all the horrors of former massacres, plunder, and exile. Before the conclusion of the treaty they were already in the kingdom, as appears by the appointment, during the Regency (March 1361), of Louis Count d'Etampes, as guardian of the Jews. In Languedoc they were in great numbers; in Nismes one large street and several smaller ones were assigned for their occupation; in Toulouse, in the absence of Louis d'Etampes, the royal Protector, Robert of Outre Eau, was appointed as their guardian, to defend them against the insults and injuries of the populace.

Menecier (Manasseh) of Vesoul, and Jacob of Pont St. Maxime, conducted the treaty on the part of the Jews. The price of admission into the kingdom was fixed at fourteen florins for a man and his wife; for children and servants one florin two tournois; the price of residence at seven florins annually for man and wife; children and servants, one florin.

¹ See the state of the kingdom in Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. c. 25.

The treaty was for twenty years. The Jews might buy houses, possess synagogues, cemeteries, and their sacred books. They were no longer under baronial jurisdiction, but under the king,¹ represented by his officer, the guardian of the Jews. They were free from all other taxes, except land tax. They might trade in money as in other merchandise.² They might take in pawn anything except religious books, church furniture or ornaments, or church vessels,³ agricultural implements and tools. The interest of money was fixed at four deniers the livre weekly, double the former standard. They might defend their houses and property from unlawful attacks. They could not be challenged to trial by battle. They were not to be compelled to hear Christian sermons. Finally, all their former privileges were confirmed. They were free if they could find bail. They were pardoned all crimes charged against them, even robbery and murder, if committed before they left France.⁴

For some time the position of the Jews seemed materially improved; though still pursued by the clergy and the people with unmitigated hatred, they had detached the Crown from the hostile confederacy.⁵ In Languedoc the clergy published an excommunication against all who should furnish the Jews with fire, water, bread, or wine.⁶ In Languedoc, too, the zeal of some Jewish converts would force their former brethren to attend the churches to hear sermons, amidst the mockery and insults of the Christians. They appealed to the king, Charles V., who issued an ordinance inhibiting all compulsion, not only as unjust, but as irreverent to the Church and to the Holy Sacrament.⁷ The civil power, the Marshal d'Audenham, interposed and repressed the fiery zeal of the Church.

¹ See the extraordinary oath imposed by Eliezar of Villeneuve on a Jew bearing witness in a court of justice in his domains (A.D. 1337) in Beugnot, p. 112.

² "Ils puissent marchander tant de leurs deniers comme de leurs autres marchandises et denrées quelconques." Art. 8.

³ "Saints reliques, calices, sanctuaires, livres, aournements, ou autres biens d'église dediés à Dieu." Art. 10.

⁴ The whole in the Ordonnances, especially Ordonnance v. (p. 491), recited under the date of its confirmation, Bois de Vincennes, May 1370; July 1372.

⁵ The abbot of St. Denys had an especial privilege from the king to possess as many as five families of Jews. No doubt he protected them. Ordonnances, iv. p. 139.

⁶ Ordonnances, iv. p. 339 (Aug. 1378).

⁷ Ordonnances, v. p. 167 (March 1368). In 1380 powers were given to certain commissioners to redress all wrongs perpetrated against the Jews in Languedoc by their guardians. Ordonnances, vi. p. 467.

The Jews obtained a prolongation of the term of sufferance in the land for ten years; they paid for this privilege 3000 livres in gold. Charles the Fifth renewed the treaty first for six, afterwards for ten years. The Crown began to have open dealings with, and to raise loans from, the Jews. In 1378 they lent the king 20,000 livres, and covenanted to furnish 200 per week.¹ It was from the wealth of the Jews that Paris began to rear her fortresses and lofty edifices. The prudent Menecier de Vesoul, their acknowledged representative, appears to have conducted their affairs with great address; the worst grievance must have been their being still compelled to wear a distinguishing mark upon their dress; but even this they obtained permission to lay aside on a journey. Menecier de Vesoul, his wife and children, John his son-in-law, Master Matahias and his mother, and Abraham his son, alone had the privilege of exemption from the penalty of twenty sous if they should appear without the mark, the ensign of the Jews.² But with their wealth their danger inevitably increased. Whether honest or usurious, their gains were wrung from an impoverished nobility and people. During the administration of the Duke of Anjou (1380), who had confirmed the privileges of the Jews granted by John³ and Charles V.,⁴ a tumult took place, arising, it was said, out of the heavy burthens of the people. The nobles cried aloud for the expulsion of the Jews; the people at their instigation wreaked their rage partly on the archives where their debts, or rather the debts of the nobles, were registered, partly on the Jews, who were pillaged and slain, their children torn from their mothers' arms, and carried to the churches to be baptized. The strong arm of authority allayed for a time, but could not suppress, the brooding storm of popular emotion.⁵ The Duke of Anjou published a proclamation on all the crossways, with sound of trumpet, that all persons should restore, on pain of death, the plunder of which they had robbed the Jews; very few obeyed the order.

During the early part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews were treated with equity and consideration;⁶ in the fre-

¹ Hist. de Languedoc, iv. p. 325.

² Ordonnances, v. p. 498.

³ King John openly avowed the principle of his indulgence: "The more privileges the Jews possess, the better will they be able to bear taxation."

⁴ Ordonnances, vi. p. 521.

⁵ Anonyme de S. Denys; Juvenal des Ursins, 27; Sismondi, Hist. des Français, xi. 318.

⁶ Peter Aymeric, Doctor of Laws, was appointed guardian of their privileges in the three seneschalties (Beaucaire, Carcassonne, Toulouse). Hist.

quent disputes which arose about the registering and recovery of their debts, they obtained equal justice; in one respect alone they were unfortunate—they were withdrawn from the special jurisdiction of the king, and submitted to the ordinary tribunals.¹ But the distresses of the country still increased; with the distresses, the difficulty of obtaining money: every order lay at the mercy of the moneylender. But former calamities did not teach the Jews moderation; regardless that they were arraying against themselves both nobles and people, they went on accumulating their perilous riches, till, like a thunderclap, the fatal edict (Sept. 7, 1394) burst upon them, commanding them once more to evacuate the kingdom, though on milder terms, with the liberty of receiving all debts due to them, and of selling their property.² The cause of this change in the royal policy is probably to be sought in the malady of the unhappy king.³ His confessor was perpetually at his ear, urging to the disordered and melancholy monarch the sin of thus protecting an accursed people from the miseries to which they were deservedly doomed by the wrath of God. The nobles hated them as debtors, the people as fanatics. The queen was won over,⁴ and the advice of those few wise counsellors who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community, was overborne by more stern advisers.⁵ An accusation made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of converts to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays in all the cross roads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of 18,000 francs. The rest were allowed a month

de Languedoc, iv. 366. In 1387 the Duc de Berri granted remission to the Jews of the three seneschalties of their usuries and *other crimes*, on the payment of 5000 francs in gold, with a promise only to demand the ordinary tax. This tax was 10,000 francs a year, in half-yearly payments. Ibid. iv. 390. Their usurious practices were pardoned (iv. 396).

¹ Ordon. des Rois, vii. 643. Comp. Beugnot, Juifs d'Occident, p. 130.

² "Doresnevant nul Juif ou Jouifve ne habitent, ou conversent en nostre dit royaume, ni en aucune partie d'icelluy en Languedoc." Juvenal des Ursins.

³ Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, p. 407.

⁴ Juvenal des Ursins, Hist. de Charles VI., pp. 129-675.

⁵ The edict was published at Toulouse, 1394. Ordonnances, vii. 675. There remained twelve families of Jews in Toulouse, seven in the rest of the Seneschalty. The Count of Foix endeavoured to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Pamiers. But the officers of the Seneschalty compelled them to depart, fifty-six in number, men and women. It was probably the influence of the lords which protected the few who lingered behind in Provence and Languedoc.

to wind up their affairs, and the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and indefinite period of banishment.¹

The history of the German Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people, generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure. No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated, but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. In Germany the Black Plague raged in all its fury, and wild superstition charged the Jews, as elsewhere, with causing and aggravating the misery and themselves enjoying a guilty comparative security amid the universal desolation.² Fatal tumults were caused by the march of the Flagellants,³ a host of mad enthusiasts, who passed through the cities of Germany, preceded by a crucifix, and scourging their naked and bleeding backs as they went, as a punishment for their own offences and those of the Christian world. These fanatics atoned, as they supposed, rather than aggravated, their sins against the God of Mercy, by plundering and murdering the Jews in Frankfort and other places.⁴ The same dark stories were industriously propagated, readily believed, and ferociously avenged, of fountains poisoned, children crucified, the Host stolen and outraged. The power of their liege-lord and

¹ I must doubt the justice of M. Beugnot's remarks on this final expulsion of the Jews from France. Though perhaps they had ceased to be absolutely necessary to the commerce of the kingdom, commercial rivalry may to a certain extent have conspired with intolerance: "Soyons assurés que ce ne fut pas l'intolérance religieuse qui fit chasser les Juifs de France. On proscrivit en eux ces audacieux usuriers, qui, par leurs complaisances financières, mettaient le désordre dans les deniers publics, rendaient vaines les garanties accordées aux peuples par les rois, et ruinaient l'état en le désorganisant." Poor Jews! even history written by enlightened men in modern days is still darkened by the old prejudices. Sismondi's account of this final expulsion of the Jews is far more wise, just, and true (xxii. p. 52).

² Compare the History of the Epidemics in the Middle Ages, by Dr. Hecker, translated by C. Babington, London, 1859, and the account of the Black Plague, the persecutions of the Jews, above all the remarkable confessions wrung from them by torture at Chilien and elsewhere (p. 70 *et seqq.*).

³ On the Flagellants compare Hist. of Latin Christianity, iv. 396. "Sur-rexit secta Poenitentium seu Flagellatorum, Teutonicè Crucebrüder, in Alemannia; et anno sequente, scilicet MCCCL., qui fuit Jubilæus, magna persecutio Judæorum, ut fere ubique cremarentur. Tanquam morte rei tunc cruciabantur Hebræi." Engelhus. Chron. apud Leibnitz, ii. 1128.

⁴ The chapter in Raumer's Hohenstauffen, v. 381, Die Juden, may be consulted with advantage.

emperor¹ recognised by the law of the empire, even when exerted for their protection, was but slightly respected and feebly enforced, especially where every province and almost every city had or claimed an independent jurisdiction. Still, persecuted in one city they fled to another, and thus spread over the whole of Germany, Brunswick, Austria,² Franconia, the Rhine Provinces, Silesia, Brandenberg, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland. Oppressed by the nobles, anathematised by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers in the commercial cities, despised and abhorred by the populace, their existence is known by the chronicle, rarely of protective edicts, more often of their massacres.³ In Prague, where no doubt their wild old cemetery, if its legends were carefully deciphered, would tell terrible stories;⁴ in Nuremberg, Wurzburg, and Rottenberg.

¹ "Imperialis auctoritas in priscis temporibus ad perpetuam Judaici sceleris ultiōnem, Judæis induxit perpetuam servitutem." Lunig Reichs' Archiv, quoted by Von Raumer, p. 312. The harsh language of the law would intimate that the emperor was invested with this power solely that he might wreak vengeance on the Jews, and keep them in perpetual slavery.

² In the middle of the thirteenth century there were Jews in Austria, generally farmers of the royal domains, entitled Counts of the Donau. Depping, p. 236, with authorities. See the grant of the Emperor Frederick I. to the Duke of Austria. "Et potest in terris suis omnibus tenere Judæos et usurarios publicos, quos vulgus vocat *gawertshin* sine imperii molestia et offensa." Pertz, Leges ii. 101. In the year 1335 Ernest Duke of Brunswick, in his grant of privileges to the city of Hamelin, enacts, "Quicunque Judæus moratur vel morabitur in civitate, nobis ad nullum servitium tenebitur, sed civitati tenetur ad jura civilia." Apud Leibnitz, Script. Brunsw. ii. 515.

³ "Item primo Alberti Imperatoris anno (1298) Judæorum aliquot millia Norimbergæ, Herbipoli, Rottenburgæ et in aliis terris ob malefacta combusti fuerunt, infantibus aliquot ad baptismum reservatis;" so coolly writes the Abbas Uspergensis, p. 204.

⁴ "Pragæ comburebantur Judæi, ad tria millia, Die Paschæ, quia blasphemabant Sacramentum Eucharistiae in bonâ feriâ quintâ, et Sabbatho Sancto precedentibus. Versus.

M simul et tria C. LXLI. removete,
Paschæ luce reus Pragæ perit ense Judæus.

De quorum strage prædictus Wenceslaus Rex recepit v. tunnas plenas argento, ut famabatur." Chronic. Engelhus. Leibnitz, ii. 1134. There is a very curious passage, De Reformatione Monasteriorum (written about 1470), Leibnitz, ii. p. 818. The writer asserts that the Jews were settled in Halle before the birth of Christ, as is certified by inscriptions on the tombstones in their cemetery. Were these Spanish Jews, who had imported from Spain the fictions so constantly pleaded in that country as exempting them from the guilt of Christ's crucifixion? It appears that a popular preacher (a monk) so stirred up the shopkeepers of Halle by denouncing the usuries of the Jews (a graphic passage of one of his sermons is cited) that they refused all dealings with the race. A signal was given when a Jew

Of the means by which the general hatred was exasperated and kept alive, none was so universal, none so deeply stirred the passions of the Christian's breast, sunk into the popular belief, none, therefore, was so fatal to the Jews in all lands, as the tales of the crucifixion of Christians, certainly of children, and usually at Easter. It would be curious to inquire how many saints the Jews have thus undesignedly added to the Calendar,¹ saints famous for the miracles wrought by their bodies and by their reliques;² saints who were the object of devout worship, and to whose shrines men gathered by thousands. Each country has added to this holy host;³ France (to name but a few), St. Robert of Pontoise; England, St. Hugh of Lincoln, St. William of Norwich; Germany, St. Wernher of Bacharach, St. Simon of Trent;⁴ Spain, S. Juan Passamente, the Martyr of Granada. Christian poetry abused its magic power, seizing on these fables, and melting them

appeared in the streets, and all the shops were shut. The preacher returned to the charge, “‘ How then are the Jews to live if not by usury?’ Let them take to husbandry or mechanical employments, dig gardens, cleanse the streets, or work like labourers.” The Jews refused to do this; the people were obstinate; the consulate of Halle, therefore, by the advice of the preacher, and with the approbation of the archbishop, drove them out of the town (of their long immemorial residence no notice was taken), refused to readmit them, and turned their synagogue into a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

¹ In the *Fortalitium Fidei* the *Consideratio Septima* begins with the cruelty of the Jews to the Messiah, their cruelty to themselves, as entailing on their own heads perpetual captivity and eternal damnation, and their cruelty to Christians. These chapters give a succession of all the monstrous and frightful stories of this kind current in the Middle Ages.

² See *Trithemius, Chron. Hirsaug. et Sponheim.* The following may be found: A.C. 1236, several Christians murdered in a mill. Jews burned for this offence in Haguenau, 1297. The boy Wernher pricked to death with needles; worshipped as a martyr at Bacharach, 1432. A boy murdered in the village of Weiler. The Jews burned at Kreuznach. As late as 1510 the Margrave of Brandenburg burned Jews on some such charge.

³ Bleeding crosses often bore witness of such crimes. There is one which converted many Jews; in Bothon. *Chronicon Leibnitz*, S. B. iii. 306. In the year 1422 a woollen manufacturer at Sobernheim, in the diocese of Mentz, was supernaturally directed to a cross near the mill, which he found mutilated, thrown down and covered with mud. As he reverently replaced it he heard a voice, “The four Evils are Jews, whores, bad priests, and pagans.” *Contin. Engelhus.*, *Leibnitz*, ii. 86.

⁴ For SS. Simon of Trent and William of Norwich, see *Alban Butler, Lives of Saints*, both, March 24. The Bollandists for the same day give the *juridical acts*. It is remarkable to see the dawn of candour and charity forcing themselves on writers like *Alban Butler*. He will not venture to question legends sanctified by acts of canonisation, but he ventures to add, “Nevertheless, it is a notorious slander of some authors who, from these singular and extraordinary instances, infer this to have been, at any time, the custom or maxim of this people.”

into the hearts of the people. Of all Chaucer's Tales none is so exquisitely pathetic as that of the lost child, whose mother had taught it to repeat, with infantine fondness, the "Alma Redemptoris Mater."¹ The mother sought the missing child, and wandered in her search into the Jews' quarter. She appealed to their humanity to tell her if they had seen her child. The Jews gave a hard, coarse denial, when suddenly from a deep foul pit was heard the child's voice, which

" Alma Redemptoris 'gan to sing,
So loud, that all the placè 'gan to ring."

The scene of this is laid in Asia. There is a beautiful old Scotch ballad (imperfect) of the Jew's daughter of Merry-land (Milan).² As in Chaucer, the mother wanders into the Jews' quarter, seeking her missing child :—

" ' My bonny Sir Hew, my pretty Sir Hew,
I pray thee to me speak.'
' O lady, rin to the deep draw-well,
Gin ye your sonne would seek.'
Lady Helen ran to the deep draw-well,
And knelt upon her knee ;
' My bonny Sir Hew, so ye be here,
I pray thee speak to me.'

" The lead is wondrous heavy, mither,
The well is wondrous deep ;
A keen penknife sticks in my heart,
A word I dounae speak.
Gae hame, gae hame, my mither dear,
Fetch me my winding-sheet ;
And at the back of Merry-land toune,
It's there we twa shall meet.'"

But the Brussels legend surpasses all in the minuteness of its particulars, in its audacious incredibility, and in its vitality. It is commemorated, to their infinite shame, in the enlightened city of Brussels to the present day, by a solemn procession of the clergy and the exposition of the Host.³ My account is

¹ Chaucer, Prioress's Tale.

² There is a French ballad among those published by M. Michel.

³ Compare Depping, p. 276, who says that when the festival was celebrated, in the year 1820, eighteen pictures were painted for the Church of S. Gudule, representing all the atrocities of the scene, even the execution of the three elders.

taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the Church are directed to receive as undoubted truth, because "charity believeth all things" ! ! — A Jew, named Jonathan of Enghien, desired to possess himself of the consecrated Host in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delight in showing their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John of Louvain, whose poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d'or. John mounted by night into the Chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the Host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the meantime, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan's wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the Host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty but not her will consented; but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated: all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is to the present day commemorated in one of the first Christian cities of Europe.

BOOK XXV

JEWS IN ENGLAND

First Settlement—William Rufus—Henry II.—Coronation of Richard I.—Massacre at York—King John—Spoliations of the Jews—Henry III.—Jewish Parliament—Edward I.—Statute of Judaism—Final Expulsion from the Realm.

IN the dark ages England was not advanced beyond the other nations of Europe in the civil or religious wisdom of toleration. While the sovereign authority—that of the Pope in Italy, of the Emperor in Germany, and of the Kings in Spain—frequently held in check the fierce animosities of the nobles, the clergy, and the populace against their Israelitish subjects, with rare exceptions the Kings of England, like those of France, joined in the inhuman and impolitic confederacy against them. There were Jews in England under the Saxons. The ecclesiastical constitutions of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.C. 740, prohibit Christians from appearing at Jewish feasts. They are named in a charter to the monks of Croyland, A.C. 833, and named in the strange character of Benefactors, granters of land to the monastery.¹ They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror the right of settlement in the country. His son, William Rufus, shocked the devout feelings of his people by his open intercourse with the enemies of Christ. He appointed a public debate in London between the two parties, and profanely swore, by “the face of St. Luke,” that if the Rabbins defeated the Bishops, he would turn Jew himself. The Jews boasted that they obtained the victory, while the trembling people, in a thunderstorm and an earthquake, recognised the wrath of God against the irreligious king. But William was unmoved; he received at Rouen the complaint of certain Jews, that their children had been seduced to the profession of Chris-

¹ “*Omnes terras et tenementa, possessiones, et eorum peculia, quæ reges Merciorum et eorum proceres, vel alii fideles Christiani vel Judæi, monachis dederunt.*” Ingulph. Hist. p. 9. There are doubts, however, of the authenticity of these charters.

tianity.¹ Their petition was supported by a liberal offer of money. Many, either from conviction or confiding in the king's protection, abjured their new faith. One Stephen offered sixty marks for his son's restoration to Judaism, but the son had the courage to resist the imperious monarch. "Get thee hence quickly," said the king, "and obey, or, by the face of St. Luke, I will cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head." The young man temperately adhered to his determination. The king yielded, on which the Jew demanded back his money.² The king unwillingly restored half. Rufus gave still deeper offence by farming to Jews the vacant bishoprics. During this reign Jews were established in Oxford and in London. In the former city they had three halls, hostelries or lodging-houses, for the accommodation of youth :—Lombard Hall, Moses Hall, and Jacob Hall. They taught Hebrew to Christian as well as Jewish students. They were not, however, permitted a burial-ground ; their only cemetery was in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London.³ As history is silent about them for a short period, we may conclude that they were growing in opulence, and consequently in public detestation. In the 10th of Stephen the same dark tales began to be bruited abroad which were so readily credited on the Continent ; they are said to have crucified a youth at Norwich. William of Norwich became a saint of wide repute. His wonder-working powers for some centuries brought pilgrims in multitudes, no doubt much to the benefit of that ancient and flourishing city.⁴ "This crime," their historian shrewdly observes, "they are never said to have practised but at such times as the king was manifestly in want of money." The same atrocity was imputed to them at Gloucester, and

¹ Gul. Malmesb. sub ann. 1083. William usually swore "by the Cross of Lucca."

² This rests on the circumstantial but somewhat suspicious authority of Holingshead. Indeed, considering the hatred of the monkish chroniclers, our only vouchers, for William Rufus and for the Jews, the historian, though relating these stories, as characteristic of the times and so far historical, may allow some reasonable doubt of their perfect veracity.

³ They afterwards obtained a piece of burial-ground, the site on which the beautiful tower and part of Magdalene College stand.

⁴ "In his reign [Stephen's] the Jews of Norwich bought a Christian child before Easter, and tortured him after the same manner as our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rood in memory of our Lord, and afterwards buried him. And they thought it would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr, and the monks took him and buried him with high honour in the Minster; and through our Lord he worketh wonderful and manifold miracles, and is called S. William." Saxon Chronicle, sub ann. 1137.

at St. Edmondsbury (1160). At the latter place likewise the churchmen derived further advantage besides aggravating the general hatred against the Jews; the body of the youth was interred with great solemnity, and his tomb wrought frequent miracles.¹ Nor did the king (Henry the Second) overlook this favourable opportunity for filling his coffers: twelve years before he had extorted a large sum from the Jews—5000 marks—and banished many, probably those who refused to accede to his terms.² Other anecdotes illustrate their increasing wealth and unpopularity. They are charged with having lent money to some of the adventurers for Ireland, who undertook that enterprise contrary to the king's order; and with receiving in pledge some of the sacred treasures of the church of St. Edmondsbury:³ it is to be hoped that this transaction had no connection with the horrible charge of the crucified boy.⁴ Their riches, which they were not so prudent as to conceal, kept alive the rankling jealousy. Their mansions were as stately as palaces.⁵ The most remarkable evidence of their wealth is, that at a parliament held at Northampton, to raise a tax for an expedition to the Holy Land, the whole Christian population was assessed at £70,000—the Jews

¹ Gervas, sub ann. 1160.

² Gervas, ibid.

³ These facts are well authenticated. The records of both transactions are quoted by Tovey from the Rolls. For the second, "Sancto Judæus de Sancto Edmundo reddidit conpotum de v. marcis, ut sit quietus quod recepit in vadio vasa deputata obsequio altaris." We remember the severe and reiterated laws prohibiting, and necessarily prohibiting, the pledging the vessels and furniture of the Church in all countries.

⁴ "Others," says the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "were grown so presumptuous as to scoff at and ridicule the highest dignitaries of the Church." For we read that a certain Jew, having the honour about this time to travel towards Shrewsbury in company with Richard Peche, archdeacon of Malpas in Cheshire, and a reverend dean, whose name was Deville: amongst other discourse, which they condescended to entertain him with, the archdeacon told him that his jurisdiction was so large as to reach from a place called Ill Street, all along till they came to Malpas, and took in a wide circumference of country. To which the infidel, being more witty than wise, immediately replied, "Say you so, Sir? God grant me then a good deliverance! For it seems I am riding in a country where Sin is the archdeacon, and the Devil himself the dean—where the entrance into the archdeaconry is in Ill Street, and the going from it Bad Steps;" alluding to the French words "Pêché" and "Malpas." Our author is grievously offended at these liberties being taken with such reverend personages; but charitably concludes that so facetious a Jew would hardly have been concerned in such tragical crimes as they were charged with. The story rather indicates that the clergy and the Jews sometimes met on terms of amity; and it is curious as showing the mixture of French and English which seems to have prevailed in the language of the time.

⁵ "Domus eorum quæ quasi palatia erectæ fuerunt." Ann. Waverl.

alone at £60,000.¹ The abandonment of the expedition, and the death of the king, prevented the levying of this enormous burthen. But Henry's death, instead of relieving them from oppression, was the accidental cause of a worse calamity—it gave an occasion for all the passions, which had long been brooding within the hearts of the people, to break forth into fierce and undisguised hostility. The whole nation crowded to the coronation of the brave Richard the First. Among the rest the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendour of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers, and the whole people, demanded the exclusion of such dangerous guests from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign by their ill-omened appearance. It was dreaded that these notorious and wicked sorcerers would bewitch the king. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted.² A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the Abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth, half dead, from the church. The news spread like wild-fire; the populace rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews, whom they suspected, and found to conceal, under a modest exterior, incalculable wealth: they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Proclamation was made that the Jews were under the king's protection; they had supplied him largely with contributions for his Crusade.³ Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority, and during the whole night the work of plunder and havoc went on. "Blessed be God," is the pious ejaculation of the monkish historian, "who delivered up the wicked to death!"⁴ The king, when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired, ordered a strict investigation. Many were apprehended—three were hanged; but such seems to have been the state of the public feeling, that the government either would not, or dared not, revenge the wrongs inflicted on the Jews: of the three, two suffered for robbing a Christian, on pretence of his being a Jew; one for setting fire to the house of a Jew, which burned down the next belonging to a Christian. One Benedict, to save his

¹ Authorities in *Anglia Judaica*.

² Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1189.

³ *Anglia Judaica*, p. 29.

⁴ "Per omnia benedictus Dominus qui tradidit impios." Ann. Waverl.

life, had submitted to baptism. He appealed to the king to release him from his compulsory engagement. The king referred this new case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present. The Archbishop, Baldwin, who was more used to handle the battle-axe than to turn over tomes of casuistry, answered, though bluntly, perhaps with more plain sense than his more learned brethren might have done, "Why, if he is not willing to become a servant of God, he must even continue a servant of the devil."¹ The intelligence of the vengeance wrought by the citizens of London on the enemies of the Lord, probably likewise of the rich spoil they had obtained, spread rapidly throughout the country. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers, of all classes, who had taken up the cross.² The example of London sounded like a tocsin, and directed their yet untried zeal and valour against the wealth and the infidelity of the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered, maltreated, slain. At Lincoln they took timely warning, and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York more disastrous scenes took place. Benedict, the relapsed convert, was a native of that city, but died in London of the ill-usage he had received. His friend Jacimus (Joachim) returned to York with the sad intelligence; but scarcely had he arrived when he found the city in a state of the most alarming excitement. The house of Benedict, a spacious building, was attacked; his wife and children, with many others who had fled there as to a place of strength, were murdered; the house was burned to the ground. Joachim, with the wealthiest of the Jews, took refuge in the castle with their most valuable effects; those who were not sufficiently expeditious were put to the sword—neither age nor sex was respected;³ a few only escaped by submitting to baptism.

The Jews within the citadel, whether on good grounds or not, suspected that secret negotiations were going on between the governor of the castle and the populace, for their surrender; the governor, it was subtly spread abroad among them, was to be repaid for his treachery by a large share of the plunder. The desperate men felt that they had but one alter-

¹ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1189.

² Brompton, sub ann. 1189.

³ The most complete account of all these transactions, at the accession of Richard I., is in Hemingford, sub ann. 1189.

native ; they seized the opportunity of the governor's absence in the town, closed the gates against him, and boldly manned the citadel. The sheriff of the county happened to be in the town with an armed force. At the persuasion of the indignant governor, and of the populace, he gave the signal for attack ; but, alarmed at the frantic fury with which the rabble swarmed to the assault, he endeavoured to revoke his fatal order, but in vain. A more influential body, the clergy, openly urged on the besiegers. A Canon Regular, of the Premonstratensian order, stood in the midst of the ferocious multitude, in his surplice, shouting aloud, "Destroy the enemies of Christ ; destroy the enemies of Christ !" Every morning this fierce churchman took the Sacrament, and then proceeded to his post, where he perished at length, crushed by a great stone from the battlements. The besieged, after a manful resistance, found their fate unavoidable. A council was summoned. Their Rabbi, a foreigner, a man educated in one of their schools of learning, and universally respected for his profound knowledge of the Law, rose up. "Men of Israel," he said, "the God of our Fathers, to whom none can say, 'What doest thou ?' calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable ; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominiously, after horrible torments and the most barbarous usage : my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most illustrious ancestors." The old man sat down in tears. The assembly was divided ; some declared that he had spoken wisely ; others that it was a hard saying. The Rabbi rose again, and said, "Let those who approve not of my proposal, depart in peace." Some few obeyed, and left the place—the greater number remained unmoved upon their seats. They then arose, collected their most precious effects, burned all that was combustible, and buried the rest. They set fire to the castle in many places, cut the throats of their wives and children, and then their own. The Rabbi and Joachim alone survived. The place of honour was reserved for the Rabbi ; he first slew Joachim, then pierced himself to the heart. The next morning the populace rushed to the assault with their accustomed fury. They beheld flames bursting from every part of the castle ; and a few miserable wretches, with supplications and wild cries, running to and fro on the battlements, who

related the fate of their companions ; they entreated mercy, they offered to submit to baptism. No sooner were the terms accepted, and the gates opened, than the fanatic multitude poured in, and put every living being to the sword. Not content with this triumph, they rushed to the cathedral, demanded all the bonds and obligations, which had been laid up there in the archives, and cast them all into an enormous bonfire. The king might perhaps have forgiven their former crime, the massacre of his unoffending subjects, but this was an inexpiable offence—treason against his exchequer—as all these debts would have fallen to the Crown. Geoffrey Rydal, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, was sent to York, to investigate the affair, but the ringleaders of the riot fled for a time to Scotland,¹ the chief citizens entered into recognisances, nor does it appear that any persons paid the penalty of the law for this atrocious massacre, by which 500 or 1500 men—the numbers vary—were put to death.²

On his return from captivity, Richard directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews ; the justices on their circuits were ordered to inquire who were the murderers, and what became of the property which had been seized : all who were in possession of these effects, and had not compounded by a fine, were to be brought to justice. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognised as belonging to the Crown.³ Their property was to be registered, on pain of forfeiture. No bonds and obligations were to be valid unless made in the presence of two lawyers, Jews, two lawyers, Christians, with two public notaries, and enrolled ; a fee to the Crown was due on the enrolment of

¹ During the reign of William the Lion (1165–1214; the accession of Richard was 1189), churchmen in Scotland were interdicted from pledging their benefices for money borrowed from Jews. Innes, Sketches from Scottish History, ii. p. 36.

² There is a record of one person, whose land was seized to the king on account of his concern in this massacre : “ Ricardus Malebisso r. c. de xx. marcis pro repetendâ terrâ suâ usque ad adventum regis quæ saisita fuit in manu Regis propter occisionem Judæorum Eborac. Et ut Walterus de Carton et Ricardus de Kukeneiā armigeri ejus habeant pacem Regis usque ad adventum ejus.” Magn. Rot. 4, R. I.; Anglia Judaica, p. 28. Perhaps the statement in the text above is too strong ; there may have been others.

³ This had long been the case, upon the feudal principle, in other countries. It was recognised in England by a law (a law, however, of which the authenticity has been doubted), that the Jews, and all that belongs to them, are the property of the king (Anglia Judaica) : “ Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt.” Spelman admits the law. Prynne doubts it. In after-times this right was fully recognised. The Jews were taxable at the king’s will. See authorities below.

every bond. Two justices of the Jews¹ were appointed, who attended at the Exchequer to superintend this important branch of the royal revenue. There was a special court in the Exchequer for the affairs of the Jews;² there was likewise an officer named the Jews' Escheator. All these contracts were to be made by indenture, one part to be held by the Jew, the second deposited in a common chest, of which there were three keys, one to be kept by the Jewish, one by the Christian attorney, the third by the two public notaries. The chest was to be sealed with three seals; but in every step of all these processes the Crown contrived to wring out some emolument.³

John, previous to his accession, had probably many dealings with the Jews; he knew their value, as a source of revenue, and commenced his reign with heaping favours upon them, by which more were daily tempted to settle in the kingdom. It might almost seem that this weak and unprincipled, but crafty, prince, had formed a deliberate scheme of allowing them to accumulate ample treasures, in order that hereafter he might reap a richer harvest of plunder, and render himself independent of his unruly subjects. Their high-priest received a patent for his office from the king. He was styled in the deed, "our Beloved and our Friend" (*dilectus et familiaris noster*).⁴ The next year a charter was issued, restoring the Jews, in England and Normandy, to all the privileges enjoyed under Henry the First. They might settle where they pleased; they might hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. They might move about with perfect freedom with their chattels,

¹ There seem to have been two kinds of justices, two Jewish justices, one named, no doubt, as representing the community (the record quoted in *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 31, 32), and the Christian justiciaries who represented the Crown. I think that more probable than the view in *Anglia Judaica*. List of Justices in Madox, p. 159, &c.

² Madox, Hist. of Exchequer, pp. 150-178.

³ See in *Anglia Judaica* several forms of contract and release. In short (concludes Tovey of all these contracts) the king's will was the measure of everything; and upon paying generously for it, they might have a dispensation for anything. If the Jew's debtor would give the king a sum of money, he would order that the record should bear no interest; and unless the Jew would give him something too, he would perhaps compound the matter with the debtor, and make the Jew lose even his principal. But in no case was a Jew allowed to sue for his debt without paying poundage to the king (pp. 42, 43). Compare Madox throughout.

⁴ He is called in the records Sacerdos and Presbyter; and it is amusing to see, where such questions run high, theology forcing itself into antiquarianism, and grave writers, like Selden and Prynne, debating whether he was priest or lay-elder. See the form of three or four such appointments, A. J., pp. 58, 60, and Madox, p. 177.

which, being the king's, could not be molested.¹ They were to be tried only in the king's court, or before the governors of his royal castles. Their oath was valid as evidence—a Christian and a Jewish witness were of equal weight. In disputes with Christians, Jews were to be tried by their own peers. They might freely buy and sell, excepting the sacred vessels and furniture of the Church. All the subjects of the realm were called upon to protect the Jews and their chattels, as the chattels of the king. Four thousand marks were paid for this charter.² By another statute, their own suits were to be determined by their own Law.

The favour of John was not likely to conciliate that of his subjects. All classes looked on the Jews with darker jealousy. The perpetual defamatory tales were repeated of their crucifying children; and the citizens of London, probably envious of their opulence, treated them with many indignities. The king wrote a strong rebuke to the Mayor and to the Barons of London, in which he complained that the Jews, who lived in peace in all other parts of England, were maltreated, in violation of the peace of the king and of the realm, in London alone;³ he commended the Jews to their protection, stating that he attributed the recent outrages only to the fools—not to the discreet citizens⁴—of the metropolis; he declared that he would require their blood at the hands of the civic magistrates.

On a sudden, in the next year (1210), impatient, as it were, that any part of his subjects should suppose him capable of a long effort of justice, or yielding with his accustomed weakness to the immediate pressure of his necessities, or perhaps rejoicing in thus having prepared himself subjects for spoliation, in whose behalf neither the imperious Pope nor his refractory Barons would interfere, John passed to the extreme of cruelty against the miserable Jews.⁵ Every Israelite, without distinction of age or sex, was imprisoned, their wealth

¹ "Et ubicunque Judæi fuerint, liceat eis ire ubicunque voluerint, cum omnibus catallis eorum, sicut res nostræ propriæ, et nulli liceat eos retinere neque hoc eis prohibere."

² The Charter in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 63: "Et omnia illa quæ modo rationabiliter tenent in terris et feodis et vadiis et ablatis suis; et quod habear omnes libertates et consuetudines suas, sicut eas habuerunt tempore prædicti Regis H. avi, patris nostri melius et quietius et honorabilius." Compare Madox, p. 173.

³ The letter in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 67.

⁴ "Per fatuos villæ, et non per discretos."

⁵ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1210.

confiscated to the Exchequer, and the most cruel torments extorted from the reluctant the confession of their secret treasures. The story of the Jew of Bristol is well known—who was to lose a tooth a day till he betrayed his hoards. Ten thousand marks of silver were demanded of this wealthy merchant; he obstinately lost seven teeth, and saved the rest by paying the ransom demanded. The king gained 60,000 marks by this atrocious proceeding. A second time, demands equally extravagant were made, and these unhappy wretches, who paid so dearly for the privilege of being the vassals of the Crown, were still further plundered by the Barons, as belonging to the king. Their treasures in London were seized, and their houses demolished to repair the walls, by these stern assertors of the liberties of the land. Yet the regulations relating to the Jews in the Great Charter, though not perhaps quite equitable, were by no means wanting in moderation.¹ If a man died in debt to a Jew, the debt bore no interest till the heir came of age. The wife was to receive her dower, and the children their maintenance; the debt was to be discharged out of the residue.²

The first act of the Guardians of the Realm under Henry the Third was to release the Jews who were in prison,³ and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property,⁴ especially against the Crusaders. Among the towns in which they were settled in considerable numbers were Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, York, Lincoln, Stamford, Bristol, Northampton, Southampton, Winchester, Oxford, Warwick, Norwich.⁵ They were exempted from spiritual jurisdiction, and amenable only to the king and his judges; but they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress, two stripes of white cloth or parchment. This fatal distinction may have been intended in mercy to protect them as the king's property; it would, however, more surely designate them for popular insult, or more than insult; it was in fact the re-enactment

¹ See the order for taxing the Jews of Southampton, in *Anglia Judaica*, p. 72.

² These clauses were not in the Charter as renewed by Henry III., *A. J.*,

³ *p. 73.*

³ In the year 1232, Henry III. makes over the custody of the Jewry and all the Jews in Ireland to Peter de Rivaux. Royal Letters of Henry III., Appendix, p. 519.

⁴ Many of these writs are now extant in the Tower, in a Roll marked "De Judæis deliberandis." *Ang. Jud.*, p. 76.

⁵ See writ to Gloucester, *A. J.*, p. 77.

or re-enforcement of the Canon of the Lateran Council. Power was also given to the Rabbins to excommunicate refractory Jews. The High Priest was presented to the king, and his authority so ratified.¹ But the avowed protection of the Crown could not shield them from the jealousy of the merchants whose traffic they injured, the hatred of the people, and the bigotry of the clergy. The Warden of the Cinque Ports imprisoned several Jews on their landing in England. The Government interfered, but enacted that all Jews should report themselves and be enrolled by the justices of the Jews immediately on their landing, and not quit the kingdom again without a passport.

But the Church was their more implacable enemy; among many enactments, similar to those which had been passed in other kingdoms, was one against Jews keeping Christian slaves,² one prohibiting the building any new synagogues, and another for the payment of all tithes or dues to the Church and the Bishop of Norwich.³ Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, prohibited all Christians, on fear of ecclesiastical censure, from selling to them the necessaries of life.⁴ The Crown again interfered in a royal precept addressed to the Mayor of Canterbury, the Sheriff of Lincoln, the Mayor and Provost of Oxford, and the Bailiff of Norwich, and commanded all good subjects to defy the spiritual interdict.⁵ But these days of peace did not continue long. The Jews offered too great temptation to an impoverished king, in perpetual contest with his subjects. Their offences were said to call for punishment they dared to sue even the clergy on their bonds;⁶ probably

¹ One High Priest (he is called a bishop) was deprived, but, on his payment of three marks of gold, restored to his office. *Rot.*, p. 29.

² The slaves were to be compelled to keep this law by ecclesiastical censure the Jews, by canonical punishment, or by some arbitrary fine to be imposed and exacted by the diocesan.

³ At the Synod of Oxford (held by Stephen Langton in 1222), a deacon who had, from love of a Jewish woman, apostatised to Judaism, was hanged. *A. J.*, p. 81; *Matt. Paris*, sub ann., with Watts' note and quotation from Lyndewood. Tovey says that the deacon was originally a Jew, but M. Paris does not bear him out. This Synod also enforced the wearing the badge.

⁴ *A. J.*, p. 82.

⁵ The Prior of Dunstable permitted certain Jews to live in that town, on condition of offering two silver spoons yearly. The Jews were not duly grateful for this privilege. A Jew sued the Prior for 700 pounds (marks?) on a document said to have been proved a forgery. One of the proofs was that it contained bad grammar. The Jews paid a mark to the king for arrest of judgment; afterwards 100 pounds lest their Law should be disgraced by the Jew being hanged. *Hearne, Preface to Chron. of Dunstable.*

in England as in other countries, their sordid spirit, ever watchful to make reprisals on society, might give countenance to many scarcely perhaps exaggerated stories of their usurious extortions. A crime was now laid to their charge, much more probable than the tales of their crucifying children, their tampering with and clipping the coin of the realm;¹ of this crime we shall soon hear more. On the occasion of the wars in France, a sudden demand was made (A.C. 1230) of a third of their movables to be paid into the Exchequer. It was followed in two years by another, of 18,000 marks; in 1236, by a third, of 10,000 marks.² Yet the royal confidence in the inexhaustible resources of the Jews, and the popular prejudice that they could only be supplied by nefarious, if not by magical or supernatural means, were confirmed not only by the discharge of these enormous demands, but by other indications of opulence, which could not be drained even by such unprecedented exactions.³ The daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5000 marks as a relief. A baron's heir paid for his barony only 100 marks—a knight's fee 100 shillings. Aaron of York compounded for a payment of 100 marks a year to be free from taxes. Aaron solemnly declared to Matthew Paris, that the king had exacted from him in seven years 30,000 marks of silver—besides 200 of gold, paid to the queen.⁴

Yet a few years after, the nation beheld the curious spectacle of a Jewish Parliament regularly summoned. Writs were issued to the sheriffs, with most extraordinary menaces of punishment in case of disobedience,⁵ to return six of the

¹ A. J., p. 89.

² About this period a house was opened in London for the reception of Jewish converts; it was in Chancery Lane. Its site is now occupied by the Rolls Court. The extraordinary law which prevailed in France, that the Jewish convert to Christianity forfeited all his property (why should the lord lose his property in his Jew because the Jew would save his soul?) obtained in England also. Henry III. granted back his chattels in Kent to one Augustine, a convert from Judaism. See the Precept to the Sheriff of Kent, A. J., p. 87.

³ A. J., p. 91.

⁴ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1250.

⁵ See, in A. J., Writ to the Sheriff of Northampton: "Sciturus quod nisi illuc ad terminum præfatum venerint, ita manum nostram tam erga corpus quam catalla tua aggravabimus, quod tu perpetuo senties non mediocriter prægravare." This threat must have been intended to alarm not only the sheriff, but rather the Jews; though, as their chattels were already the king's, they were liable to arbitrary seizure. "Prynne," observes the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "has given us above a hundred names of persons returned to this parliament, but as they make but indifferent musick, I shall not repeat

richest Jews from the more considerable towns, two from those where they were fewer in number.¹ This parliament met, and, like other parliaments, was graciously informed by the sovereign that he must have money—20,000 marks was the sum demanded. His Majesty's faithful Jews could boast no parliamentary privileges, nor were they permitted to demand freedom of debate. They were sent home to collect the money as speedily as possible; it was to be assessed and levied among themselves, and, as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming, the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their goods and chattels, and imprisoned.

Jewish history has a melancholy sameness—perpetual exactions, the means of enforcing them differing only in their degrees of cruelty. The Parliament of the Realm began to consider that these extraordinary succours ought at least to relieve the rest of the nation. They began to inquire into the king's resources from this quarter, and the king consented that one of the two justices of the Jews should be appointed by Parliament. But the Barons thought more of easing themselves than of protecting the oppressed. The next year a new demand of 8000 marks was made, under pain of being transported, some at least of the most wealthy, to Ireland;² and, lest they should withdraw their families into places of concealment, they were forbidden, under the penalty of outlawry and confiscation, to remove wife or child from their usual place of residence, for their wives and children were now liable to taxation as well as themselves. During the next three years 60,000 marks more were levied.³ How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucrative, to endure such perpetual exactions? The reason must be found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent.; certain Oxford scholars thought themselves relieved by being con-

them." See warrants in A. J., pp. 112, 113. Also in Royal Letters of the time of Henry III., p. 392, Precept to the Sheriff of Kent to send up the six most substantial Jews from Canterbury and from Rochester.

¹ Southampton and Newcastle had petitioned that no Jews might be permitted to reside within their walls. This privilege was extended to other towns—Derby, Rot., p. 32; Rumsey, p. 38. The exemptions to Southampton and Newcastle, A. J., pp. 102, 105. Madox, pp. 176, 177.

² "Aliquos de ditioribus Judæis, ut corpora eorum mittant ad Regem usque ad Gannock." Anglia Judaica, p. 118.

³ Document, A. J., p. 119. They were obliged to contribute, at least in kind, to the building and decoration of Westminster Abbey (p. 128).

strained to pay only twopence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings.¹ In fact, the rivalry of more successful usurers seems to have afflicted the Jews more deeply than the exorbitant demands of the king. These were the Caorsini, Italian bankers, though named from the town of Cahors, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue. It was the practice of these persons, under the sanction of their principal, to lend money for three months without interest, but afterwards to receive five per cent. monthly, till the debt was discharged : the former device was to exempt them from the charge of usury.² The king, at one time, attempted to expel this new swarm of locusts ; but they asserted their authority from the Pope, and the monarch trembled. Nor were their own body always faithful to the Jews. A certain Abraham, who lived at Berkhamstead and Wallingford, with a beautiful wife who bore the heathen name of Flora, was accused of treating an image of the Virgin with most indecent contumely ; he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but released on the intervention of Richard Earl of Cornwall, on payment of 700 marks. He was a man, it would seem, of infamous character, for his brethren accused him of coining, and offered 1000 marks rather than that he should be released from prison. Richard refused the tempting bribe, because Abraham was "his Jew." Abraham revenged himself by laying information of plots and conspiracies entered into by the whole people, and the more probable charge of concealment of their wealth from the rapacious hands of the king. This led to a strict and severe investigation of their property. At this investigation was present a wicked and merciless Jew, who rebuked the Christians for their tenderness to his brethren, and reproached the king's officers as gentle and effeminate. He gnashed his teeth, and, as each Jew appeared, declared that he could afford to pay twice as much as was exacted. Though he lied, he was useful in betraying their secret hoards to the king.³

The distresses of the king increased, and, as his Parliament resolutely refused to maintain his extravagant expenditure, nothing remained but to drain still farther the veins of the Jews. The office was delegated to Richard Earl of Cornwall, his brother, whom, from his wealth, the king might consider

¹ A. J., p. 122.

² See the bond in Matt. Paris to certain Milanese merchants.

³ This characteristic scene is related by Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1250.

possessed of some secret for accumulating riches from hidden sources. The Rabbi Elias was deputed to wait on the prince, expressing the unanimous determination of all the Jews to quit the country, rather than submit to further burthens: "Their trade was ruined by the Caorsini, the Pope's merchants (the Jew dared not call them usurers), who heaped up masses of gold by their moneylending; they could scarcely live on the miserable gains they now obtained; if their eyes were torn out, and their bodies flayed, they could not give more." The old man fainted at the close of his speech, and was with difficulty revived.¹ Their departure from the country was a vain boast, for whither should they go? The edicts of the King of France had closed that country against them, and the inhospitable world scarcely afforded a place of refuge. Earl Richard treated them with leniency, and accepted a small sum. But the next year the king renewed his demands—his declaration affected no disguise: "It is dreadful to imagine the debts to which I am bound. By the face of God, they amount to 200,000 marks; if I should say 300,000, I should not go beyond the truth. Money I must have, from any place, from any person, or by any means."² The king's acts display as little dignity as his proclamation. He actually sold or mortgaged to his brother Richard all the Jews in the realm for 5000 marks, giving him full power over their property and persons: our records still preserve the terms of this extraordinary bargain and sale.³ Popular opinion, which in the worst times is some restraint upon the arbitrary oppressions of kings, in this case would rather applaud the utmost barbarity of the monarch, than commiserate the wretchedness of the victims; for a new tale of the crucifixion of a Christian child, called Hugh of Lincoln, was now spreading horror throughout the country. The fact was confirmed by a solemn trial, and the conviction and execution of the criminals. It was proved, according to the mode of proof in those days, that the child had been stolen, fattened on bread and milk for ten days, and crucified with all the cruelties and insults of Christ's Passion, in the presence of all the Jews in England, summoned to Lincoln for this especial purpose; a Jew of Lincoln sat in judgment as Pilate. But the earth could not endure to be arraigned.

¹ Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1254.

² Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1255.

³ "Noveritis nos mutuo accepisse a dilecto fratre et fidei nostro R. Comite Cornuviæ quinque millia Marcorum Sterlingorum, novorum integrorum ad quorum solutionem assignavimus et tradidimus ei omnes Judæos nostros Angliae." A. J., p. 131; from Madox, p. 135.

accomplice in the crime ; it cast up the buried remains, and the affrighted criminals were obliged to throw the body into a well, where it was found by the mother.¹ Great part of this story refutes itself, but I have already admitted the possibility, that among the ignorant and fanatic Jews there might be some who, exasperated by the constant repetition of this charge, might brood over it so long as at length to be tempted to its perpetration.

I must not suppress the fearful vengeance wreaked on the supposed perpetrators of this all-execrated crime. The Jew into whose house the child, it was said, had gone to play, tempted by the promise of life and security from mutilation, made full confession, and threw the guilt upon his brethren. The king, indignant at this unauthorised covenant of mercy, ordered him to execution. The Jew, in his despair or frenzy, entered into a still more minute and terrible denunciation of all the Jews of the realm, as consenting to the act. He was dragged, tied to a horse's tail, to the gallows ; his body and his soul delivered to the dæmons of the air. Ninety-one Jews of Lincoln were sent to London as accomplices, and thrown into dungeons. If, says the monkish historian, some Christians felt pity for their sufferings, their rivals, the Caorsini, beheld them with dry eyes. The king's inquest declared all the Jews of the realm guilty of the crime. The mother made her appeal to the king. Eighteen of the richest and most eminent of the Lincoln Jews were hung on a new gallows ; twenty more were imprisoned in the Tower awaiting the same fate. But if the Jews of Lincoln were thus terribly chastised, the Church of Lincoln was enriched and made famous for centuries. The victim was canonised ; pilgrims crowded from all parts of the kingdom, even from foreign lands, to pay their devotions at the shrine, to witness and to receive benefit from the miracles which were wrought by the martyr of eight years old. How deeply this legend sank into the popular mind may be conceived from Chaucer's Prioress's Tale alluded to above.

The rest of the reign of Henry the Third passed away with the same unmitigated oppressions of the Jews ; which the Jews, no doubt, in some degree revenged by their extortions from the people. The contest between the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Jews was arranged by certain constitu-

¹ The Annals of Waverley are full on the death and canonisation of Hugh of Lincoln

tions, set forth by the king in council. By these laws no Jew could reside in the kingdom, but as king's serf. Service was to be performed in the synagogue in a low tone, so as not to offend the ears of Christians. The Jews were forbidden to have Christian nurses for their children. The other clauses were similar to those enacted in other countries : that the Jew should pay all dues to the parson ; no Jew should eat or buy meat during Lent ; all disputes on religion were forbidden ; sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians interdicted ; no Jew might settle in any town where Jews were not accustomed to reside, without special licence from the king.¹

The Barons' wars drew on, fatal to the Israelites as compelling the king, by the hopeless state of his finances, to new extortions, and tempting the Barons to plunder and even murder them, as wickedly and unconstitutionally attached to the king. How they passed back from Richard of Cornwall into the king's jurisdiction as property appears not. It is not likely that the king redeemed the mortgage ; but in 1261 they were again alienated to Prince Edward. The king's object was apparently by this and other gifts to withdraw the prince from his alliance with the Barons. The justiciaries of the Jews are now in abeyance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was to seal all writs of Judaism, and account to the attorneys of the prince for the amount. But this was not the worst of their sufferings or the bitterest disgrace ; the prince, in his turn, mortgaged them to certain of their dire enemies, the Caorsini, and the king ratified the assignment by his royal authority.²

But for this compulsory aid, wrung from them by violence, the Jews were treated by the Barons as allies and accomplices of the king. When London, at least her turbulent mayor and the populace, declared for the Barons ; when the grand justiciary, Hugh le Despenser, led the City bands to destroy the palaces of the King of the Romans at Westminster and Isleworth, threw the Justices of the King's Bench and the Barons of the Exchequer into prison, and seized the property of the foreign merchants, five hundred of the Jews,³ men, women,

¹ The law in *Anglia Judaica*, and Madox, p. 168, who dates it about the 37th year of Henry III., A.C. 1252.

² Documents in A. J., pp. 157, 158.

³ In his Charter to the City, King Henry exempts his Jews, who were to remain the exclusive property of himself and his successors : " De Judæis autem nostris nos et civitatem nostram tangentibus, providebimus, nos et hæredes nostri, prout melius nobis videbimus expedire." The Barons no doubt seized them as the property of the king. Liber Albus, p. 255.

and children, were apprehended, and set apart, but not for security. Despenser chose some of the richest in order to extort a ransom for his own people; the rest were plundered, stripped, murdered by the merciless rabble. Old men, and babes plucked from their mothers' breasts, were pitilessly slaughtered. It was on Good Friday that one of the fiercest of the Barons, Fitz John, put to death Cok ben Abraham, reputed to have been the wealthiest man in the kingdom, seized his property, but, fearful of the jealousy of the other Barons, surrendered one half of the plunder to Leicester, in order to secure his own portion.¹ The Jews of other cities fared no better, were pillaged, and then abandoned to the mob by the Earl of Gloucester; many at Worcester were plundered and forced to submit to baptism by the Earl of Derby. At an earlier period the Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) had expelled them from the town of Leicester; they sought refuge in the domains of the Countess of Winchester. Robert Grostête, the wisest and best churchman of the day, then Archdeacon of Leicester, hardly permitted the Countess to harbour this accursed race; their lives might be spared, but all further indulgence, especially acceptance of their ill-gotten wealth, would make her an accomplice in the wickedness of their usuries.²

After the battle of Lewes, the king, with the advice of his Barons (he was now a prisoner in their camp), issued a procla-

¹ Lingard, of our historians, has related this with the greatest spirit and felicity from Wikes and M. Westminster. Wikes is full; Westminster more pitilessly brief: "Ac in ipsâ Passione Dominicâ apud Londinium de quâdam proditione Baronibus simul ac civibus inferendâ, omnes fere Judæi trucidati sunt, thesauro incomparabili assumpto in Judaismo" (p. 286, sub ann. 1264).

² Read the remarkable letter of Robert Grostête, then Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards the famous Bishop of Lincoln, to the Countess on this subject, as showing the feelings of the most enlightened churchman in those times towards the Jews. His mercy, if it was mercy, would spare their lives. "As murderers of the Lord, as still blaspheming Christ and mocking His Passion, they were to be in captivity to the princes of the earth. As they have the brand of Cain, and are condemned to wander over the face of the earth, so were they to have the privilege of Cain, that no one was to kill them. But those who favoured or harboured them were to take care that they did not oppress Christian subjects by usury. It was for this reason that Simon de Montfort had expelled them from Leicester. Whoever protected them might share in the guilt of their usuries." There are some sentences evidently pointed at the king, for his dealings with them and his connivance (by extorting, it is presumed, a share in their ungodly gains) in their nefarious practices: "Principes quoque qui de usuris, quas Judæi a Christianis extorserint, aliquid acceperint, de rapinâ vivunt et sanguinem eorum quos tueri deberent, sine misericordia bibunt et induunt." Epist. Rob. Grostête, p. 36, Rolls Publication.

mation to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, in favour of the Jews. Some had found refuge, during the tumult and massacre, in the Tower of London; they were permitted to return with their families to their homes. All ill-usage or further molestation was prohibited under pain of death. Orders of the same kind were issued to Lincoln; twenty-five citizens were named by the king and the Barons¹ their special protectors; so also to Northampton. The king (Prince Edward was now at war with the Barons, who had the king in their power) revoked the grant of the Jews to his son; with that the grant to the Caorsini, which had not expired, was cancelled. The justiciaries appointed by the prince to levy the tallage upon them were declared to have lost their authority; the Jews passed back to the property of the king. The king showed his power by annulling many debts and the interest due upon them to some of his faithful followers, avowedly in order to secure their attachment.² It was now clearly for the king's interest that such profitable subjects should find, we may not say justice, but something like restitution, which might enable them again to become profitable. The king in the parliament, which commenced its sittings immediately after the battle of Lewes, and continued till after the battle of Evesham, restored the Jews to the same state in which they were before the battle of Lewes. As to the Jews in London,³ the constable of the Tower was to see not only that those who had taken refuge in the Tower, but those who had fled to other places, were to return to their houses, which were to be restored, except such as had been granted away by the king; and even all their property which could be recovered from the king's enemies. Excepting that some of the Barons' troops, flying from the battle of Evesham, under the younger Simon de Montfort, broke open and plundered the synagogue at Lincoln, where they found much wealth, and some excesses committed at Cambridge, the Jews had time to breathe. The king, enriched by the forfeited estates of the Barons, spared the Jews. We only find a tallage of 1000 pounds, with promise of exemption for three years, unless the king or his son should undertake a Crusade.⁴

Their wrongs had, no doubt, sunk deep into the hearts of

¹ Trivet, A. J., p. 166.

² "Ut nobis devotiores et ad obsequium nostrum promptiores efficiantur." See the Instrument, A. J., p. 167.

³ Writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs, A. J., p. 161; Parliamentary Writ, p. 164.

⁴ Warrant, A. J., p. 167.

the Jews. It has been observed that oppression, which drives even wise men mad, may instigate fanatics to the wildest acts of frenzy ; an incident at Oxford will illustrate this. Throughout these times the Jews still flourished, if they may be said to have flourished, at Oxford. In 1244 certain clerks of the University broke into the houses of the Jews and carried away enormous wealth. The magistrates seized and imprisoned some of the offenders. Grostête, as bishop of the diocese (Oxford was then in the diocese of Lincoln), commanded their release, because there was no proof of felony against them.¹ We hear nothing of restitution. The scholars might indeed hate the Jews, whose interest on loans was *limited*, by Bishop Grostête, to twopence weekly in the pound—between 40 and 50 per cent. Probably the poor scholars' security was not over good. Later, the studies in the University are said to have been interrupted, the scholars being unable to redeem their books, pledged to the Jews.²

Four-and-twenty years after the outbreak of the scholars, years of bitterness and spoliation and suffering, while the chancellor and the whole body of the University were in solemn procession to the reliques of St. Frideswide, they were horror-struck by beholding a Jew rush forth, seize the cross which was borne before them, dash it to the ground, and trample upon it with the most furious contempt. The offender seems to have made his escape in the tumult, but his people suffered for his crime. Prince Edward was then at Oxford ; and, by the royal decree, the Jews were imprisoned, and forced, notwithstanding much artful delay on their part, to erect a beautiful cross of white marble, with an image of the Virgin and Child, gilt all over, in the area of Merton College ;³ and to present to the proctors another cross of silver, to be borne in all future processions of the University.⁴ The Jews endeavoured to elude this penalty by making over their effects to other persons. The king empowered the sheriff to levy the fine on all their property.⁵

The last solemn act of Henry of Winchester was a statute

¹ "Bona eorum innumerabilia asportaverunt." Wikes, sub ann. 1244. ". . . quia nullus apparuit qui eos directe convincere posset de crimine feloniae." Ibid.

² Compare Luard, Preface to Grostête Epistolæ, p. lxix. ; for the latter fact, A. J., p. 209.

³ Walter de Merton purchased of a Jew the ground on which the front of his College now stands, Nov. 12, 1272.

⁴ Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, ad ann. 1288.

⁵ See king's warrant, &c., A. J., p. 176.

of great importance. Complaints had arisen that the Jews, by purchase, or probably foreclosure of mortgage, might become possessed of all the rights of lords of manors, escheat wardships, even of presentation to churches. They might hold entire baronies with all their appurtenances. The whole was swept away by one remorseless clause. The Act¹ disqualified the Jews altogether from holding lands, or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the City of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away ; those which they held by mortgage were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on such bonds. Henry almost died in the act of extortion ; he had ordered the arrears of all charges to be peremptorily paid, under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers, the Caorsini, and the Friars themselves, were moved to commiseration, though some complained that the wild outcries raised in the synagogue on this doleful occasion disturbed the devotion of the Christians in the neighbouring churches.²

The death of Henry released the Jews from this Egyptian bondage ; but they changed their master, not their fortune. The first act of Edward's reign, after his return from the Holy Land, regulated the affairs of the Jews exactly in the same spirit : a new tallage was demanded, which was to extend to the women and children ; the penalty of non-payment, even of arrears, was exile, not imprisonment. The defaulter was to proceed immediately to Dover, with his wife and children, leaving his house and property to the use of the king. The execution of this edict was committed, not to the ordinary civil authorities, but to an Irish bishop (elect) and to two friars.³ This edict was followed up by the celebrated Act of Parliament concerning Judaism,⁴ the object of which seems to have been the same with the policy of Louis IX. of France, to force the Jews to abandon usury, and betake themselves

¹ See the Act, which the author of *Anglia Judaica* discovered in the Bodleian, p. 188.

² *Anglia Judaica*, p. 196.

³ See Commission, p. 198.

⁴ See the Act translated from the Norman French. It is remarkable that the king admits, notwithstanding, that they (the Jews) are and have been very profitable to him and his ancestors.

to traffic, manufactures, or the cultivation of land. It positively prohibited all usury, and cancelled all debts on payment of the principal. No Jew might distress beyond the moiety of a Christian's land and goods ; they were to wear their badge, a badge now of yellow, not white, and pay an Easter offering of threepence, men and women, to the king. They were permitted to practise merchandise, or labour with their hands, and—some of them, it seems, were still addicted to husbandry—to hire farms for cultivation for fifteen years. On these terms they were assured of the royal protection. But manual labour and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews. Many of them, thus reduced, took again to a more unlawful and dangerous occupation, clipping and adulterating the coin. In one day (Nov. 17, 1279) all the Jews in the kingdom were arrested. In London alone, 280 were executed, after a full trial ; many more in other parts of the kingdom. A vast quantity of clipped coin was found, and confiscated to the king's use.¹ The king granted their estates and forfeitures with lavish hand. But law, though merciless, and probably not over-scrupulous in the investigation of crime, did not satisfy the popular passions, which had been let loose by these wide and general accusations. The populace took the law into their own hands. Everywhere there was full licence for plunder, and worse than plunder. The king was obliged to interpose. A writ² was issued, addressed to the justiciaries who had presided at the trials for the adulteration of the coin, Peter of Pencester, Walter of Heylynn, John of Cobham, appointed justiciaries for the occasion. It recited that many Jews had been indicted and legally condemned to death, and to the forfeiture of their goods and chattels ; but that certain Christians, solely on account of religious differences, were raising up false and frivolous charges against men who had not been legally arraigned, in order to extort money from them by fear. No Jew against whom a legal indictment had not been issued before the 1st of May was to be molested or subject to accusation. Those only arrested on grave suspicion before that time were to be put upon their trial. Jewish tradition attributes the final expulsion of the Jews to these charges, which the king,

¹ Ann. Waverl., sub ann. 1278 : "Inventa est maxima summa retensionis [clipped coin] apud eos quæ totaliter devenit ad fiscum Regis, ad magnum damnum totius regni et gravamen."

² See the Writ, in A. J., p. 208.

it avers, did not believe, yet was compelled to yield to popular clamour.¹

But not all the statutes, nor public executions, nor the active preaching of the Dominican Friars, who undertook to convert them if they were constrained to hear their sermons (the king's bailiffs, on the petition of the Friars,² were ordered to induce the Jews to become quiet, meek, and uncontentious hearers), could either alter the Jewish character, still patient of all evil so that they could extort wealth; or suppress the still-increasing clamour of public detestation, which demanded that the land should cast forth from its indignant bosom this irreclaimable race of rapacious infidels. Still worse, if we may trust a Papal Bull, the presence and intercourse of the Jews were dangerous to the religion of England. In the year 1286, the Pope (Honoriūs IV.) addressed a Bull to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, rebuking them for the remissness of the clergy in not watching more closely the proceedings of the Jews. The Archbishop, indeed, had not been altogether so neglectful in the duty of persecution. The number and the splendour of the synagogues in London had moved the indignation, perhaps the jealousy, of Primate Peckham. He issued his monition to the Bishop of London to inhibit the building any more of these offensively sumptuous edifices, and to compel the Jews to destroy those built within a prescribed time. The zeal of the Bishop of London (Robert

¹ Schevet Judah : "Hac arte evertere Judæos aggressi Christiani fingunt et dictitant, adulterasse monetam." Though these charges were disproved, the king would not acknowledge his belief of their innocence (p. 140).

² The petition of the Friars was, "Quod omnes Judæos, ubique locorum in Ballivis vestris conversantes, efficaciter moneatis et inducatis, quod in locis ubi vobis de consilio Fratrum ipsorum magis expedire videbitur ad audiendum verbum Dei convenienter; et illud ab iisdem Fratribus, absque tumultu, contentione vel blasphemia, audiant diligenter et benigne." A. J., p. 219. The king was graciously pleased to accede to the wishes of the Dominicans, and to issue instructions accordingly, to be valid so long as he should think fit. The king did more; he generously waived his claim for seven years to more than a moiety of the goods of the converts; the other half was given to maintain the poor in the Hospital for Converts, already founded on ground now occupied by the Rolls Court. (The king had before granted deodands on the Jews to the Friars Preachers.) There are in Anglia Judaica several appointments of wardens, and other documents relating to this house and chapel. It is still more curious that allowances were made to converts from Judaism, after the grant of the house to the Master of the Rolls, out of the revenue of the house. One in the time of Richard II. to a female, said to have been the daughter of a bishop (Episcopi) of the Jews; she had one penny a day. Another as late as James II.; the convert had 1½d. a day (A. J., p. 226). Among the strange anomalies of the time was an action for defamation against certain persons (it was a litigation about the dower of a Jew's wife), for asserting that the Jewess had been baptized. A. J., p. 231.

de Gravesend) outran that of the Archbishop ; he ordered them all to be levelled to the ground. The Archbishop, prevailed on by the urgent supplications of the Jews, graciously informed the bishop that he might conscientiously allow one synagogue, if that synagogue did not wound the eyes of pious Christians by its magnificence.¹ But the Bull of Honorius IV. was something more than a stern condemnation of the usurious and extortionate practices of the Jews ; it was a complaint of their progress, not merely in inducing Jewish converts to Christianity to apostatise back to Judaism, but of their not unsuccessful endeavours to tempt Christians to Judaism. "These Jews lure them to their synagogues on the Sabbath [are we to suppose that there was something splendid and attractive in the Synagogue worship of the day?]; and in their friendly intercourse at common banquets, the souls of Christians, softened by wine, and good eating, and social enjoyment, are endangered."² The Talmud of the Jews, which they still persist in studying, is especially denounced as full of abomination, falsehood, and infidelity.

The king at length listened to the public voice, and the irrevocable edict of total expulsion from the realm was issued. Their whole property was seized at once, and just money enough left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable.³ The 10th October was the fatal day. The king benignantly allowed them till All Saints' Day ; after which all who delayed were to be hanged without mercy. The king, in the execution of this barbarous proceeding, put on the appearance both of religion and moderation. Safe-conducts were to be granted to the seashore from all parts of the kingdom. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports were to provide shipping and receive the exiles with civility and

¹ A. J., pp. 302-304.

² "Præfati quoque Judæi non solum mentes fidelium ad eorum sectam pestiferam allicere moliuntur, verum etiam illos qui salubri ducti consilio infidelitatis abjurantes errorem ad lucem catholicæ fidei convolarunt donis multimodis ad apostatandum inducere non verentur." They invite Christians on the Sabbath to their synagogues, "quamobrem plerique Christicola pariter Judaizant." They buy Christian servants of both sexes. . . . "Christiani et Judæi in domibus propriis sæpe convenient, et dum simul comessationibus et potationibus vacant, erroris malitia præparatur." Apud Raynaldum, sub ann. 1286.

³ The Act for the expulsion of the Jews has not come down to us ; we know not, therefore, the reasons alleged for the measure. Of the fact there can be no doubt (see Report on the Dignity of a Peer, p. 180), and there are many documents relating to the event, as writs to the authorities in Gloucester and York, to grant them safe-conduct to the ports where they were to embark.

kindness. The king expressed his intention of converting great part of his gains to pious uses, but the Church looked in vain for the fulfilment of his vows. He issued orders that the Jews should be treated with kindness and courtesy on their journey to the seashore. But where the prince by his laws thus gave countenance to the worst passions of human nature, it was not likely that they would be suppressed by his proclamations. The Jews were pursued from the kingdom with every mark of popular triumph in their sufferings; one man, indeed, the master of a vessel at Queenborough, was punished for leaving a considerable number on the shore at the mouth of the river, when, as they prayed to him to rescue them from their perilous situation, he answered, that they had better call on Moses, who had made them pass safe through the Red Sea; and sailing away with their remaining property, left them to their fate.¹ The number of exiles is variously estimated at 15,060 and 16,511; all their property, debts, obligations, mortgages, escheated to the king. Yet some, even in those days, presumed to doubt whether the nation gained by the act of expulsion, and even ventured to assert that the public burthens on the Christians only became heavier and more intolerable.² Catholics suffered in the place of the enemies of the Cross of Christ. The loss to the Crown was enormous.³ The convents made themselves masters of the valuable libraries of the Jews, one at Stamford, another at Oxford, from which the celebrated Roger Bacon is said to have derived great information; and long after, the common people would dig in the places they had frequented, in hopes of finding buried treasures. Thus terminates the first period of the History of the Jews in England.

¹ Coke's Institutes, p. 508. Matt. Westminster, sub ann. 1290.

² "Sane quantum emolumenti regis fisco deperit per relegationem Ju-dæorum a regno, multo amplius eidem per deplorabilem quintæ decimæ totius regni quam extorsit a Catholicis exaggerationem: sic quoque pro inimicis Christi crucis immisericorditer puniuntur." Wikes adds, "Nec quatenus æstimari potest occasione tanti *sceleris* deperit, præsertim cum non tantum tallagii, sed et placitis, denariis, eschætis, et exeniis ærarium Domini Regis consueverunt multipliciter augmentare." Wikes, sub ann. 1290.

³ "Great," writes the author of *Anglia Judaica*, "were the spoils they left behind them. Whole Rolls, full of patents relating to their estates, are still remaining in the Tower, which, together with their rents in fee and their mortgages, all escheated to the King" (p. 244).

BOOK XXVI

JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN

Superiority of the Jews of Spain—Early period—Alfonso VIII.—Ferdinand III.—Alfonso X., the Wise—Siete Partidas—Attempt at Conversion—Ferdinand IV.—Alfonso XI.—Pedro of Castile and Henry of Trastamare—Zeal of the Clergy—Pope Benedict XIII.—Conversions—Vincent Ferrer—New Christians—The Inquisition—Ferdinand and Isabella—Expulsion of the Jews from Spain—Sufferings in Italy—in Morocco—in Portugal—Their subsequent History in the two kingdoms.

FRANCE and England had thus finally, it might appear, purified their realms from the infection of Jewish infidelity. Two centuries after their expulsion from England, one after that from France—Spain, disdaining to be outdone in religious persecution, made up the long arrears of her dormant intolerance, and asserted again her evil pre-eminence in bigotry. The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste—in the former, as it were, an order in the state. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been, generally, reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom; they were possessors and cultivators of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and no doubt deserved—for they had in their own tongue, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers on medicine, and, by their intercourse with the East, no doubt obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the West.

Jewish tradition, which took the form of legend, looked back to Spain as the scene of a golden age. "For more than six hundred years beautiful and flourishing Spain might be looked on as the happy land, the earthly Paradise. There party madness had not inflamed the inhabitants against each other, and disturbed the sweet domestic peace. Every one might worship God in his own manner, without on that

account being despised and hated. Even Israel, that oppressed and persecuted people, found in happy Spain a haven of freedom. Every one sat under his shady fig-tree or cluster-laden vine, singing hymns of thanksgiving to the mighty God of Israel, who again had mercy on His people, and gave them rest so long unknown. There were great men who sprang from the stock of Israel, men of learning, men of wisdom, poets, artists, whose names even to our own days are held in honour."¹ It might have been difficult for the author of these glowing sentences to make out his six centuries of peace. The Moorish persecution, which drove Maimonides from his native land, and other persecutions, related in my former pages, break in on this bright and serene retrospect. Whatever they were in other lands, in Spain they were more than a people within a people—they were a state within a state. The heads of the community, whether as princes or Rabbins, exercised not only religious, but civil authority also; they formed a full judicial tribunal in criminal as well as ecclesiastical affairs; adjudged not only in cases of property, but of life; passed sentences beyond that of excommunication, sentences of capital punishment. Many of the hostile statutes of the Kings, and of the Cortes, aim at depriving them of this judicial power; they are to cease to have judges. Even as late as 1391 they put to death, as unsound, Don Joseph Pichon.² It was only at that time, under John I., that they were deprived of this right.

We have seen the commencement of the Iron Age in Spain;³ we must ascend again the stream of history to trace the gradually and irregularly darkening doom of the race in the Spanish peninsula.

Mariana would give the authority of history to the passion of the renowned Alfonso VIII. (A.C. 1158-1213) for the beautiful Jewess of Toledo, Rachel. To the judgment of God, for the sin of the king and his adultery, was attributed the loss of the great battle of Alarcos (A.C. 1195). The nobles released the king from the bonds of his unholy love by murdering the unhappy Jewess. The subject has been a favourite with Spanish dramatists.⁴ In the great crusade of

¹ I cannot call to mind from what Jewish writer I transcribed this, but can vouch for its accuracy.

² Amador de los Rios, p. 188.

³ See p. 325.
⁴ Lope de Vega, Mirademesca, Diamante, and La Huerta. I have read Diamante's play, which is very spirited. Huerta's is a more regular tragedy. See Mariana, xi. c. 18.

the Christian kings, of Castile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, which won the crowning victory of Navas de Tolosa (A.C. 1212), the wild cry, which had rung through the cities of France and on the Rhine against the Jews, was raised in Toledo. The king and the nobles interposed,¹ but it is said not before 12,000 miserable Jews had been maltreated or fallen by the sword. The triumph of the Christians threatened to be as fatal to the Jews as their arming for battle against the unbelievers; but the conquering monarch had power to restrain their ferocity.

Better times came with better kings. The silence of history as to the state of the Jews during the reign of Ferdinand the Saint, from 1217 to 1252, shows at least that he had a nobler title to sanctity than as a persecutor. Scarcely more is known than that at his remonstrance on the impracticability of branding the Jews with a peculiar dress, and so arraying the two races in irreconcilable hostility and exposing one to daily and habitual contempt, the mild Honorius III. suspended the execution of the stern law of his predecessor, Innocent III., unless under further instructions from the Papal See.²

Alfonso the Wise of Castile commenced his long reign in A.C. 1252. Already, before his father's death, in the settlement of the affairs of the city of Seville, the prince showed manifest signs of favour to the proscribed race. He conceded to them certain lands; in Seville he gave them three mosques for synagogues. Their Jewry was enclosed by a wall which reached from the Alcazar to the Carmona Gate. He bestowed other heritable possessions on opulent Jews. He encouraged the residence of learned and distinguished Jews in the city. The Jews, in gratitude, presented to him a key of exquisite workmanship for the cathedral of Seville, with the inscription, "God will open; the king will enter in." The same words in Hebrew characters ran round the ring of the key.³ Soon

¹ Mariana, xi. c. 23.

² "Quare nobis fuit, tam ex dicti regis [Ferdinand III.] quam ex tua parte humiliiter supplicatum, ut executione constitutionis super hoc edictæ tibi supersedere de nostra provisione liceret, cum absque gravi scando procedere non valeat in eadem: volentes igitur tranquillitati dicti regis et regni paternâ solicitudine providere, præsentium tibi auctoritate mandamus, quatenus executionem constitutionis supradictæ suspendas, quamdiu expedire cognoveris, nisi forsitan super exequandam eamdem apostolicum mandatum speciale reciperes." Honor. III. ad Archeepiscopum Toletanum, April 1219.

³ There is another version of this story, which would suppose that the Jews were not quite so grateful. The words in Hebrew, it is said, were—"The king of all the earth [meaning their Messiah] shall enter in." Amador de los Rios, p. 49, with note.

after his accession Alfonso founded professorships at Seville, at Toledo, and other places, for the cultivation of the Hebrew language and literature. Perhaps the grant, under a sealed letter, to the metropolitan church of Seville, to impose the same capitation tax on the Jews which prevailed in other dioceses of Spain, may have been in some degree a protective measure. It is but natural, and no unfair imputation, to suppose that the zeal of the clergy would be somewhat mitigated by this tribute. Such useful tributaries would be less hateful, for money is a great peacemaker. But when the wise and just Alfonso was called on to draw up the great Statute Laws of the realm (the *Siete Partidas*),¹ he was constrained to make concessions to the sterner spirit of the times. In this code there is a severe enactment against the public preaching of Judaism and the endeavour to make proselytes (this ordinance, like all of the same class, betrays some dread of the strength of Judaism). There is an inhibition (perhaps a merciful one) for all Jews to keep within their houses on Friday, on pain of being exposed to insult and injury from the excited Christians. They are excluded from all public offices. The Christians are interdicted from living in familiarity with Jews. Jews are forbidden to have Christian servants; and finally they are condemned to wear some mark on their dress distinguishing them from other vassals of the realm. This last and severest clause was perhaps inevitable. The austere old Pope, Gregory IX., had retracted the concession of the mild Honorius III. (A.C. 1234). He had exacted from all the kings of Spain the strict enforcement of the canon of the Lateran Council concerning the distinctive dress of the Jews (A.C. 1235). The same Pope had issued two Bulls, one to the King of Castile, one to the whole of Spain, commanding, in the spirit of St. Louis, the interdiction of the Talmud to the Jews. But the execution of this ordinance, in Spain, was impossible. On the other hand, there were enactments in this code of a more liberal character. The Jews were permitted to rebuild their synagogues; severe penalties were attached to the Christian who should profane them. The Jews were exempt from arrest (save in cases of robbery or murder) on the Sabbath, lest the quiet of their religious observances should be disturbed. And there was a provision, that Jews who became Christians were to be held in honour: they were not to be reproached, neither themselves

¹ *Siete Partidas*, vii. 24.

nor their families, with their Jewish blood. They were to be masters of their own possessions, to share with their brethren, and to inherit according to Jewish law, as if still Jews. They might hold all offices and honours open to other Christians.

This privilege was no doubt connected with a noble and generous movement for their conversion to the faith of the Gospel by fair argument, to which it was supposed that their high state of cultivation, their liberal learning, and the milder spirit of legislation, and of general usage, might open their minds with far greater success than hatred, contempt, and persecution. At the head of this movement stood Raimond de Pennaforte, confessor to King James of Arragon. The Dominicans, the fathers of the Inquisition, had not yet hardened themselves into the fatal belief that the fire and the stake were the lawful and the best instruments of conversion to the faith of Jesus. James of Arragon went so far as to permit a religious tournament to take place in his palace at Barcelona. A monk named Paul appeared on the Christian side; on that of the Jews, the famous Moses, son of Nachman. Each combatant claimed the victory. The brother Paul received permission from the king to preach in all the synagogues of the Jews, and to receive the expenses of the journey out of the tribute paid to the Church by the Jews. Ben Nachman claimed the triumph, and received a valuable present in money from the king. But the dispute, like all such disputes, had little effect; no one was the better, not a convert was made.¹ The king ordered a

¹ It is, I presume, to Alfonso the Wise that is to be referred the curious conference, in the Schevet Judah, with Thomas the Philosopher. Though a Christian (see p. 42), Thomas was yet profoundly versed in Jewish erudition. A bishop had preached to the king, that the Jews never celebrated their Passover but with the blood of a Christian. "Though," says the king, "there are manifest signs of folly rather than of wisdom in that bishop, yet the populace fully believe a man of his position. What am I to do?" The king then enters into a strange view of Roman and Jewish history, not giving a high notion of his historical knowledge. The philosopher expresses his wonder that the king and a people so wise as the Spaniards could listen to such old wives' fables. He insists on the prohibition in the Law against murder, and against the tasting of the blood even of animals. The latter part of the philosopher's defence is more curious: "All these calumnies against the Jews are from envy. When the Jews came into the kingdom, poor, and with tattered garments, no one heard of the charges of killing children and drinking Christian blood; now that the Jew appears like a king [regnare videtur], and if he has 200 florins buys for himself a robe of silk, for his sons gold brocade, such as princes whose annual revenues are 1000 crowns cannot afford, the Christians take counsel to expel the Jews from the realm. When the Christian was rich, the Jew poor, all was well; now that, through usury, the Jew is rich, the Christian poor, the Jews, by their superior cleverness, have scraped together so much wealth that they possess one half of

censure upon Jewish books ; all passages against Christianity were to be struck out. This Paul is the same monk who obtained great influence over Louis IX., and advised him to pass that persecuting law. But Alfonso the Wise rendered more important homage to the Jewish civilisation of Spain. Of the Arabian science and the Arabian philosophy, which in older times had allured the more enlightened and inquiring minds of Europe, such as Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), to their schools in Spain, almost all which remained was with the Jews. In framing his famous Astronomical Tables, the king called in the aid of Jews, and it is probable that to them they owe their scientific value.

During all this time the perpetual and complicated money transactions between the Jews and the Christians throughout the peninsula as elsewhere, if they did not require, were compelled to submit to legal regulation. Usury was prohibited by law, and the Jews were held to be violating their own law in demanding it. But necessity knows no law ; and the supposition that the rich would lend their money without profit or advantage was an absurdity open to the coarsest common sense. The creditor, Lombard, Caorsin, or Jew, would lend on the highest interest he could extort, and in proportion to the precariousness of the security. The debtor, under the necessity of borrowing, would use every subterfuge and implore legal protection against the payment of his debts. In Spain the Jews probably held a monopoly in the money market ; it was as yet too barren a province for the enterprising Italians

the lands and property in the kingdom." The king goes on to assign another cause for the hatred of the Jews—their unseccial disposition : " Nothing unites the hearts of those who differ so much as familiar and friendly intercourse but if the lip of a Christian has touched a cup, the Jew pours out the wine as unclean." Thomas excuses this as a narrow Talmudic prejudice. He then gives advice to the king, of which the Jews assuredly would not approve. " Send out a herald and make proclamation that all the lands and possessions now occupied by the Jews be returned to their owners ; from henceforth let no Jew wear silk, but every one wear the red fillet which distinguishes the Jew." The whole people applauded, as they might be expected to do, this wise proposal of the philosopher ; and he was then enabled to pursue an investigation by which it appeared that the body of a dead Christian, found in the house of a Jew, had been placed there by a wicked conspiracy of some zealous Christians. Here, if the reader be tempted to open the Schever Judah, let him pause, unless he would lose himself in a labyrinth of Talmudic nonsense. There is another singular conference of Alfonso the Wise with Jewish deputation, on account of a charge of murdering a Christian at Ossuna. The king avails himself of the knowledge which he has obtained from the philosopher Thomas. At the close of this inquiry, John de la Vera, who had brought a false (pp. 78-92) accusation against the Jews, is condemned to be buried alive, but, on his petition, only hanged.

and the wealth was chiefly in the hands of the Jews.¹ The laws, and the kings and nobles, the authors of the laws, had the difficult task of adjusting the demands of concession to one class of their impoverished subjects with the least possible injustice to the other class, their useful, if despised subjects. Some laws of Alfonso VII., in the *Fuero Viejo*, of Castile had seemed to favour the Jews on this point. The Jewish as well as the Christian creditor might seize the movables of a debtor, either for the debt, or the interest upon it, and sell them. He might even seize their lands, under certain restrictions, but not sell them. There were provisions, not unjust, for the proof of debts. In Arragon, King James limited interest to 20 per cent.;² but in the kingdom of Navarre it was otherwise. Not only was usury altogether forbidden, but a Bull was obtained from Pope Alexander IV. (A.C. 1254-1261), which empowered the kings to seize all estates obtained by the Jews through what were called usurious practices, and restore them to the owners—in default of owners, to give them to the Crown. In Navarre, too, the law of St. Louis prevailed, by which the Jew could recover only the capital, not the interest of his debt.

But of the wealth of the Jews there is extant a remarkable evidence, a detailed account of the capitation dues paid to the prelates and to the nobles of Castile, or to hidalgos, who had obtained grants out of these funds, on the field of battle, or from the bounty of kings or prelates, or in commutation for other grants, in the archbishopric of Toledo, the bishoprics of Cuenca, Palencia, Burgos, Calahorra, Osma, Plasencia, Siguenza, Segovia, Avila, the kingdom of Murcia, the kingdom of Leon, the frontiers of Andalusia. The total sum was from two millions and a half to towards three millions of maravedis (the maravedi was reckoned at ten deniers); the number of Jews who paid the tax is stated at 850,961. But, as in the *Aljama*, this tax, which had been granted at the instigation of Alfonso before his accession to the throne, was paid only by males above seventeen years old, the Jewish population must have amounted to three millions; and as the commerce and industry, perhaps even in large part the profitable cultivation of the soil, was in the hands of the Jews, their flourishing state,

¹ "Comperies tertiam agrorum et possessionum partem quæ in universa Hispania sunt, per immanes usuras jam cessisse Judæis." Schevet Judah, p. 33.

² Jost, vi. 296.

under the administration of the Wise Alfonso, may be fairly estimated;—a state to be sadly changed under his fierce and barbarous successors. To the Jews in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon must be added those of Arragon and Navarre.¹

In the frontier provinces, in Navarre and Catalonia, and the adjacent districts, the Jews suffered by the insurrection of the shepherds, which spread through those parts. They were accused in those districts, as in the South of France, of causing the dreadful plague of leprosy, which ensued, and of poisoning the fountains.² Still, on the whole they were protected by the wiser kings of Arragon and Castile from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy.

From the reign of Alfonso the Wise in Castile, under Sancho I.; and Ferdinand IV. to that of Alfonso XI.; during the wars of the kings of Arragon with France for the possession of the crown of Sicily, and throughout the contest for the Castilian throne, and the long strife of the king against the nobles, although the financial embarrassments were perpetual, and more than once the kings resorted to the ultimate remedy of tampering with the coin, yet the great desperate mode of alleviating taxation, the unfailing resource of France and

¹ Unfortunately, in the account of this curious document, though the detailed numbers are given, Magnabál's translation of Amador de los Ríos is deficient, and there seems to me an inexplicable contradiction between the text and the notes. It is a copy of an ordinance of the metropolitan church of Toledo, preserved in the city of Huete; the date is 1290, six years after the death of Alfonso the Wise. Neither the text nor the notes state how much each Jew paid per head, but no doubt it was three maravedis (thirty pence). In the text the sum total is given at 2,801,345; in the note at 2,564,855. Nor are we distinctly told, but left to infer, from the grant of the Aljama to the metropolitan church at Seville, that it was paid only by persons above seventeen years old (p. 48). But there is this further grave difficulty: Jost had before (vi. 380) printed this document. But the numbers in Jost differ in particular parts most materially; *i.e.* for Toledo and those that paid there, Jost has 16,505; Amador de los Ríos 216,500. The total of the Archbispòprie of Toledo in Jost is 558,216; in De Ríos 1,062,902. The total in Jost is 2,100,000. They differ more formidably in the more important result, the number of the Jews (neither determines whether the tax was paid on the whole population or only by adults). Jost reckons only 80,000 taxable Jews (achtzig tausend) De Ríos, as we see, above 800,000 ("nombre d'âmes qui payait," note). Jost calculates the Jews in Christian Spain at half a million. Considering that the Christian population of Spain, especially of Castile, must have been by no means great, the smaller number would appear more probable. In Ersch und Grüber there is a third transcript of this account, differing again in the numbers. Cassel thinks Jost incorrect.

² The Jewish historian (Schevet Judah) relates with pride that the wealth Jews of Tudela, and even those of France and Germany, contributed largely to allay the sufferings of their brethren.

England, the plunder of the Jews, does not seem to have occurred to the sovereign or to the nobles. The Jews of the great cities, Toledo, Seville, Burgos, still paid to the churches or chapters of those cities in their Aljamas, the three maravedis, or thirty pence, for each adult. The sum had long been fixed by the Christians, and the Jews might overlook, if they would, the ignominious significance of that special sum fixed in memorial of the betrayal of Christ.¹ The king, however, does not seem to have assumed or exercised the right of taxing them at his will, as his men, his feudal serfs. The great Queen Regent, Maria de Molina, on her resumption of the royal power, issued a singular edict against the Jews, partly a re-enactment from the Siete Partidas, that the Jews were not to assume Christian names under pain of being dealt with as heretics; that Christians were not to consort with Jews or Moors, or to allow Jews or Moors to educate their children.²

During the reign of Ferdinand IV., a Jew exercised great authority over the finances. Under Alfonso XI., Joseph, the famous Jew of Ecija, collected the royal rents, and appears to have been the financial minister. By his great power (he resided in the palace), he excited the jealousy of the nobles, who accused him, and the Christian Count Osorio, of having bewitched the king by magical beverages.³ The nobles were at first content with the sacrifice of the Christian favourite, and condescended to despise the Jew; yet at a later period the Jew was accused of malversation, stripped of his office, and it was enacted that no Jew hereafter should administer the royal finances.⁴ But, notwithstanding this prohibition, the king's physician, Samuel Abenhuer, obtained the privilege of coining money, on paying a fixed rent to the Crown.⁵ He was also empowered to buy up the current coin at a lower price. The consequence of the Jew's financial operations is said to

¹ See in Amador de los Rios (p. 60, note) the remarkable proclamation of Ferdinand IV., enforcing these payments from the Aljama of the Jews in Segovia and other towns in that diocese.

² Flores, Reinas Catholicas, quoted by Amador de los Rios.

³ Chronique du Roi Alphonso XI., quoted in Amador de los Rios, p. 61. The nobles, according to Mariana, complained, "que el nuevo Conde, Alvaro Osorio, y un Judio llamado Juzeph, governavan todo el Regno, y lo trastornavan a su voluntad. Que tenian rendido el Rey como si los fuera esclavo, y como si le uvieron dado bevedizos" (xv. 20).

⁴ Amador de los Rios, p. 63.

⁵ Amador de los Rios, with authorities. Is this Samuel the Samuel son of Wakeri, in the Schevet Judah?

have been a general rise in provisions ; from that rise came distress, from distress insurrection. The king by timely measures alone averted proscription and a general outbreak of popular fury against the whole race.¹

With the son of Alfonso, Pedro the Cruel, the Jews rose to more than their former power and influence. In defiance of the prohibitory law, a Jew, Samuel Levi, became the king's treasurer. Under his wise, it might be oppressive, administration, the royal rents were raised to an enormous amount. At a later period in the reign, Samuel Levi became too wealthy to be the trusted friend and minister, too temptingly wealthy not to be the victim of his unscrupulous master. He was arrested, accused of many malversations, thrown into prison, tortured with such horrible cruelty that he died on the rack. The king confiscated all his wealth, which amounted to 400,000 ducats ; besides furniture, jewels, cloth of gold and silk,² and Moorish slaves. Still, during the power of Samuel Levi, as after his fall, the Jews were proud of the fatal favour of the detested king ; to them alone Pedro was not the Cruel, if cruel, only so in his kindness. In his prosperity Samuel Levi had built a synagogue in Toledo in the Moorish style, which surpassed all their other temples in magnificence.³ In

¹ The Schevet Judah has a strange but particular history of the influence and fall of Joseph. Martin Gonzales, an officer under Joseph d'Ecija, became jealous of his master's wealth. He offered to the king an enormous sum (octo talenta) if he would sell to him ten Jews with all their families. The king agreed, and gave his seal as a pledge. Gonzales chose Joseph, and the king's physician Samuel, the son of Wakeri. The Jews were seized. Joseph died under the hands of the men sent to arrest him. The king gave him a splendid funeral in Cordova. In the house of Samuel, seized with his sons and two brothers, was discovered a vast mass of gold, silver, and other riches. He was cruelly tortured to make further disclosures, and died under the torments. Gonzales was rewarded with great honours, became Bishop of Alcantara, and persevered in his hatred of the Jews. In a war against the Saracens, Gonzales advised the king to confiscate all the wealth of the Jews. The bishop himself took arms, and inflicted a signal defeat on the Moors. But God heard the prayers of His people. The heart of the king was moved against Gonzales. Some of the nobles, even a bishop, took part with the Jews. Gonzales shut himself up in a strong fortress. It was stormed, Gonzales put to death, his body burned. His wealth was confiscated and restored to the Jews (pp. 98, 108).

² Mariana writes : "Con que juntò las grandes riquezas, y alcanzò la mucha privanza y favor que al presente se acarrearon su perdicion." The historian adds, " cosa maravillosa que un Judío juntasse tantas riquezas, y que no pudo ser sin grave daño del Reyno " (xvii. 4).

La Fuente gives the confiscated treasures of Samuel Levi, 166,000 doblas d' oro, 4000 marcos de plata, 125 chests of cloth of gold and silk, 80 moros y moras (t. vii. p. 241).

³ Can this be one of those alluded to in a former paragraph ?

the Hebrew inscription on the walls are commemorated the happy days and happy years of King Pedro. On the other hand the Jews were accumulating heavy arrears of public detestation, to be repaid in full measure after the fall and death of Pedro. In a poem written by the chronicler Lopez de Ayala, the chancellor of King Henry of Transtamare, prisoner in England after the battle of Najara, the exactions and oppressions of the Jews are described in the darkest terms.¹ "They are the blood-suckers of the afflicted people ; they present their packed accounts, and propitiate the king by presents and precious jewels ; they heap up his rents to an enormous height, as high as the walls ; they exact fifty per cent., or eighty, or a hundred. Through them the land is desolate ; where lived a thousand men, there are but three hundred ; impositions fall upon them like hail ; rich and poor fly together. Truly these Jews are skilful in inventing new taxes, new demands. Tears and groans touch not their hard hearts ; their ears are deaf to petitions for delay." If this ardent partisan of Henry of Transtamare be somewhat suspicious authority against the Jews, he is an unimpeachable witness to the popular detestation of them, and to the jealousy of their power and influence.

Henry of Transtamare and his partisans were not slow in appealing to the passion of popular hatred. In the first tumults in Castile, when he attempted to seize Toledo, the first act of his followers was to plunder and put to the sword the opulent Jews of that city. The slaughtered were as many as 1000 or 1200, old and young, men, women, and children.² But the largest Jewry resisted their attack. King Pedro took terrible vengeance on the insurgents of Toledo ; no doubt he would be represented by his enemies as not merely asserting his royal authority, but as avenging his beloved Israelites.

¹ I transcribe these stanzas from Amador de los Rios :—

" Alli vienen Judios que estan aparejados
Para beber la sangre de los pueblos cuitados ;
Presentan sus escriptos, que tienen concertados,
Et prometen sus dones, et joyas muy preciados.

Alli fasan Judios el su repartimiento
Sobre el pueblo que muore por mal defendimiento ;
Et ellos lo maltraptan entre si medio ciento,
Que han de haber probados cual ochenta, cual ciento."—Page 64.

² " Entrada fatal para los Judios de aquella ciudad, puesto que desfogando en ellos su saña las companias de Don Enrique mataron hasta mil docientos, entre hombres y mugeres, grandes y menos, y eso que no pudieron penetrar en la Juderia mayor, aunque la cercaron y atacaron." La Fuente, vii. p. 201.

In the war of Arragon and Castile, when Henry of Transtamare took the city of Najara, many Jews were killed, with the avowed design of grieving King Pedro.¹ But when Henry of Transtamare asserted his right to the crown, Pedro's favour to the Jews was urged in a bolder and more formidable way. Pedro himself became infected with their guilt and infidelity. Not only, was it everywhere hinted, did he consort with the Jews, and admit them to his councils—they ruled in his palace and in his court; he was himself addicted to Judaism. Worse than this, he was born a Jew. A rumour was industriously propagated in Spain, and spread into France, that he was a supposititious child. His mother, the queen of Alfons XI., had borne a daughter—a Jewish boy had been substituted. At a later period, when the Black Prince took up arms to restore Pedro to his kingdom of Castile, Henry of Transtamare addressed Bertrand du Guesclin—"Will he set up that Jew, who calls himself King of Spain, on my throne?" Nor was this all. Maria Padilla, the beautiful mistress for whom Pedro had deserted the bridal bed of Blanche of Bourbon, was called a Jewess.⁴ This no doubt, as accounting for the bewitchment by other sorcery than that of beauty, more inflamed that indignation which roused the chivalry of France even of England, to avenge the wrongs, and the murder (for it is impossible to clear Pedro of this crime) of the unfortunate queen.⁵ Bertrand du Guesclin's expedition was a crusade not only because Pedro had been solemnly excommunicated by the Pope, but "because he was worse than a Saracen, and consorted with Jews." Saracens and Jews were said to be his chief partisans. If credit be due to a French historian, the Jews appeared in arms, and in a formidable body on the justly unpopular side of Pedro the Cruel. This, if true, can only have been at the final battle, after the restoration of Pedro by the Black Prince, and the second invasion of Henry of Transtamare, aided by Bertrand du Guesclin, near Monteil in Andalusia. There they were slain in vast numbers. Some escaped and found their way to Paris and other cities in France, where

¹ "Dieron la muerte a muchos Judíos por hacer pesar al Rey, que favoreció mucho por amor de Samuel Levi su tesorero mayor." Marian xvii. 4. This was before the fall of Levi, which I have anticipated.

² "Nihilominus dictus Rex Petrus per Judæos, qui in maximâ abundantia erant in Hispaniâ, seipsum et domum suam regebat." Continuat. Nang "Legi Judaicæ addictus" (*ibid.*).

³ Froissart, 1. cciv.

⁴ Continuator Nangis.

⁵ See the account of the murder in *La Fuente*, vii. 243. M. Merimée's quixotic defence of King Pedro certainly fails in this part.

they had recourse to the common usurious practices of their nation.¹ There, too, it must have been, if at all, that the order, attributed to Bertrand du Guesclin, must have been issued—"Kill all like sheep and oxen, unless they accept baptism." The Moors certainly, as well as the Jews, formed a powerful part of Pedro's army. Before the last death-struggle in the castle of Monteil, when Pedro fell by the hand of Henry of Transtamare, aided, it is said, by Du Guesclin, Froissart² repeats the uncourtly colloquy of the rival kings. "Where," said Henry of Transtamare, "is the son of a whore, the Jew, who calls himself King of Castile?" Don Pedro, who was a very brave and cruel man, advanced, and said—"Thou art the son of a whore. I am the son of the good King Alfonso."³

It is hardly probable that, in other parts of Spain, the Jews thus bound up with the odious cause of Pedro the Cruel would escape persecution. But, however Henry, in the battle or after the battle, might give the rein to his fierce French allies or his Spanish partisans in order to gain his throne, he was too wise (mercy was not in his character) to follow these destructive acts to extermination or expulsion, when the throne was won. On his triumphant progress through Castile to Andalusia, the Jews of Burgos and Toledo had paid him tribute, compulsory perhaps, but still valuable tribute.⁴ It is said that two Jews (their names are given, Turquand and Daniel) betrayed Seville to Du Guesclin, and admitted his bands through the Jewry, which had been com-

¹ "Et potissime infinitos Judæos qui in potentia armorum regem Petrum adjuvabant, trucidando potenter in magnâ potentiat. Qui interfecti, trucidati, et effugiati de illis partibus turpiter perierunt. De quibus sunt multi *hodie* in Parisiis et alibi in diversis civitatibus commorantes, per usuras Christianos nostros multas subtiliter defraudantes." Continuat. Nangis. This account of Jews in France, so long after their expulsion, is remarkable.

² Froissart, I. ccly.

³ Amador de los Rios, as translated by Magnabala (p. 70, &c.), is not very accurate in his account of these transactions. The surrender of Seville, whether in the first or second invasion, must have been long after the massacres of Toledo, to which he seems to refer in the next sentence. He adds: "Et les champs de batailles étaient jonchés d'une multitude des Juifs, qui suivaient, fidèles, les étendards du monarque légitime" (p. 72). Now it is remarkable that in these two revolutions there were but two great battles. Pedro, on the first invasion, fled the country without resistance. The battle of Najara, won by the Black Prince, replaced him on his throne. On the second invasion, Pedro retreated rapidly to Seville. Henry took peaceable possession of the Castiles; nor was there bloodshed before the closing victory of Monteil.

⁴ "La Juderia de Toledo le serviò en cuento de maravedis, come la de Burgos." La Fuente, p. 271.

mitted to their charge.¹ But, whatever their motive,² Henry of Transtamare, during the latter part of his reign, protected the Jews from popular excesses. They were again at peace, and with the Jews peace was prosperity.³ A strange event, soon after the accession of John I., justly aroused the king's aversion to the Jews. Joseph Pichon, a Jew of great wealth and influence, held the office of collector of the royal rents, and of treasurer to the Crown. It seems that in these offices the Jews, notwithstanding all prohibitory laws, were indispensable. It is unknown from what cause, but many of the leading Jews became jealous of Joseph Pichon, and conspired against his life. They took an extraordinary and unaccountable course to compass their end; they obtained a warrant for his death, signed in ignorance by the king, and a second order to the royal headsman, suborned or deceived by them, to execute the sentence. The king was highly indignant at this abuse of his authority. Those guilty of the crime suffered death; and the Jews were deprived of the privilege of holding a tribunal for the judgment of their own causes, of which the Crown had not hitherto ventured to deprive them, lest they should suffer in the collection of their rents by offending or limiting the power of these useful subjects.⁴ An interpretation of this strange story suggests itself, that Joseph Pichon was inclined towards, or suspected of an inclination to, Christianity; hence the hatred of the Jews. He was condemned to death in their courts, as unsound in the faith. Those courts were secret, as far as any knowledge of them by the Christians. They applied for the king's warrant to punish a convicted unbeliever, concealing or disguising the name. The warrant was granted without examination, and by their bribes and interest they

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 270.

² Basnage has a remarkable story, utterly irreconcilable with the course of events and the character of the time. The Jews of Burgos refused to surrender. Henry was seized with so much admiration of their fidelity to King Pedro, that from that time he was favourably disposed towards the Jews (ix. 18, § 10). Basnage's whole account of these events is brief and worthless.

³ This is admitted by Amador de los Rios, who perhaps exaggerates the vengeance; it was political vengeance, wreaked by the nobles and people on the Jews as partisans of Pedro. He quotes, however, from the archives of Toledo a fine imposed on the Jews of Toledo of 20,000 gold doubloons, and exacted by all kinds of torture.

⁴ Mariana, xvii. 3: "Y se le quitó a esta nación la potestad que tenía, el tribunal para juzgar los negocios y pleitos de los sujetos, desorden con que avían hasta allí dissimulado los Reyes por la necesidad la apertura de las rentas Reales, y ser los Judíos gente que tan bien saben los caminos de allegar dinero."

urged on its immediate execution. When it was discovered, the wrath of the king, and of the Christians, would of course be intense.

After this time, the Cortes seized every opportunity of invading the privileges and increasing the burthens of the Jews; for the nobles, as in other countries, bore impatiently the mortgages with which their estates were encumbered, and were eager to revenge on their creditors the shame and inconvenience of their embarrassments. The Cortes of Burgos raised the protection money of the Jews—that of Valladolid attempted to renew an Act forbidding them to practise as physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, as well as to hold high offices about the Court—they also made bitter complaints of their usurious practices. But the clergy beheld with still deeper sentiments of animosity so large a part of the population disdaining their dominion, and, if not refusing tribute to the Church (the Aljama payment was still regularly made), perhaps holding profitable bonds on the estates of the cathedrals and convents. Religious zeal was still further animated by pride, avarice, and jealousy. The clergy began to preach against them with fatal if not unceasing energy; the growing power and activity of the friars, especially the Preaching Friars, was even more fatal to their peace. The Jews themselves assert that they were popular with the king, the nobles, and the enlightened of the land; the populace hated and persecuted them as raising the prices of the necessities of life. The monks were their deadly and irreconcilable enemies; with their fiery sermons, they were like tribunes of the people; constantly stirring up the rabble, of themselves savage enough, to more savage hostility.¹

There was at Seville a fierce popular preacher, Ferdinand Martinez, Archdeacon of Ecija. During the reign of John I., his inflammatory harangues against the obstinacy and the

¹ Schevet Judah: "Judæi enim in Hispania Regibus, proceribus, sapientibus atque prudentibus viris semper chari acceptique fuere; neque aliunde nata fuerunt odii et exiliorum semina nisi ex inconditâ plebe, quæ semper obstrepare solebat Judæis in regnum advenientibus rerum necessariarum pretia in immensum crevisse annonamque inclemensissimè flagellatam esse.

"Altera vero malorum nostrorum tempestas oriebatur ex monachis qui, ut sanctimoniam suam populo probarent, acerrimi scilicet Christianæ religionis promtores quotidie asperas et quasi tribunicias contra Judæos ad populum orationes habebant quibus hoc unum agebant ut plebis per se atque ferocis animas magis exasperarent. Quod vero ad cæteros Christianos pertinebat, illi Judæos æstimabant et ut cives indigenas impensè amabant, ut dmodum senes Hispani qui olim pueri istis rebus oculati testes interfuerent, estari solebant" (p. 309).

usury and the wealth of the Jews, had excited the populace to some excesses. The Archbishop and the Chapter of Seville, to their honour, endeavoured to allay the tumult, and by their authority to silence the dangerous fanatic. A petition from the Chapter was presented to the king; the reply of the feeble king was, that holy and excellent as was the zeal of the Archdeacon, he ought to take care that he did not disturb the peace of the city. This mild rebuke was almost an encouragement. On the sudden death of the king, and the accession of the boy Henry III., the Archdeacon, who, if not silent, had been more moderate, broke out again, and with his hot sermons maddened the slumbering passions of the multitude. They began by insulting, plundering, pursuing to their quarters the unfortunate Jews. The city was in a wild uproar. The chief alguazil of the city, Alves Perez de Guzman, and his colleagues, the other alguazils, it is said, with the authority and in the personal presence of the Count of Niebla,¹ one of the Council of Regency (who can hardly have been in Seville), interposed to keep the peace. Two of the ringleaders in the riot were apprehended. The mob turned on the civil authorities, and, as usual, rescued the prisoners. On the triumph of the mob at the release of their accomplices, there was a momentary lull. But in a short time the tumult broke out with tenfold fury. The Jewries were attacked, forced; and a general pillage, violation, and massacre took place of men and women, old and young. Fire and sword raged unresisted through these quarters of the city. The streets of noble Seville ran with blood, and the wild voice of the Archdeacon in the pulpit rose over all, and kept up the madness. Four thousand Jews perished in the massacre.

The Cortes of the kingdom were assembled at Madrid. The Jews, who still farmed the royal revenues (they were yet indispensable in that capacity), appealed to the three Estates of the realm, and made strong representations concerning these sanguinary proceedings at Seville. The Cortes, superior to the popular passions, acknowledged the righteousness of their cause. Judges, called priors, were sent to Seville, armed with authority to do full justice, to allay the tumults, and

¹ In the former editions I was guilty of some errors by following Jost, in general a trustworthy guide. He made Martinez Archbishop of Niebla. This could not be, and I substituted Bishop. He was, however, according to Spanish authorities, Archdeacon of Ecija. The Count of Niebla was one of the six nobles and prelates who formed the Council of Regency. I have now chiefly followed Amador do los Rios, 76, 82.

punish the criminals ; but the judges were either unable or unwilling to act with severity. Even the fierce Archdeacon was suffered to go unpunished. The Christians remained in possession of their plunder ; they had seized two of the most splendid synagogues, and converted them into churches, Santa Croce and Santa Maria Bianca. The Jews, perhaps on account of their reduced numbers, reduced by the merciless massacre, were confined to one Aljama, that of St. Bartholomew. Instead of expiating their guilt, the plunderers had obtained a triumph.

The terrible example of their impunity, the fame of the blood which they had shed without rebuke, the wealth which they had acquired without restitution, spread throughout the kingdom. Hardly more than a year had passed, when in one day (Aug. 8) the populace rose in Cordova, in Valencia, in Toledo, in Burgos. Each of these cities, says a Spanish author, was another Troy. All the horrors of a town taken by storm were suffered by the Jewries : plunder, rape, massacre, conflagration.¹ In all these cities many Jews submitted to baptism (the only refuge from death), and from renegade Jews became unbelieving Christians. Redress, justice, punishment of the offenders, when the offenders were almost the whole population of these great towns, appeared impossible. To destroy a whole city on account of the destruction of the Jews' quarters would have been to heap disaster on disaster.

Nor were these enormities confined to the kingdom of Castile ; the contagious thirst for plunder, and for blood, raged simultaneously in Arragon, even as far as the island of Majorca. The capital city of Barcelona was crowded with strangers to celebrate the Feast of St. Dominic (May 6, 1392) ; the day after, as if the worship of that stern saint had hardened their hearts, the silent streets were roused with a wild cry of extermination against the Jews. The city was thronged, besides its own rabble, with sailors and galley slaves ; they broke into the Jewry, and perpetrated the most dreadful cruelties. The houses were sacked, the streets heaped with dead bodies. Some of the desperate Jews demanded baptism ; that Christian rite was hastily administered in the midst of pillage, violation, and murder. Late in the day appeared the city militia, seized some of the more violent insurgents, and placed a

¹ See, for the persecutions of the Jews during the youth of Henry III. and King John, the Schevet Judah, 312, 313. But Solomon ben Virga leaps about strangely in his chronology.

guard over the Aljama ; but, as in Seville, the interference of the civil authority only maddened to a greater height the irresistible populace. The next day the tumult was more wild and general. The Jews, abandoning all their wealth, fled to the Castello Nuevo. The castle was stormed ; all who would not submit to baptism were put to the sword. Three hundred bodies lay in their agony. Amid the shrieks of their more faithful dying brethren, many abjured their faith, the only pride and consolation of their brethren in death ; and embraced that of Christ, thus preached to them by the Mohammedan argument of the sword. Which were the least Christian, those who enforced, or those who embraced the faith ?

It should be added, that the King of Arragon, John I., called the Amador de Gentileza, dared to punish these wickednesses perpetrated in Barcelona. Twenty-six of the ringleaders were beheaded ; many were imprisoned, and only released on the supplication of the queen, and through the mercy of the sovereign. On the other hand, it is said that the severity of the king was chiefly provoked by the burning of many books and registers belonging to the Crown, by which the royal finances suffered serious loss.

The Jews of Navarre suffered no less than those of Arragon. In Pampeluna, and the other cities of that kingdom, their houses were burned ; they were pillaged, massacred, compelled to baptism.¹

Spain had throughout her borders destroyed these secret enemies, which, according to the notions of the day, preyed upon the wealth of the country, and heaped up in their secret hoards the riches which they extorted from the revenues of the king, the luxuries or warlike expenditure of the nobles, and the more grinding necessities of the indigent. To her astonishment and utter perplexity, Spain found herself poorer than before. "The Christians, who thus mercilessly indulged their madness against the Jews, did not see that in destroying their industry, in depriving them of all means of employing it with profit, they threw upon themselves all the charges hitherto shared by the Jews, and that they smothered in blood every germ of prosperity and well-being. What became, in fact, of all the trade and commerce of Toledo and Seville ? What became of those rich marts in which the Jew

¹ MS. authorities quoted in Amador de los Rios, p. 83.

accumulated the products of the East and the West, the silks of Persia and Damascus, the skins of Tafilete, and the Arabian jewellery? They burned the shops in the Aljamas at Valencia, Toledo, Burgos, Cordova, Seville, Barcelona; and the rents of the kings and of the churches at once fell off. King Henry III. founded a magnificent mortuary chapel for himself and his family, and endowed it with part of the rents paid by the Jews of that city; but no rents could be exacted. During the wars with the Saracens, the coffers of the Jews had been a ready resource to the kings—they were now empty. The utter ruin of the only industry and commerce in the kingdom by an idle populace, and a king and nobles who disdained all occupation but war, was not only a grievous offence against humanity, against the Gospel, and against the laws of Spain, but it was profoundly impolitic, a prelude to that problem so fatally solved nearly a century later by the kings of Spain. The whole crime is not to be charged on the Archdeacon of Ecija—the indolence and indifference of John I. must share the guilt and folly with the mad zeal of Martinez and the clergy."¹

The clergy were emboldened and inspirited, by the success of these unchristian measures of conversion, to press their more legitimate means of influence, missions for the preaching of the Gospel. They would multiply the 200,000 who had by fiercer inducements submitted to baptism to save their lives. Among the most prominent and successful of these missionaries was Vincent Ferrer, afterwards a Saint; a man of the most earnest piety and, it was thought, of irresistible eloquence. Ferrer traversed the country, followed by a train of bare-headed penitents bewailing their sins and scourging themselves as they went till the earth was red with their blood. Ferrer's miracles and his preaching are said to have changed 35,000 Jews (there were Saracens too without number) into devout Christians. But it is difficult even in him to discriminate between the more gentle and more barbarous means of conversion. Vincent Ferrer witnessed, no doubt stood aloof from, the horrible cruelties of the persecution in Valencia. It is related in his Life (or Legend) that the Jews, before the insurrection in July 1391, were assembled for worship in a noble synagogue, afterwards the Monastery of St. Christopher. A voice was heard three times, "Ye Jews, depart from my house." The Jews took no heed. On the

¹ Of this passage some part is translated, part compressed, from Amador de los Rios, pp. 83, 84.

ninth of the month, when they were again in prayer, the holy martyr spoke once more, rebuked their obstinacy, and threatened them with condign punishment. The perverse and blind race were not moved by this celestial monition. In the middle of the day a procession of boys, with crucifixes and white banners, appeared at the gates of the Jewry, crying out to the Jews to be converted to the faith of Christ and be baptized. The Jews, dreading the popular fury, closed their gates, some of the boys and some men remaining within; the men raised a cry that the Jews were murdering the boys; the rabble rose, burst the gates, slew 300, and sacked the whole quarter. At the sight of this carnage, the eyes of many Jews were opened (so, with no word of pity, writes the author of the Legend);¹ they fled to the Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia, Don Jayme of Arragon, and, relating the marvel about St. Christopher (!), demanded baptism.² Search was made in the synagogue; an image of St. Christopher, two palms high (still an object of devout worship), was found. The saint took possession of the dwelling, and the dedication of the church was performed with many miracles.

To the wonderful and copious fruits of this day (so the legendist proceeds) contributed much the great zeal and fervent preaching of S. Vicente, who happened to be in Valencia. S. Vicente did not confine his labours to the city; in the towns on the seashore and in the kingdom more than 13,000 Jews submitted to baptism. Besides these, the biographer gives to the saint 20,000 in Castile, converted in thirteen months,³ 30,000 in Arragon, without reckoning those in other parts of the kingdom.⁴ Much of this, of course, especially the numbers, is pure legend. But it is not less remarkable that of the humanity of the saint (as if beyond his comprehension) the admiring author of his Life is silent. It is stated, on other and more trustworthy authority,⁵ that S. V. Ferrer

¹ Portentosa Vida de el Apostol de la Europa, S. Vicente Ferrer, por Francesco Vidal (Barcelona, 1777), pp. 46 and 66.

² "Entonces venianne ellos mismos a baptizar."

³ "E despues, de baptizados se iban algunos a Portugal, è otros reynos a ser Judios." Bernaldes, Historia de los Reyes Catholicos; MS. quoted by De Castro, p. 5.

⁴ Amador de los Rios, p. 89, note, with authorities.

⁵ Rabbi Joseph perpetuates the hatred of V. Ferrer among the unconverted Jews: "In these days, in the days of Eugenius the Pope, in the days of Felix (the Antipope), the destructions increased in Sphard, and Israel became very low. For there arose the priest, Friar Vincent, from the city of Valencia, of the sect of Baal Dominic, against the Jews, and he was unto them a Satan, and stirred up against them all the inhabitants of

arrested by his single commanding voice the massacre at Valencia. To this act we would attribute, even more than to his eloquence, the crowds who received baptism from his hands. Nor must it be disguised that Spanish authorities describe his mission as an utter failure, till aided by the more persuasive massacres committed by the populace.¹

An attempt was made to bring the great question between Christianity and Judaism to a more solemn and decisive issue. The whole nation was to be publicly, and in the highest persons and by fair argument, convicted of its impious obstinacy. The antipope, Peter de Luna (Benedict XIII.), maintained the last retreat of his authority in his native country of Arragon. The Pope had in his court a converted Jew of great Talmudic learning and ability, Joseph Halorqui, who had assumed the name of Hieronymo de Santa Fé. In the pride of his erudition, and with the zeal of a proselyte, Hieronymo suggested to the Pope a public disputation on the truth of the two religions. The disputation was held in the presence of the Pope at Tortosa. The Jewish record transports it to Rome (as if they had no notion of a Pope elsewhere), and encircles Benedict with the utmost pomp, his college of seventy cardinals and listening princes, far different from the lowly state of the exiled antipope. Fourteen of the most illustrious Rabbins appeared on behalf of the Jews. Sixteen questions were proposed, chiefly turning on the all-important one, whether the Messiah was come or not, and on the value and

the country, and they arose to swallow them up alive, and slew many with the edge of the sword, and many they burned with fire, and many they turned away by the power of the sword from the Lord, the God of Israel. And they burned the books of the Law of our God, and trampled upon them as upon the mire in the streets ; and the mothers they dashed in pieces upon the children in the day of the Lord's wrath. . . . And some of them killed their sons and their daughters that they might not be defiled ; for some of them changed their glory for one that does not profit from that day and afterwards. Those who were constrained to be baptized became numerous in the land of Sphard, and they put upon them a mark of distinction unto this day. . . . Also upon the Jews that were in Savoy [compare Schevet Judah, p. 103] did this grievous oppressor turn his line of desolation. And I have seen in the book Mischaith Marechu how they hid themselves in the castles of Savoy in those evil days. And this Belial was in their sight a saint ; and the Pope Calixtus wrote his memory among the saints, and appointed feast days unto his name on the fifth of the month of April. May God recompense him according to his deeds ! " (i. p. 265). Of the success of V. Ferrer there can be no doubt, but how much is to be attributed to his Christian preaching ? how much to his *unchristian auxiliaries* ?

¹ " No pudo Fra Vicente convertir sino muy poco dellos. E las gentes con despecho metieron en Castilla a espada, y mataron multos." Bernaldes, cited by De Castro, Religious Intolerance in Spain.

authority of the Talmud.¹ The abominations of this book Hieronymo denounced, and stood ready to prove and to expose. The Jews acknowledged that the Pope treated them with courtesy. Hieronymo de Santa Fé is said, by the Christian record, to have heaped confusion on the discomfited Rabbins.² All but two humbly submitted to his arguments. The Jewish account breaks off abruptly, and modestly asserts that their champions departed "not without glory." Pope Benedict proclaimed and aided the triumph of his advocate by the summary argument of authority. He issued a Bull, commanding the Talmud, the bulwark of his antagonists, to be burnt. The reading of the execrable book was prohibited;

¹ The Christian account may be best read in Amador de los Rios; the Jewish in the Schevet Judah, as translated by Gentius, p. 225 *et seqq.* Amador de los Rios gives the sixteen questions from a MS. in the Escorial.

² Out of this disputation before Pope Benedict arose the work which for some time maintained its rank as the great armoury of offensive and defensive weapons employed by the clergy in their controversy with the Jews, the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin.

From the vast range of Rabbinical learning, it has been concluded that the author of this book must have been a converted Jew. It seems, however, that he was a monk expressly educated to maintain the Christian cause against the profoundly learned Rabbins. The Rabbinical Hebrew seems as familiar to Raymond Martin as his native tongue or the Latin of the schools. Basnage has criticised the *Pugio Fidei* with justice. He gives due praise to the prodigious erudition of the author. The badness of his arguments (to which in those days no doubt Christian and Jew were equally blind) he exposes with severity, and not without truth: the very narrow base on which he builds the most lofty theories, the assertions and concessions which he ascribes to his adversaries (the Rabbins universally believe the Trinity), the wild ignorance of history, that of the old as well as the later world, the boldness of anachronism. One of the proofs of Christ's miracles is their acknowledgment by Constantine (seemingly a personal witness), who on that account made his famous Donation, submitted the empire and the whole world to the Pope, and set the example of kissing his foot.

I will venture to add one curious argument not noticed by Basnage. The Jew objects that the Messiah was not to be put to death, but rather slay the wicked by the breath of his life. "I answer: our Lord Jesus Christ, in his sufferings, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, if any one will attend closely, exactly resembles sometimes the sun, sometimes a rose. As the rose comforts the heads of some, so it pains (rheumatisat) the heads of others; as much as its odour delights men, so much the more it afflicts the beetle. The beetle, so soon as it scents the rose, lies to all appearance dead. So our Lord Jesus, in his sufferings and death, is an odour of salvation to the Christian, to the Jew a scandal and the odour of death. As his death moves the Christian to love, so it moves the Jew to hatred and rancour." In the same way he plays with the similitude of Christ to the sun, who suffers sometimes the death of an eclipse. "But he dies one way to the wise, another to the foolish; as he appears lovable to those who have sound eyes, so he is hateful to those who have bad eyes; as he enlightens man, so he blinds bats and owls." There is much more in this strain. Yet, on the whole, the *Pugio Fidei* is a remarkable book, and has been the repertory from which even later controversialists have largely drawn.

the Dean and Chapters were to collect all these impious treatises for one vast holocaust. A singular clause in this Bull prohibited Jews from making crosses, chalices, sacred vessels, and from vending books which contained the name of Jesus or that of the Blessed Virgin. The Jews seem to have had no objection to work in the way of trade on things which to them must have been absolutely idolatrous. The other clauses of this stern Bull aim at the complete isolation of the Jews, a relegation to a kind of social banishment, as infecting the Christian by any intercourse or communion. He was not to be physician, surgeon, shopkeeper, druggist, intendant, nor marriage broker,¹ nor to hold any public office which would mingle him up with Christians. He might not buy of or sell to Christians certain viands, nor be present at any banquet, nor bathe in any common bath. He was not to act as steward or agent of Christians, nor teach any science, art, or trade in a Christian school.

The civil laws had become as severe as the ecclesiastical ; the Regent Queen Catherine had promulgated a famous ordinance secluding the Jews and the Moors in their separate quarters in every city ; each Ghetto or Jewry was to be surrounded by a high wall, with only one gate of entrance. It rigidly prescribed their dress, a long mantle, reaching to the feet, without fringe, feather, or border of gold. It limited the cost of the cloth they wore to a low price. The Jewess who indulged in forbidden finery might be stripped of the whole, to her shift. The Jews might not change their place of residence ; the magistrates might arrest any wanderers, and send them back to their homes. It is hardly conceivable that other clauses in this edict were intended to be carried into effect. They were neither to shave nor cut their hair. By the 20th clause they were neither to practise the veterinary art, nor to be carpenters, tailors, dressers of cloth, shoemakers, stocking-weavers, pelterers, nor butchers—these, it is presumed, not to Christians, lest clothes or meat from the hands of the unbaptized should infect the bodies and souls of the faithful. No Christian woman might on any account, lawful or unlawful, enter the Jewish quarter. The woman of character, if married, was fined 100 maravedis ; if unmarried, she forfeited the dress which she wore. The loose woman was to be scourged, and turned out of the city, town, or hamlet.²

¹ " Provedor in casamentero."

² See this ordinance in substance in Amador de los Rios, p. 87.

The Council of Zamora enforced with augmented rigour the Bull of Benedict XIII.¹ It annulled all the privileges of the Jews; they were only to be tolerated at all because they were human beings. There was a special clause, that during Wednesday in the Holy Week (the day of darkness) they were to keep within their houses. On Good Friday they were to close their doors and windows, lest they should seem to enjoy and mock the sorrow of good Christians.

During the long and disastrous reign of John II., it might seem that the Jews were quietly, with their wonderful vitality, rising again to wealth and importance. The Pragmatic, as it was called, issued (6th April 1443) by John II. from Arévalo, assumed that feudal sovereignty, or rather right of possession over the Jews of Spain, which had been the general prerogative of the Crown in other kingdoms of Europe. The Jews were taken under the royal protection, as his property, as belonging to his Chamber.² A Bull of Pope Eugenius IV. had seemed to depart altogether from the milder Papal policy, and to aim at the total extirpation of the Jews. The king firmly, yet respectfully, asserts the prerogative of the Crown; he is bound to maintain the interests of the Church, his own, and those of his realm. The Jews are to be treated with humanity, according to the rights and the laws of Castile.³

This state of affairs lasted through considerable part of the fifteenth century. The clergy, often seconded by the nobles, watched every opportunity of increasing the number of their willing, more often enforced, converts. The populace were ever ready to obey the tocsin of their spiritual leaders, and to indulge, under their holy sanction, their desire of plunder or revenge.

The old stories of the sacrilege of the Jews, of their murders especially of innocent children, whom they crucified in mockery, the stealing and insult of the consecrated Host, sprang up in Spain as elsewhere. Early in the century the Rabbins of one of the synagogues in Segovia were accused of some sacrilege. The Bishop, Don Juan de Tovdesllas, ordered them to be drawn on hurdles, hanged and quartered. The synagogue was confiscated, and turned into a church dedicated to the Corpus Christi. The Jews, it is said, in

¹ There is some confusion in the dates in Amador de los Rios. He speaks, p. 104, of the Bull of 1415 (?); of the Council of Zamora, 1413 (p. 107); of the Bull as published some years before.

² "Cosa suya y de su Camera."

³ Amador de los Rios, p. 113.

revenge, bribed the maître d'hôtel of the Bishop to poison him. The criminals suffered the same fate as the authors of the sacrilege.¹ Nearly forty years after, a charge was brought against the Jews, probably less worthy of credit according to its atrocity. It was during the reign of Henry III., the Feeble. At the commencement of this reign (A.C. 1460) the nobles, who were in arms against the king, insisted, among the terms of their submission, that the king should dismiss from his service, and even from the kingdom, all Jews and Moors who defiled the religion and corrupted the morals of the people.² These were sinister times for an accusation against Jews. It was averred, that in the town of Sepulveda, on Good Friday (the Jews, shut up in the dark by the Christian law, are always said to have chosen that day for their deeds of darkness), they, by the advice of their Rabbi, Solomon Picho, carried off a child into a retired place, insulted it, and crucified it. The Bishop, Don Juan Arias d'Avila, caused sixteen of the most *culpable* to be arrested; some were burned, some hanged.³ The populace only wanted countenance and authority to glut their growing hatred. Insurrections, massacres, took place in many cities of Andalusia, Cordova, Jaen, and of Castile, especially in Segovia.

The Popes at this period varied in their admonitions to the Kings of Spain. Eugenius IV. had issued his violent Bull denouncing the Jews of Castile and Leon, and prohibiting all intercourse between Jew and Christian. The Christian was not to receive medicine from a Jew. The wise and humane Nicolas V. prohibited compulsory baptisms, and all insults and injuries to Jews.⁴

The union of Castile and Arragon, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the crisis of their fate to the unconverted, to a great extent to the converted, Jews. Another curious document, the assessment of all the Aljamas of the kingdom of Castile at the death of Henry III. (A.C. 1470), illustrates the numbers, the wealth, and the condition of the Jews at that period. Though the edicts of kings, the statutes of the Cortes, the Bull of Pope Benedict had prohibited the Jews from acting as collectors of the revenue or of the royal

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 115.

² Ibid., p. 120.

³ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴ "Quo etiam tempore dixit Hispanis, ne Judæos qui inter ipsos degabant ad baptismata sacra suscipienda vi adigerent, neve afficerent injuriis." Raynald, sub ann. 1487.

rents, as physicians, especially as judges, "even in Jewish affairs, yet at the head of this repartition appears the name of the Rabbi Aben Nunez, Physician to the King our Lord, and his Chief Judge, distributor of the services, and half-services, which the Jews in the Aljamas are bound to pay to the royal exchequer." The total assessment was 451,000 maravedis; each head of a family paid 45 maravedis, the maravedi being now, it is said, worth only six deniers. The Jews, then, on this calculation may be reckoned at towards 12,000 families, about 60,000 souls.¹ This was no doubt a great falling-off from the prosperous days of Judaism; and also a singular and melancholy testimony that in the most flourishing cities the decrease was the greatest. We need hardly suppose them driven out of these cities by the superior commercial activity of the Christians. Andalusia, including the great capital cities Seville and Cordova, paid only 59,800; the great archbishopric of Toledo, 64,300; while Palencia paid 54,500; Placentia 57,300. Such seems to have been the number of declared Jews who passed under the dominion of Ferdinand and Isabella.²

Under these sovereigns Spain became one great monarchy. But were these (allowing, as it seems to me we must, for the incompleteness of these returns for all the Hebrews of both the kingdoms) all the Jews which became subjects of Ferdinand and Isabella? It is utterly and absolutely inconsistent with the lowest estimate of the numbers a few years afterwards expelled from the kingdom. But, even multiplied by at least three, they were not all. Notwithstanding their apparent and

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 131.

	Maravedis
2 The Aljama of the Bishopric of Burgos	30,800
" Calahorra	30,100
" Palencia	54,500
" Osma	19,600
" Siguenza	15,500
" Segona	19,750
" Avila	39,950
" Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo	12,700
" Zamora	9,600
" Leon and Astorga	37,100
The Archbishopric of Toledo	64,300
Bishopric of Placentia	57,300
" Andalusia	59,800
	<hr/>
	451,000

Amador de los Rios supposes the odd 1000 to have been the expense of collection.

recorded triumphs in the conversion of the Jews, the clergy had long mistrusted their own success. Not only in the conformists themselves did there appear a secret inclination to their former religious usages, and but a cold and constrained obedience to the laws of the Church, but from generation to generation the hereditary evil lurked in their veins. The New Christians, as they were called, formed a kind of distinct and intermediate class of believers. Many of them no doubt had aspired to and had filled the highest offices in the State, and even in the Church. Some had become eminent in Christian knowledge, and in all the accomplishments of the age—statesmen, soldiers, poets, monks, friars, bishops. We have seen the distinction of Hieronymo de Santa Fé. Paul de Santa Maria had become Bishop of Burgos; Gonzalo Garcia was entrusted by Pope Benedict with the execution of the Bull of Valencia. Alphonso and Peter of Carthagena, John Alphonso of Baena, Friar Alphonso d'Espina, John the Old, and others, were illustrious names in their day. Some, no doubt from the noble desire of imparting to others the hopes and consolations of the religion in which they had found peace and knowledge and happiness—some, it may be feared, from the baser desire of inducing others to share the apostasy—had been most active in the conversion of their brethren. There were two (Paul of Burgos was of these) who, not content with enlightening, had become the most bitter and cruel persecutors of their more steadfast brethren. Many had intermarried, doubtless for their wealth, into the noblest families, families which boasted the richest and purest Gothic blood. It was the bitterest reproach in later days to prove this indelible contamination,¹ though there was scarcely a noble house in the land unimpeachably clear from this stain. But the mass of them, it was believed by the jealous clergy, and no doubt for this belief they had strong grounds, were still, at heart and in secret, Jews. They attended the services, they followed the processions, they listened to the teaching of the Church, but it was too evident that their hearts were far away, joining in the simpler service of the synagogue of their fathers, and in their secret chambers the usages of the Law were observed with the fond stealth of old attachment. To dis-

¹ The *Mala Sangre*, as it was afterwards termed, could not be purged away by centuries of transmission. See in Prescott the note concerning the *Tizon de España*, a rare volume, most carefully suppressed, which traced up most of the famous families to Jewish or Moorish ancestry. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, i. pp. 355, 356.

cover how widely Jewish practices still prevailed, nothing was necessary but to ascend a hill on their Sabbath, and look down on the town or village below; scarce half the chimneys would be seen to smoke; all that did not, were evidently those of the people who still feared to profane the holy day by lighting a fire.

The clergy summoned to their assistance that stern and irresistible ally, the Inquisition. This dread tribunal had already signalised its zeal by the extermination of the Albigenses, and the desolation of the beautiful province of Languedoc. Alphonso di Oyeda, prior of the Dominicans in Seville, urged the monarchs to bless their kingdom by the erection of a similar office, that the whole realm might be reduced to the unity of the faith. The religion of Ferdinand was his policy; Isabella's policy was religion.¹ Isabella was endowed with every virtue except that of humanity to those of another creed. And even the want of that (no doubt deemed by her subjects, perhaps by herself, to be her crowning excellence) was mitigated by her natural womanly benignity. Ferdinand, therefore, hesitated from worldly wisdom; Isabella from gentleness of heart. But the fatal Bull was obtained from the Pope, Sixtus the Fourth, empowering the monarchs to nominate certain of the clergy, above forty years of age, to make strict inquisition into all persons suspected of heretical pravity.² In this evil hour a work was published by some misguided Jew, reflecting on the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, probably on the Christian religion. It was answered by Ferdinand of Talavera, the queen's confessor, who thus acquired new influence, unfavourable to the Jews, over the vacillating mind of the queen. In September 1480, two

¹ Compare Prescott (*Ferdinand and Isabella*). In this brief sketch, which remains as originally written, I find pride and pleasure in having anticipated the more elaborate statements of my dear friend as to the reluctant struggles of Isabella.

² Mariana hails the establishment of the Inquisition in these words:—“Mejor suerte y mas venturosa para España fue el establecimiento que per esto tiempo si hizo en Castilla, de un nuevo y santo tribunal de juezes severos y graves, a proposito de inquerir y castigar la heretica pravidad y apostasia diverso de los obispos, a cuyo cargo y autoridad incumbia antiquamente este officio” (xxiv. 17). I have no belief in the political rather than religious objects for which, according to some later writers, the Inquisition was founded and introduced into Spain. In this case the politic Ferdinand would not have felt any reluctance for its establishment. Amador de los Rios, p. 174 adopts this theory on the subject. See the remarkable disclosures in the very recent Introduction to the Calendar of State Papers from Simancas, or the time of Henry II. (Rolls Publications, 1862), by G. A. Bergenroth—regret to say, far less favourable to Queen Isabella—pp. 41 *et seqq.*

Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were named Inquisitors. Even the Cortes beheld with reluctance—the very populace with terror—the establishment of this dreadful tribunal; and, as it were to enlist still worse passions in the cause, a third of the property of all condemned heretics was confiscated to the use of the Holy Office; another third was assigned for the expenses of the trial—the last third went to the Crown. The tribunal established its headquarters at Seville, and assumed at once a lofty tone; denouncing vengeance against all, even the highest nobles—the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz¹ Count d'Arcos, into whose domains many of the New Christians had fled—if they should presume to shelter offenders from their justice. The dreadful work began. Victims crowded the prisons. The convent was not sufficiently spacious for their business, and the Inquisitors moved to the Castel de Triana, near Seville. Secret denunciations were encouraged—not to denounce was a crime worthy of death. The Inquisitors published an edict of grace, inviting all who sincerely repented of their apostasy to manifest their repentance; in which case they might escape the confiscation of their property, and receive absolution. If they allowed the time of grace to elapse, they incurred the severest penalties of the law. Many came in and surrendered, but a dreadful oath was extorted from them to inform against their more criminal brethren. In one year 280 were burned in Seville alone; 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in their loathsome cells; 17,000 suffered lighter punishments. A spot of ground was set apart near this beautiful city, not for the innocent amusement of the people, nor even for their more barbarous, yet manly, bull-fights, but as the Quemadero, the Place of Burning. It contained four statues, called the Four Prophets, to which the unhappy victims were bound. The diagnostics of this fatal disease of New Christianity were specified with nice minuteness. There were twenty-seven symptoms of the disorder. Among these (we have not space to recite the whole), were the expectation of the Messiah—the hope of justification by the Law of Moses—reverence for the Sabbath shown by wearing better clothes, or not lighting a fire—by observing any usage of their forefathers relating to meats—honouring the national fasts or

¹ I had fallen into an error, following Llorente, my chief authority in much of this, making two persons out of one. Rodrigo Ponce de Leon had both these titles. Note in Prescott.

festivals—rejoicing on the Feast of Esther, or bewailing the fall of Jerusalem on the 9th of August—singing psalms in Hebrew without the *Gloria Patri*—using any of the rites, not merely of circumcision, but those which accompanied it—those of marriage or of burial—even of interring the dead in the burying-place of their forefathers.¹ Mariana himself, the Spanish historian, while he justifies the measure by its success, ventures to express the general terror and amazement of the whole people that children were thus visited for the offences of their forefathers—that, contrary to the practice of all tribunals, the criminal was not informed of the name of his accuser, nor confronted with the witnesses—that death should be the punishment awarded for such offences—and that informers should be encouraged to lurk in every city or village, and listen to every careless conversation—“a state of things, as some thought, not less grievous than slavery, or even than death.” In some places they were not content with burning the living; their insatiable vengeance warred on the dead. Sepulchres were broken open, and the bodies of suspected Jews, which had wickedly intruded themselves into consecrated ground, but had long slumbered in peace, and their souls gone to their account, were torn up and exposed to shame and insult. Miserable malice, which had all the guilt of cruel vindictiveness, yet was baffled by its senseless victims!

¹ Prescott adds: “If he sate at table with Jews, or ate the meat of animals slaughtered by their hands, or drank a certain beverage held in much estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or, finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children,—a most whimsical provision, since by a law of Henry II. he was prohibited, under severe penalties, from giving them Christian names. He must have found it difficult to extricate himself from the horns of this dilemma.” This is not quite accurate; the prohibition of Henry II. was to the *unconverted* Jew. The converts, of course, were expected to give Christian names to their children. The perplexity must have been, that so many Christian names being of Jewish origin, a Christian may very innocently have given an odious Hebrew name to his child, a name, for instance, of one of the Apostles. I think therefore that my friend has here confused the persecutions of the New Christians and those of the Jews. I do not believe that the early Inquisition took cognisance of Jews; no inquisition was necessary into their tenets, nor were they, strictly speaking, heretics. They were hardly under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was the secret Judaism which lurked in the heart of professed Christians which was to be searched out with such cruel acuteness, and punished with such remorseless barbarity. 17,000 or 18,000 may appear a large number of New Christians; but more than a generation had passed since the great conversions; it was acknowledged to be an hereditary evil. Seville was, in fact, the great seat of these suspected New Christians. “Dafio que en Sevilla, mas que en otra parte prevalecio.” Mariana, xxiv. 17.

The ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain ; many of the New Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased ; the whole body was placed under certain regulations ; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too-celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Arragon ; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest—for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the New Christians. The Cortes appealed to the King and to the Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals—contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Arragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several New Christians. The pride of the nation took fire ; an extensive conspiracy was organised ; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa.¹ But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the New Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The old Christians shrunk from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the noblest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito*, as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood (and among the Arragonese nobility—the nobility of all Spain—this was by no means rare) was sufficient to excite suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God

¹ Compare the account of the murder of Arbues in Prescott, v. ii. p. 84. The whole scene, he justly observes, will readily remind the English reader of the assassination of Thomas à Becket.

of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their ancestors. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe, though just retribution, while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Granada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanour, no reluctance to contribute to the public burthens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. One of these charges was that they perverted back to Judaism their brethren who had embraced Christianity.¹ The story of the crucifixion of a child at Guardia had found ready belief (Juan de Passamente had been added to the saints and martyrs of the Church); it was working with unresisted effect on the popular belief.² The edict raked up every worn-out tradition of these atrocities, a crucifixion at Saragossa in 1250, in Segovia in 1406, one near Zamora, one at Sepulveda, an infernal conspiracy at Toledo to blow up a procession of the Host. The edict was issued only eighty-nine days after the conquest of Granada. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw himself at the feet of the king and queen, and offered in the name of his nation an immense sum, 30,000 ducats, to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Granada.³ The

¹ Llorente, c. 8.

² Amador de los Rios, p. 158. The author, though sharing in modern enlightenment, has still some old Spanish prejudices. He would throw the guilt of this act rather on the people than on the sovereigns; to the latter it was a matter of necessity. I have no doubt that the whole nation must share in the condemnation; and the whole nation bore the inevitable penalty.

³ Solomon ben Virga (in the Schevet Judah) inserts Abarbanel's description of the causes and of the horrid scenes which accompanied the expulsion: "The king, more fierce than Esau (*ipso Esavo ferocior*), thought that he could

queen, sad to say, made a bitter speech against the suppliant. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."¹

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilised with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race—variously calculated at 166,000, 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000²—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which cannot appreciate its real greatness) determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name.³ They were allowed four months to

not show his gratitude to God for the conquest of Granada so fully as by compelling the Jews to baptism, or expelling them from the kingdom." Abarbanel's offer rests on his own authority. The queen supported Ferdinand in his stern determination. "Adstitit quoque a dextris Regina, *Judæis inimicissima*, quæ Regem acri oratione identidem hortabatur, quod feliciter cœpisset, fortiter exequeretur" (p. 321).

¹ Amador de los Rios questions this story as improbable (p. 181). Mr. Prescott, like myself, received it as perfectly consistent with the character of the actors and of the times.

² As to the numbers, I am disposed, with Mr. Prescott, to take the lower, but not quite the lowest, as more nearly approximating to probability. The whole population of the kingdom of Castile at that time was 6,750,000. Yet Abarbanel states the number of exiles at 300,000 (not a very large proportion of that population), and Abarbanel was one of the exiles. "Uno die trecenta peditum millia sine armis ex omnibus regni locis confluxere, juvenes, senes, infantes atque mulieres ituri omnes quocunque viam fata monstrarent, in horum numero ipse quoque fui." Schevet Judah, p. 322.

³ I had again anticipated my friend: "This extraordinary act of self-devotion by a whole people for conscience' sake may be thought by a contemporary of the nineteenth century to merit other epithets than those of perfidy, incredulity, and stiffnecked obstinacy, with which the worthy curate of Los Palacios in the charitable feeling of the time has seen fit to dogmatise it." Prescott, ii. p. 228.

prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harbouring a Jew after that period. Many were sold for slaves;¹ Christendom swarmed with them. The wealthier were permitted to carry away their movables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant, to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen.² Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Some of those from Arragon found their way into Navarre; others to the seashore, where they set sail for Italy or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed: one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes—fainted himself with exhaustion—and, waking, beheld his two children dead by his side.³ A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perishing on the shore,—the clergy approached with the crucifix in one hand and provisions in the other,—nature was too strong for faith—they yielded, and were baptized. A Genoese, an eye-witness, describes their landing and their sufferings. He commences with these expressive words: "At

¹ "Multi, ut vilia mancipiorum capita, per Christianorum terras, pretio venditi." Abarbanel, in Ben Virga, *ut supra*.

² Bernaldes, as quoted by Llorente, and also by Mr. Prescott.

³ Abarbanel, p. 323.

first sight their treatment might seem praiseworthy, as doing honour to our God ; perhaps there was some little cruelty in it, since we considered them not as beasts, but as men created by God.¹ It was wretched to witness their sufferings ; they were wasted away with hunger, especially sucklings and infants ; mothers half alive carried their children famishing with hunger in their arms, and died holding them. Many expired from cold, others with squalor and thirst. The tossing about on the sea and the unaccustomed miseries of the voyage had destroyed an incredible multitude. I speak not of the cruelty and rapacity with which they were treated by the captains of the ships. Some were thrown into the sea by the cupidity of the sailors ; some lived to sell their children to pay for their passage. Many came into the city, but were not permitted to stay long—by the ancient laws of Genoa not above three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves some days from their fatigues : except that they could move, and that with difficulty, you would have thought them dead. They were crowded on the Mole with the sea on all sides ; so many died that the air was infected ; ulcers broke out, and the plague which visited Genoa the next year was ascribed to that infection.” The acts of the clergy and the compulsory baptism rest on Jewish tradition.² Into Rome the fugitives were admitted, but they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased numbers would bring evil upon the community : even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation.—“ This is something new,” he exclaimed ; “ I had always heard that a Jew had ever compassion on a Jew.” The Pope commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country ; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price.³ Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town ; the king, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. They were encamped on the sand, suffering all the miseries of hunger ; living on the roots they dug up, or the grass of the field, “ happy,” says one Jewish authority, “ if the grass had been plentiful ;”⁴ yet, even in this state, they religiously

¹ “ Res hæc primo aspectu laudabilis visa est, quia decus nostræ religionis respiceret, sed aliquantulum in se crudelitatis continere, si eos non belluas sed homines a Deo creatos consideravimus.” Mr. Prescott, who translated the whole passages (ii. p. 232), omitted this characteristic sentence. Seneraga de Reb. Gen. apud Muratori, xxiv. 521, 522.

² Schevet Judah.

³ Abarbanel, *ut supra*.

⁴ Abarbanel, *ut supra*, in Schevet Judah, p. 324.

avoided the violation of the Sabbath by plucking the grass with their hands ; they grovelled on their knees, and cropt it with their teeth. Worse than all, they were exposed to the most wanton barbarities of the savage people. An Arab violated a maiden before her parent's face—returned and stabbed her to the heart, lest he should have begotten a child infected with the Jewish faith. Another woman, unable to bear the sight of her pining child in his agony, struck him dead to the earth with a large stone. Many sold their children for bread. The king of the country afterwards declared all such children free. A pirate of Sallee allured a number of youths—one hundred and fifty—on board his ship, with the promise of provisions—and, amid the shrieks of the parents on the shore, set sail, and sold his booty in some distant port. The captain had intended to murder them all ; a merchant on board the ship remonstrated. “How can I otherwise avenge the blood of Christ, whom the Jews slew ?” argued the avaricious captain, intent on his plunder. “Christ himself,” was the reply, “allowed his blood to be shed to redeem mankind.”¹ It was not thought wrong to cast them out on the wild shore. Another party were landed by a barbarous captain of a ship, entirely naked and utterly desolate, on the African coast : the first, who ascended a hill to survey the country, were devoured by wild beasts, which came howling down upon the rest of the miserable crew. They plunged into the sea, and stood shivering in the water till the wild beasts retreated ; they then crept back to the beach. For five days they remained in this miserable plight, and were rescued by the humane activity of the captain of another vessel, who sent his boat to their relief.

But these were the acts of savage barbarians or lawless pirates. In Portugal they trusted to the faith of kings. They offered to Joam II. a large sum, for permission to enter his kingdom. The more intolerant of his advisers urged him to refuse all terms ; but the poverty of the king triumphed over his bigotry. They were admitted at the price of eight crusadoes a head—children at the breast alone excepted from the tax. The frontier was lined with toll-gatherers, and they were permitted to enter only at particular places. They were merely to pass through the country, and embark for Africa ; with the exception of artificers in brass and iron, who were to

¹ Abarbanel, *ut supra*, 328, 331.

enter at half-price, and, if they chose, might remain. They brought the plague with them, and many lay perishing by the wayside. Eight months elapsed, and many still lingered in the country—either too poor to obtain a passage, or terrified by the tales of horrid cruelty inflicted on their brethren by the Moors. All these were made slaves—the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonise the unwholesome island of St. Thomas. The new king, Emmanuel, commenced his reign with a hopeful act of mercy: he enfranchised the slaves—he seemed inclined to protect the resident Jews within his realm. But he wedded the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and brought home a dowry of cruelty and intolerance. The son-in-law must follow the example of his parents: he deserved to win their favour by surpassing them even in their own barbarity. He named a day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms, the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put in execution.—Great God of Mercy, this was in the name of Christianity! Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers,—they destroyed them with their own hands. One mother threw herself at the feet of the king as he was riding to church. She had already lost six children; she implored that her youngest might be spared to her. The courtiers repelled her with scorn and ill-usage. The king told them to let her go, “the poor bitch deprived of her whelps!” But, though stifled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of Nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigoted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children. By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports which he had named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken: on condition that they might receive back their children, and that government would not scrutinise their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. Yet most of these were reserved, if possible, for a more dreadful fate. About ten years after, some of them were detected celebrating the Passover, or by one account eating

bitter herbs before the Passover. For this offence some were imprisoned. The heavier charges inflamed the popular resentment against them. In this state of the public mind, it happened that a monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed—the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. While the devout multitude were listening in blind devotion, one man alone was seen to smile ; he had, in fact, discovered a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix. In a rash moment he dropped the incautious expression, that if God would manifest himself by water (the year had been unusually dry and sultry), rather than by fire, it would be for the public advantage. The scandalised multitude recognised in the infidel speaker a New Christian. They rushed upon him, dragged him by the hair into the market-place, and there murdered him. His brother stood wailing over the body ; he instantly shared his fate. From every quarter the Dominicans rushed forth with crucifixes in their hands, crying out, “ Revenge, revenge ! Down with the heretics ; root them out ; exterminate them ! ” A Jewish authority asserts that they offered to every one who should murder a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to a hundred days. The houses of the converts were assailed : men, women, and children involved in a promiscuous massacre—even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred relics, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent : on his return he put on great indignation. The ringleaders of the riot were punished ; and the New Christians, who escaped, became for the future more cautious.

My History may well close this melancholy scene with the description of it in somewhat later Jewish tradition, instinct as that description is with touches of biblical pathos : “ In that year the exiles from Jerusalem were driven away from Sphard by command of the wicked ones, Ferdinand, King of Sphard, and his wife Isabella, and were thence dispersed into the four wings of the earth. And they went in ships, whither the wind allowed them to go—unto Africa and Asia, and the land of Yavan and Turkey ; and they dwell therein unto this day. And there came upon them many sorrows and afflictions, and the souls of the people became weary on the way. For some of them the Turks killed, to take out the gold which they had swallowed to hide it ; and some of them hunger and the plague consumed ; and some of them were cast naked by

the captain upon the isles of the sea ; and some of them were sold for menservants and maidservants in Genoa and its villages ; and some of them were drowned in the sea. See, O Lord, whom hast thou afflicted so much that a man should consume his fruit ! For there were among them who were cast into the isles of the sea upon Provence, a Jew and his old father fainting from hunger, begging bread ; and there was no one to break unto him in a strange country. And the man went and sold his little son for bread, to restore the soul of the old man. And it came to pass, when he returned unto his father, that he found him fallen down dead, and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto the baker to take his son, and the baker would not give him back. And he cried out with a sore and bitter cry for his son, and there was none to deliver. All this befell us in the year RABBIM (for the sons of the desolate are **רבים** many). . . . Yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falsely in thy covenant. And now, O God, be not far off; hasten to help us, O Lord ! For thy sake we are killed all the day ; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Make haste to help us, O God of our salvation ! Plead our cause and deliver us.

"And also unto them that had changed their glory for an unprofitable one, in the days of the priest Fra Vincenzio Sadi. This Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them, to see if they walked in the law of their Messiah or not. And they burned by hundreds of them for no cause ; and all that they had they plundered daily. And then they began to flee, and to go unto Turkey, to serve God as at this day." R. Joshua fiercely adds : "And the Lord was zealous for his people, and gave unto those kings the recompense of the works of their hands. For their daughter died in Portugal while she was labouring with child ; and her eldest son died in Prague, and there was no male child left to inherit her dominion. And the Queen Isabella became weary of her life, and half of her flesh was consumed by the evil and lasting plague that is called cancer, and she died.

"In Portugal also the destructions increased ; and the enemies decreed by the power of the sword that none should walk according to the law of Moses the servant of the Lord. And the Jews took their sons and their daughters, and sent them unto the isles of the sea wherein no one dwelled. And many hallowed the Holy One of Israel ; but many fell down

and worshipped the Image, and changed their glory for an unprofitable one."

R. Joshua proceeds to say that there arose upon the fugitives a priest as a Satan. The inhabitants killed them, and had no compassion upon man or woman. The king was absent from Lisbon. On his return, he ordered the priest to be burned, his accomplices to be put to death.

"And many Jews went out from Portugal at that time, and went unto the East country to serve the Lord our God as at the first; and they have dwelled there unto this day. And many were left halting between two opinions; they feared the Lord, yet swore by the image of the uncircumcised, and went daily unto their churches. And they have increased, and become mighty in riches until this day. From that day and afterwards there was not a man left in all the kingdoms of Sphard who was called by the name of Israel."¹

How deep a wound was inflicted on the national prosperity by this act of "the most Christian sovereign" cannot easily be calculated; but it may be reckoned among the most effective causes of the decline of Spanish greatness. It was not only the wealth, which notwithstanding the most vigilant perquisition they carried away, though that for those times no doubt was enormous. A Jew, probably an African refugee, after the taking of Malaga, ransomed 450 of his brethren at a cost of 27,000 doubloons. We have seen the vast sum offered to the king by Abarbanel to buy off the edict of expulsion. There are many records of the secret luxury and magnificence of the Spanish Jews in the darkest times. What was a much more severe loss, they carried away all the industry and the commerce of the land. The loss of the gold and silver (alone considered wealth in those days) which disappeared with them, would have been replaced before long by the influx of the precious metals from America. But the loss of industry was irreparable in a country where pride and indolence proscribed all such pursuits as base and sordid; and where the richest body, the Church, contributed nothing, either directly, or by the improvement of the land, to the support of the State. With the Moors and with the Jews vanished all the rich cultivation of the soil, and all

¹ R. Joseph, i. 322, 326. R. Joseph's own ancestors fled from Navarre to Avignon; some of his relations fled to Turkey. His father, when he was five years old, migrated to the neighbourhood of Genoa; exiled from Genoa, he lived at Novi (p. 415).

internal and external commerce.¹ "You call this," the Sultan Bajazet is reported to have said of Ferdinand, "a politic king, who impoverishes his own kingdom to enrich mine!"²

Nevertheless, it is certain that in the peninsula Judaism still lurked in the depth of many hearts, inaccessible even to the searching scrutiny of the Inquisition. Secret Jews are said to have obtained the highest offices of the State, and even of the Church, to have worn the cowl of the monk, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. The celebrated Jewish physician Orobio stated that he had personal knowledge of many of his brethren who thus eluded the keen eye of the bloodhounds of the Holy Office. Cloisters, of monks and nuns, were full of Jews; there were canons, bishops, Inquisitors, not only of Jewish descent, but in heart Jews.³ They were rich, many of them, and money could

¹ Amador de los Rios, p. 166.

² There is a correspondence between the Jews of Spain and the Jews of Constantinople, such palpable forgeries as to be in themselves of no value, but curious as showing the Spanish notion of the motives and character of the Jews. The Jews' letter runs thus: "Honourable Jews, health and grace be with you! Know ye that the King of Spain, by a public proclamation, wishes to make us Christians, and to rob us of all our property. He takes away our lives, destroys our synagogues, and inflicts upon us other vexations, which trouble us, and make us uncertain what to do. By the Law of Moses we pray and entreat you to summon an assembly, and to send us, as speedily as possible, the result of your deliberations." The Jews of Constantinople replied: "Beloved brethren in Moses, we have received your letter, in which you describe the torments and miseries which you suffer, in which we fully participate. This is the advice of the great Satraps and of the Rabbins. For what you say concerning the King of Spain wishing to make you Christians, do so, since you cannot do otherwise. As to the order to plunder you of your goods, make your sons merchants, and plunder them of theirs. For what you say of taking away your lives, make your sons apothecaries and physicians, and take away theirs. They destroy, you say, your synagogues: make your sons clergymen, that they may profane their religion and their churches. If they afflict you with other vexations, strive to get State employments for your children, in order to revenge yourselves upon them. Do not depart from these instructions, and you will see, by experience, that, from down-trodden as you are, you will soon be held in consideration. Ussaf, Prince of the Jews of Constantinople." Amador de los Rios, from MSS. in the Library of Madrid. The Spaniard will not absolutely give up the authenticity of these letters.

³ "Quid dicam de Hispaniâ et Portugallia? Ubi ex Judæis apostatis fere omnes et principes et nobiles et populares originem ducunt, quod in eis regionibus adeo notum est, ut nemo dubitaverit; quamvis prò insigniis nobilitatis et dignitatibus *præsertim ecclesiasticis* obtinendis Judaismum abjurare oportet, et informationes exhibere quod ab Israeli oriundi non sunt: quod falsis testibus adhibitis, ut in regiâ, *auro etiam* favente facile consequuntur. Adeo omnia monachorum claustra atque monialium Judæorum plena, Canonici, *Inquisitores*, *Episcopi plurimi* ex Judæis procedunt. Non pauci in corde Judaizant, et propter ea bona temporalia Christianismum

easily obtain certificates of pure Christianity. This profound and widespread hypocrisy may seem to some almost to justify the Inquisition; but it shows also how it was baffled in spite of all its zealous cruelty. Mr. Borrow relates a strange story of secret Jews in the Church of Spain in our own days; some of the most learned performing, with seeming solemnity and earnestness, the ceremonial of the Church, but in spirit still faithful to the Law of Moses.¹

If these proofs were insufficient, the lurid light of Autos da Fé still betrayed the fact that Jews, undisguised Jews, lingered on the forbidden soil of Spain. At the burning of a young Jewish woman, Philip III. had the weakness to shudder. The Inquisitor declared that the king must atone for this crime by his blood. He was bled; the pale guilty blood burned by the executioner.²

At all events, if Jews did not, as they certainly did, still defile the soil of Spain, their contaminating blood lingered in the veins of the greatest and noblest—the dukes with the most magnificent titles and hereditary dignities. That blood, both in Spain and Portugal, was as ineffaceable as negro blood in the United States of America—the pure red of princes even of kings, was tainted. The shrewd Venetian Ambassador, in the reign of Philip the Second and his successor observing how deeply the priesthood, as well as the laity,

simulant; ex quibus aliqui resipiscunt, et, ut possunt, effugiunt." Limborch in his answer, says: "Monachorum quorumcunque cœnobia in Hispania istiusmodi sceleratis hominibus esse repleta." Limborch, Amica Collatione (Gouda, 1687), pp. 102, 209, 276.

"And many were left halting between two opinions; they feared the Lord yet swore by the image of the uncircumcised, and went daily into their churches, and they have increased and become mighty unto this day." Rabbi Joseph, p. 327.

¹ Mr. Borrow, *Bible in Spain*, p. 233 (see also the story on p. 300), gives this extraordinary conversation between himself and a Jew who passed for a Christian. "Have you reason," says Mr. Borrow, "to suppose that many of you are to be found among the priesthood?" Abarbanel: "Not to suppose, but to know it. There are many such as I amongst the priesthood and not amongst the inferior priesthood either. Some of the most learned and famed of those of Spain have been of us, or of our blood at least; and many of them at this day think as I do. They perform all the Catholic ceremonies, and then sit down upon the floor and curse." Abarbanel mentions an archbishop who, having acknowledged his inclinations at heart to Judaism, died in the odour of sanctity.

² Grégoire, *Régénération des Juifs*, quoted by M. Bédarride, note, p. 553.

³ "E chi sa la poca coscienza, che la maggior parte così dei preti, così dei laici tiene nelle cose essenziale, e che molti di loro frescamente descendono da Mori e da Ebrei, dubitò grandemente, che il cuore e l'animo non corrisponda alle apparenze. Alle Gerbe, innanzi che si perdesse il forte, molti passarono a i Turchi, lasciando i compagni e la fede. Alcuni nella Goletta

were polluted with Jewish blood, doubted whether their Christianity was more pure than their descent. And as late as towards the close of the last century, it is told of Pombal, that the King of Portugal, Joseph I., proposed to issue an edict that all who were descended from Jews should wear a yellow cap. Pombal appeared in the Council with three yellow caps. The king demanded the meaning of this strange accoutrement: "One is for your Majesty, one for the Grand Inquisitor, one for myself."

Spain—even in her lowest decrepitude—indulged in what might seem the luxury of persecution. The Marquis de Villars, Ambassador of France from 1678 to 1682, describes as an eye-witness a scene almost incredible in its cruel and cowardly details. On the last day of June the theatre was erected in the public Place of Madrid for a general gaol delivery of all the Inquisition Courts in Spain, which had not taken place for forty-eight years. The trials lasted from nine in the morning to nine at night. The king was present—that king, the poor idiot, Charles II. Above the king sat the Grand Inquisitor.¹ The most noble grandes of Spain—men with the most glorious names and titles—acted as familiars of the Inquisition, and led the miserable victims upon the stage of the theatre. Eighteen Jews, men and women—two relapsed and one Mohammedan—were condemned to the flames. Fifty other Jews and Jewesses were condemned to bear the *san-benito*, and to imprisonment for different terms. The king sat there the whole day, staring with his stupid eyes on the scene as if it had been a play, and saw the ignorant monks savagely beating the wretched victims to compel them to kneel at the altar. The following night those condemned to the flames were executed without the city. The monks, not content with harassing them by arguments, according to Villars' words, little likely to shake their faith in their religion,

poco fa trattarono di darla agli infideli: e in Murcia, come scrissi, si scoperse una grandissima copia d' Ebrei." Relazione di Paolo Tiepolo, 1563 (in the reign of Philip II.), vol. v. p. 18. See also Relazione di Soranzo, 1565, p. 82.

¹ I cannot refrain from citing from Llorente a passage relating to the great persecutor: "In the year 1498 died Thomas de Torquemada, who had presided over the Inquisition, and governed all its proceedings for sixteen years. In that time it is reckoned that under this Christian judge 8800 victims had perished at the stake; 6500 had been burned in effigy. Those who had suffered other penalties, infamy, perpetual imprisonment, confiscation, amounted to 90,000. And with this mass of human bloodshed and human misery upon his soul, Thomas de Torquemada was prepared to undergo, according to his own creed, the judgment of Jesus Christ."

burned them with torches in order to force them to confess Christianity. Some persons, it may be hoped in mercy, despatched them with their swords. The howling people heaped stones upon them. The Jews bore their sufferings with admirable constancy, "worthy," says Villars, "of a better cause. Some plunged into the fire. These executions," continues Villars, "by no means diminished the number of Jews in Spain; while these wretched Jews were burned for their faith, other Jews held high offices, especially in finance, and lived in credit and respect."¹

I close this dreary Book with this touching incident. To a late period the Jews scattered over the world retained the precious recollection of their glorious and pleasant days in Spain, and their fond hopes of return to that delicious climate. It was recorded in their prayers. Long afterwards they sought, for their Feast of Tabernacles, branches of the orange trees under whose fragrant shade they had reposed in Spain and Portugal. Even in the seventeenth century German Jews travelled to Spain to obtain branches of these hallowed trees for their synagogues.²

¹ From the *Mémoires de Villars*, printed by Mr. Stirling for the Philobiblian Society, pp. 187, 191.

² Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, c. xxi. Depping, p. 434.

BOOK XXVII

JEWS OF ITALY

Early Period—The Popes—The family of Peter Leonis—
Martin V.

ON the Jews of Italy my History has maintained almost total and significant silence. During the darker ages, if they attained not in Italy the same dangerous and distinctive opulence, neither were they exposed to the same cruel and sweeping calamities. The feudal system, so far as it was established in Italy (most fully in the Norman kingdom of Naples¹), degraded them, as in France, England, and Germany, into the property of the lords. They were assigned over by one feudal sovereign to another, granted as gifts, made objects of bargain, sale, and merciless exaction.² But the feudal system died out earlier and with more rapid dissolution in Italy than in the rest of Europe. The free cities assumed their independence, and in these the Jews seem generally to have lived in happy obscurity. The cities and the petty sovereigns were too perpetually occupied with wars within themselves, and wars with their neighbours, to take up any systematic policy concerning these scattered strangers; and the Jews cared little, so they were left in peace, for Guelph or Ghibelline, Pope or Emperor.³

¹ On the Norman conquest of Sicily, deeds of purchase and sale, or contracts, were equally valid in Arabic, Greek, or Hebrew, "in lingua Arabica Græca, et Hebraica, per manus notariorum Saracenorum, Græcorum, et Hebræorum, etsi solemnitatibus careant Christianorum." Const. Panormit. apud Gregorio, Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia, t. I, Prove, i. xx.

Latins, Greeks, Jews, Saracens, were to be judged each by his own law. Diplom. 1168, ibid. iv. 21, Prove.

King Roger of Sicily brought Jewish silk-weavers to Sicily from the Morea. Ann. Cavenses; Muratori, vii. 924.

² See examples from Muratori, Ant. Med. Aev. cited above, p. 160.

³ Cassel rather asserts that they were mostly Ghibellines. They appear, in the wars of the Angevins and Arragonese for Sicily and Naples, to have been against the Pope and the French.

Cassel quotes a letter of Pope Martin III. "A li perfidi Judei dilla Isula di Sicilia Martinu Papa terzu manda quilli saluti, siccomu a corrompituri di paci, e di Christiani ucidatori e spargituri de lu sangue di nostri figli" (p. 143). The article has much more on Jews in Sicily. Compare also Amari, Vespro Siciliano.

Neither was religious zeal in the peninsula so easily inflamed, so frantic or so bloodthirsty, as beyond the Alps. Italy, if cold to the glorious enthusiasm, was exempt from the blind fanaticism of the earlier Crusades. The cry of "Hep! Hep!" was not raised, or, if raised, but feebly and rarely, in the Italian cities; their streets did not run with Jewish blood.

But the great cause of the comparative quiet and security of the Italian Jews was that they were not the sole, and therefore not the few, envied and odious possessors of wealth. They did not engross the commerce. In Naples and Sicily, Frederick the Second, though he published the terrible edicts of the Canon-law, as enacted by Innocent III., yet, with that premature political wisdom with which he fostered trade and industry in all their branches, skilfully turned the political incapacity of the Jews to their advantage and to the advantage of the State. He deliberately, it might seem, made over to them the whole trade in money. Usury, which he could not, in the teeth of the Papal edicts and the popular feeling, declare to be lawful to the Christian, was not forbidden by the Divine law to the Jew: aliens from the Christian Church, they could not be bound by its laws, and under the royal licence might carry on this baleful, as it was thought, but, as he knew, necessary traffic.¹ But in Italy generally the money transactions were not entirely in their hands; they were not alone enriched by and hated for the practice of usury. From an early period the Lombards, the Florentines, the Caorsini, were their rivals in that business, so necessary, yet so detested, and which, beyond the Alps, marked out the Israelites, and them alone, as the victims of hate and rapacity. The Christians are the objects of Dante's withering scorn for their exaction and avarice. Even beyond the Alps the Italians became the rivals of the Jews and competitors for gain and its inevitable consequences. The direct taxes levied by the Popes on Latin Christendom, annates, first fruits, Peter's pence, assessments on rich conventional foundations, the votive offerings of pious kings and nobles to the Holy See, the contributions for the

¹ "A nexu tamen præsentis Constitutionis nostræ Judæos tantum excipimus, in quibus non potest argui foenus illicitum divinâ lege prohibitum, quos constat non esse sub legibus a beatissimis patribus institutis, quos etiam auctoritate nostræ licentiæ improbum foenum volumus exercere." Constit. Reg. Siculæ, apud Canciani, i. 307. (What did they pay for the licence? See also, in Gregorio III., Prove, p. xxxvi., Frederick's Regest concerning Jewish gardeners in Palermo. They were very skilful in the cultivation of fruit-trees; they were no doubt much employed by the enlightened emperor in translations from the Arabic. See back, p. 323.)

Crusades, of which the Popes constituted themselves the treasurers ; the vast expense of all ecclesiastical suits, and of those offices of the Roman Court which had long been proverbial for their cost ; in short, all the sources of the remorseless rapacity, venality, and extortion with which Rome was taunted for centuries,—all these world-embracing financial operations required agents, and by degrees bankers, in foreign countries for their collection and transmission. Italians, even churchmen, even cardinals, soon became adepts, active, sagacious adepts, in all these pecuniary transactions. We more often hear these Papal tax-gatherers taunted with Jewish avarice and usuriousness than with Jewish descent or creed. It is true that on the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip Augustus many of the richest Jews took refuge in Northern Italy. There they are said—but the fact is by no means certain—to have invented letters of change and credit, which their extensive correspondence and honourable fidelity to each other rendered a safe means for these incipient dealings with the money market of Europe. But even if the Jews had, it may be in a ruder way, forestalled this simple invention, the Lombards and Italians were not slow in availing themselves of, and securing an ample share, if not almost the whole, of these profits. Philip the Fair found his Italian bankers not less tempting objects of plunder (some of them he had himself employed to levy his grinding taxation) than the Jews. At all events, the Jews, if we may so speak, were held not to be the only or the worst Jews in Italy. If they enjoyed not the monopoly of moneymaking, they escaped the monopoly of detestation, and that which followed detestation, persecution, pillage, sometimes massacre.

If the Popes, faithful to the milder tradition of Gregory the Great, were on the whole more humane and Christian, it must be acknowledged that they had not the same temptations as the poorer and more embarrassed sovereigns of Europe. The Jews of Paris or of Languedoc, of London or of York, of the cities on the Rhine, offered a rich prey to the rapacity of the kings or the great feudal nobles. These potentates felt, too, occasionally, or affected, commiseration for their people, heavily burthened with debts, these debts iniquitously and irreligiously, as it was universally believed, aggravated by usury. In Rome the Jews were, some few of them probably of a higher, others of a much lower class. The higher were obliged to content themselves with more moderate gains, and

therefore more moderate wealth, moderate at least as contrasted with that of the higher clergy, the officials of the Papal Curia, and the religious foundations. The lower probably kept up the hereditary and traditional offices of pedlars and dealers in small wares, which they held during the old empire. Contempt and poverty would secure them against violent persecution. History and legislation, even the legislation of the Church, are totally or almost totally silent about the Italian, and especially the Roman, Jews during the ninth and tenth centuries. In those wild times of the law of the strongest, even Jews would not venture, or would be unable to become perilously wealthy. In the eleventh century occurs one persecution. Some poor Jews were executed on account of an earthquake.¹ In the latter half of that century one family alone, but that a renegade family, the Peter Leonis,² having submitted to baptism, rose, during the strife between the Popes and the emperors, to great power, gave consuls, patricians to the city of Rome, and if not a Pope, an Antipope, who was crowned and for a time maintained his authority in the Vatican. It is from the invectives of the enemies of Anacletus II. that we obtain our fullest knowledge of the rise of this remarkable family. Its founder, according to these writers, a Jew, in the days of Pope Gregory VII., had scraped up enormous wealth by nefarious usury. This wealth made him a useful, in the days of his exigency no doubt a welcome, partisan of the Pope. Had the commanding mind of Hildebrand anything to do with Peter's conversion? At all events he became a Christian.

¹ Ademar, *Hist.* iii. 52.

² "Cujus avus, cum inæstimabilem pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usurpavit susceptam circumcisioñem baptismatis undâ dampnavit. . . . Factus dignitate Romanus, nam genus et formam regina pecunia donat, alternis matrimoniis omnes sibi nobiles civitatis ascivit." According to Arnulf, the Antipope had a Jewish countenance, "qui et Judaicam facie repræsentat imaginem et perfidiam voto refert." Arnulf, *Monum. Germ.* vii. p. 711.

But the hatred of the Jews appears even more strongly. After accusing the Antipope of bestial incest, he adds as an aggravation—"Jam nec Judæo quidem sed Judæo deterior." Arnulf speaks of the numerous progeny and infinite wealth of the Peter Leonis.

Compare Chron. Maurin. Duschesne, iv. 576.

If the epitaph quoted by Baronius, ann. 1111, refers to Leo, the founder of the family, the Jew himself had a noble mother:—

"Hic jacet in tumulo Leo, vir per cuncta fidelis
Sedis apostolicæ tempore quo viguit;
Romæ natus, opum dives, probus et *satis alto*,
Sanguine materno nobilitatus erat.
Prudens et sapiens, et cœlo pene sub omni
Agnitus et celebris, semper in urbe manens,
Virgo ter senis fuerat cum sole diebus
Quando suum vitæ finierat spatium."

and was admitted to the rank and dignity of a Roman. The haughtiest and noblest families of Rome did not disdain to ally themselves to the Jew by intermarriages with his sons and daughters. Peter Leonis, the second of the race, had a strong tower palace near the Temple of Marcellus, not far from which is now the Ghetto, even then no doubt occupied by his Jewish kindred. If an inscription which was once in the Church of S. Alesio marks the grave of that Peter Leonis, he had attained the rank of consul. The son of the same Peter Leonis became cardinal, became anti-Pope under the title of Anacletus II. St. Bernard, the ardent partisan, the maker almost of Innocent II., does not scruple to taunt Anacletus with the indelible reproach of his Jewish descent. He is indignant that the offspring of a Jew should occupy the chair of St. Peter.¹ The Archbishop of Ravenna brands the schism of Anacletus as the heresy of Jewish unbelief.²

It is in their homage to the successful rival of their renegade descendant that the Jews in other parts of Europe, those especially of Rome, in a more marked manner on the accession of Alexander II., emerge into notice. To Innocent no doubt they would be eager to show their allegiance, as disclaiming all sympathy with him who was mocked by his enemies as a Jewish pontiff, and would be more odious to them as sprung from an apostate. On the entrance of Alexander II. into Rome they appear as a guild or corporation. (This may seem to imply an ancient and recognised establishment.) They have their place in the solemn processions, with their standard, among judges, clergy, and other guilds. They carry, as it appears according to custom, the Book of the Law, the Old Testament, as their badge. The grateful Pope not only accepts their homage as faithful subjects; he issues an edict, prohibiting all interference with their synagogues, all insult to their religious rites. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela found the Jewish congregation at Rome (they amounted only to two hundred) held in respect, and exempt from tribute. As in other countries, the Pope's (Alexander III.'s³) steward and minister of his

¹ "Ut constat Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri in Christo occupasse injuriā." Epist. 134.

² "Judaicæ perfidiæ hæresis." Apud Mansi, xxi. 434.

³ Asher's edition, p. 38 *et seqq.* Alexander III. was Pope from 1159 to 1181, but during a great part of his pontificate was not at Rome. Zunz dates Benjamin's visit between 1159 and 1167. Benjamin's strange stories of the sights of Rome are very curious. He mentions St. Peter's on the site

private property was a Jew, R. Jechiel, a handsome, prudent and wise man. Benjamin found Jews in other cities: 300 in Capua, 500 in Naples, 600 in Salerno (the principal medical university in Christendom), 20 principal men in Amalfi, 200 in Benevento, 200 in Melfi, 40 in Ascoli, 200 in Trani, none in Bari, 300 in Taranto, 500 in Otranto.¹

The Acts of Innocent III. and of the Lateran Council were addressed rather to the Jews of the Catholic world than to those of Rome, the prohibition to hold offices of dignity and trust (they were to forfeit all the emolument of such charge to the poor); the fatal statute commanding them to wear a distinctive mark on their dress. The protective law of Honorius III., looked to the Jews of Spain. Gregory IX., though in general he maintained the more tolerant policy, yet enforced some restrictions. He prohibited the Jews from having Christian slaves, and forbade Christians to enter into religious disputations with the Jews.

During the pontificate of Alexander IV.² there was a fierce persecution of the Jews in the kingdom of Naples. Jewish tradition affirms that among the Jews of Trani, Bari, and Naples, there were men of science, orators, and poets, superior to all in the world except in France. Was this the result of the enlightened rule of the Emperor Frederick II. (we have

of the large palace of Julius Cæsar. "The extent of ground covered by ruined and inhabited parts of Rome amounts to four and twenty miles. You there find eighty halls of the eighty eminent kings who are called Imperatores, from King Tarquin to King Pepin, the father of Charles who first conquered Spain and wrested it from the Mohammedans. In the outskirts of Rome the palace of Titus, who was rejected by three hundred senators in consequence of his having wasted three years in the conquest of Jerushalaim, which task, according to their rule, ought to have been accomplished in two years!" He mentions also the hall of the palace of King Vespasianus, very large and strong building (qy. the Coliseum?), as the marvellous Hall of King Galba; also S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, in which place of worship are two copper pillars, constructed by King Schlomo (o. b. m.), whose name, Schlomo ben David, is engraved upon each. The Jews in Rome told him that every year, about the time of the 9th of Ab, these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them. There is a cave, too, in which Titus hid the vessels of the Temple, and another containing the sepulchres of those holy men, the ten martyrs of the kingdom.

¹ R. Jacob ben Jehudah, who travelled in Provence 140 years later (Mishnah Kenaoth, Letter 53, p. 115), reports that no Jews were to be found in his time from Provence to Rome; and even the small number found in Genoa, Pisa, and Lucca by our author, had disappeared. The latter city was also visited by Aben Ezra. In the eastern and central parts, however, of Northern Italy, Jewish congregations were to be met with at Venice, Ancona, Rieti, Pesaro, Bologna, Fano, Forli, Ferrara, Fermo, Fabriano, Ascoli, Perugia. R. Mashe Zinz (1400) mentions the Jewish traders at Lucca. Zunz, note on Benjamin of Tudela, p. 16.

² 1245-1261.

seen his patronage of learned Jews) and that of King Manfred? The tradition gives the cause of the popular outburst against the Jews. In Trani a monk, worsted in a quarrel with a Jew, revenged himself by hiding a crucifix in a dung-heap near the Jew's house. He pretended to have received in a dream a revelation of this profane insult to Christianity. The people were in a fury; the magistrate, suspecting the monk, but unable to arrest the rage of the populace, advised the Jews to turn Christians. Some yielded; some fled to Naples. There they fared worse: the story had spread; the rabble was up. Some abandoned their faith; others concealed themselves, and when the storm was over fled to distant countries. Alexander IV. interfered, but without much effect, in favour of the Jews. The king afterwards detected the fraud of the monk, but was afraid to put him to death—he was banished to one of the islands.¹

We have heard the solemn voice of Innocent IV. raised in favour of the Jews. The ambitious Nicolas III.² scrupled not to arrest the fierce zeal of the Franciscans, on whom he otherwise leaned as the most useful allies of the Papal power. The Franciscans demanded the forcible conversion of the Jews. The just edict of Nicolas III. appeals to the Christian example of the Popes, his predecessors, protects the Jews in their rights, in their property, and in their religion; their festivals were to be respected, their cemeteries undisturbed; they were to be subject to no insult or molestation.

The Jews, however, during the ensuing pontificates made, it would seem, extraordinary reprisals for these actual or threatened forcible conversions. Clement IV. published a Bull,³ complaining that there were Christians who embraced Judaism. Possibly these were the enforced converts, who fell back in more quiet times to their old faith; but the Bull broadly acknowledges Christian converts of both sexes to Judaism.⁴ The Pope commanded the Inquisition to search

¹ Schevet Judah, p. 141.

² On the character of Nicolas III. comp. Latin Christianity, iv. 452, &c.

³ Bullarium sub ann. 1278. There is a copy of this Bull, on parchment, which once belonged to the Jews, in the Trésor des Chartes at Paris. Depping, p. 465.

⁴ "Judæos autem qui Christianos utriusque sexus ad eorum ritum execrabilem induixerint, aut inveneritis de cætero inducentes, poenâ debitâ puniatis; contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postpositâ compescendo; invocato ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii sacerularis." Apud Raynald. sub ann. 1288.

out and punish the apostates, and the Jews who had abetted such apostasy. Nicolas IV. renewed this Bull in 1288.

During more than a century the Jews of Italy almost disappear; that century was mostly occupied by the eventful pontificate of Boniface VIII.,¹ the Babylonian Captivity of the Popes at Avignon, and the great schism. During the absence of the Popes from Rome their edicts and acts had more to do with the Jews of Provence and Languedoc than with those of Rome.

At the close of the schism, in the Council of Constance, on the election of Martin V.,² the Jews of Constance appeared in the procession, as those of Rome were wont to do, with burning torches, and chanting Hebrew psalms, to do homage to the new Pontiff. They offered to him the Book of the Law. The Pope received it, and returned it with these words, "Ye have a Law, but ye understand it not: old things are gone by; all things are new."³

Martin V. issued a Bull from Mantua, which commenced with words of unusual liberality. "Since the Jews are made in the image of God, since a remnant of them shall be saved, since, further, their trading is profitable to Christians, and, lastly, since they solicit our countenance and our compassion, thus will we, in the same sense as Calixtus, Eugenius, Alexander, Clement, Cœlestine, Innocent, Honorius, Gregory, Urban, Nicolas, and other former Popes of blessed memory." He proceeds to protect their synagogues, their rites, their privileges, usages, and constitutions, as far as they do not violate public morals, or insult the Catholic faith. No Christian shall compel a Jew, even of the most tender age, to baptism; no one shall disturb them in their festivals; they must pay on their part respect to the Christian worship of God. Pope Martin repealed all the hostile statutes of the Spanish anti-Pope, Peter of Luna: it was a temptation to annul the acts of an anti-Pope. Martin V. also restrained the zeal of the monks, who endeavoured to compel the Jews to baptism, by prohibiting the traffic of Christians with them.

¹ Sub ann. 1299.

² On the character of Martin V., Latin Christianity, vi. 73.

³ There is another version of this story. The Pope refused to accept the book; the emperor took it and said: "Your laws are just and good; none of us rejects them; but ye observe them not as ye ought." The Pope added "May God remove the veil from your eyes, that ye may behold the everlasting light." He blessed them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. L'Enfant, Conc. de Constance, ii. 167.

He annulled the order of the General of the Dominicans to compel them to hear sermons ; he gave full licence for trade with Jews. These were wise measures ; how far counselled by the poverty or parsimony of Pope Martin—how far his imputed avarice, which, at the close of his life, left him master of a great treasure, prompted them—neither the traditions of the grateful Jews nor the taunts of Martin's enemies, as far as I have observed, furnish any evidence.

We have seen the violent Bull of Eugenius IV. ; the wise and humane edict of Nicolas V. relating to the Jews of Spain ; the reception of the wretched fugitives from Spain, at Genoa, and at Rome. I shall hereafter show the conduct of the later Popes to the children of Israel.¹

¹ See the preceding Book.

BOOK XXVIII

Jews in Turkey—In Italy—In Germany before the Reformation—Invention of Printing—Reformation—Luther—Holland—Negotiation with Cromwell—False Messiahs—Sabbathai Sevi—Frank, &c.—Spinoza.

PROSCRIBED in so many kingdoms of Europe, exiled from Spain, the Jews again found shelter under the protection of the Crescent. In the North of Africa, the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaïtes as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of that region. In many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and, among these hordes of fierce pirates and savage Moors, their character and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the land. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim (A.C. 1020), which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterwards to have dwelt in peace: Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman Empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain: 50,000 are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescended to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks were Yeshir, slaves, they held their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir, or visitors. They settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi.¹ Here the Rabbinical dominion was re-established in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination, was re-enacted; and

¹ Rabbi Joseph describes a terrible fire at Salonichi, which broke out in the house of a Jew grocer, Abraham Catalan, and destroyed eight thousand houses, and two hundred lives were lost: "Woe unto the eyes which have seen eighteen of our prayer-houses, and our glory, and the books of our Law, and the believers of our Law, become a burning and a fuel of fire." The misery which followed this fire caused a great plague, "until those who buried became weary, and the mourners and bewailers ceased. And the Jews retained no strength at that time, and Israel became very low." The grocer whose house took fire was imprisoned by the Turks, and died in prison. R. Joseph ii. 403.

R. Berab entertained some hopes of re-establishing the Patriarchate of Tiberias. The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand organising their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and labouring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing-press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant.

Their success in this important branch of commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. At a somewhat later period the famous Savonarola founded a Monte della Pietà in Florence with the avowed purpose of rescuing the poor from the exactions of the Israelites, whom he denounced with his own peculiar vehemence. The good Friar might well undertake this work of charity, if the Jews obtained $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their loans, with compound interest.¹ But the Friar was not content without an edict, hunting the Jews out of the land.²

As early as 1400 the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town in Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. They were established in Verona, Genoa, Pisa, Parma, Mantua,³ Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Bassano, Faenza, Florence, Cremona, Aquila, Ancona, Leghorn,⁴ besides their headquarters at Rome.⁵ Their chief trade, however, was money-

¹ Villari (*Vita di Savonarola*, i. 278) says that this enormous amount of interest is stated in the decree which founded the Monte della Pietà. The precariousness of the security should be taken into account.

² "La pestifera voragine e pessimo veneno della usura, già supportata in Firenze 60 anni, da quella pessima e di Dio inimica setta Ebraica." The Jews were allowed a year to depart. *Ibid.* p. 279.

³ Henry II. of France permitted the Jew merchants of Mantua to come into the cities of the kingdom. "And they went into the king's gate, and bowed themselves before him to the ground; and he accepted their persons and made a release to them according to the hand of our God, upon him: and they went from him in peace, for he was a faithful man." R. Joseph, ii. 454. Probably from this time, if not before, the Jews crept unobserved into France. R. Joshua also relates that the Regent Duchess of Mantua took away the Jews' burial ground in that city, for which God visited her with the death of the Duke, her eldest son (467).

⁴ At a somewhat later period (under the Medici) it became a proverb in Leghorn, that a man might as well strike the Grand Duke as a Jew.

⁵ Many Jews were slaughtered at Rome in the great siege by the Constable Bourbon (R. Joshua, p. 72). On the coronation of Charles V. at Rome, the Jews had been threatened with pillage. "And had it not been for the mercies of the Lord, which never fail, the Jews would have been soon given up to

lending ; in which, at least with the lower classes, they seem to have held a successful contest against their old rivals, the Lombard bankers.¹ An amiable enthusiast, Bernardino di Feltre, moved to see the whole people groaning under their extortions, endeavoured to preach a crusade, not against their religion, but against their usury. His language towards the Jews was full of wisdom and humanity ;² but the effect was, in many places, to raise the populace against them. Nor indeed did the preacher altogether abstain from language which could not but inflame the popular mind : "The Canon-law prohibits all intercourse with Jews, specially their employment as physicians ; the presence of Christians at feasts is expressly interdicted. Yet did the Jew Leo celebrate the wedding of his son with a feast which lasted eight days, and how many crowded to his banquets, to his balls ! In the present day everybody who is suffering from illness openly calls in a Jewish doctor."³ This was in Piacenza ; the in-

pillage on that day. For the men of the emperor gaped with their mouths, hissed, and gnashed with their teeth against them, but the Lord delivered them" (p. 114). There are many curious details as to the Jews in all the cities of Italy in Ersch und Grüber, pp. 155, 163.

¹ In Rabbi Joshua's History (for, like Tacitus, he affected to write Annals and Histories) there are a few incidents relating to the Jews of Italy. He himself resided usually near Genoa, or at Rome. One is perplexing enough. "The Jews also Lautrec grievously oppressed when he was at Milan, and commanded them to put green helmets on their heads as high as those of the Muscovites [?], in order to deride the people of the living God. Howbeit the Eternal suffered him not, but thrust him out that day from the territory of Milan" (p. 22). The Jews had been expelled by the Fregosi, no doubt from commercial jealousy, from Genoa. "But in those days the Jews returned to dwell at Genoa, for the Adorni were men of kindness towards the Jews, and they brought my brother-in-law, the Rabbi Joseph, the son of David, thither contrary to the laws of that perverted city, and he abode there many days, and was physician unto them." This was during the plague. R. Joseph was ill of this plague for forty days, but recovered (p. 39).

There is a curious passage in the Continuation of the Chronicle of the Abbas Uspergensis, which says that, at the storming of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, the Jews, who were numerous in the city, not only bought their own security, but made vast sums by purchasing the plunder at the cheapest prices : "Judæi, quorum magnus numerus illic, ne sint omnia sancta Romæ persolutis pretiis sese redemerunt, ex prædâ omnis generis viliemptâ, ingenuis lucrum facientes" (p. 357). The Jews assert that they suffered in the general plunder and massacre. Both accounts are probably true. Compare Ersch und Grüber, p. 152, note.

² "Si de Hebræis loquendum est, dicam, quod in aliis civitatibus dico neminem, quantum cuique sua anima cara est, posse nocere Hebræis, in persona sive in facultatibus, sive in quacunque aliâ re : nam etiam Judæis justitia Christiana pietas, et dilectio exhibenda est cum et illi naturæ humanæ sint." Acta SS. p. 910.

³ Acta SS. Sept. 30; Annal. Placentini, apud Muratori, xx. 945.

Much of this, with the citations, is from Cassel, Ersch und Grüber, pp. 150, &c.

furiated rabble wreaked their rapacity or their vengeance; gibbets were loaded with Jews; some were torn in pieces, their bodies cast to the dogs or wild animals. Bernardino di Feltre sought better means for rescuing his beloved poor from the hands of the usurious Israelites. He attempted to enforce the doctrines of his sermons by active measures of benevolence, the establishment everywhere of banks on a more moderate rate of interest for the accommodation of the poor, called Mounts of Piety—Monte della Pietà. He met with great success in many towns; in Mantua, Monselice, Montefiore, Rimini, and Brescia: in Padua he forced the Jews to close their banks, from whence they had drawn an enormous profit. But the people were either so deeply implicated with their usurious masters, so much the slaves of habit, or so much repressed by the honest shame of poverty, as to prefer secret though more disadvantageous dealings with the Jews, to the publicity required in these new banks. The scheme languished, and in many places speedily expired.

The conduct of the Popes, as of old, varied, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the Pontiff. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth had deprived the Jews of one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to interrupt their amicable relations with the Christians; they were prohibited from eating and drinking together: Jews were excluded from almost every profession, were forced to wear their badge, to pay tithes; and Christians were forbidden to bequeath legacies to Jews. The succeeding Popes had been more wise or more humane. In Naples, the celebrated Abarbanel became the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard, and of Alfonso the Second; the Jews experienced a reverse, and were expelled from that city by Charles the Fifth. Some of the Popes, wiser than the Most Catholic Kings, began to discover that by casting forth the Jews Christendom cast forth Jewish wealth from her kingdoms. They began to perceive and to be jealous of the Turks, whose stately indifference had permitted the Jews to settle and to trade in their dominions, and had thus secured a much larger share of the money market of Europe.¹ They were unwilling to lose such

¹ "Ne ad eas nationes quæ Christum Salvatorem nostrum se conferant." Cassel, p. 152. "Et quia tanta multitudo istorum est apud Turchas et in partibus Africæ et sicut Judæi vivunt, et quod pejus est; contra aliquos fuit a Papæ consistorio temporibus meis propositum et fuit determinatum quod viverent sicut Judæi." Ibid., from a letter of Coutinho, Bishop of Algarve.

profitable subjects. Leo X. in an edict rebuked the popular preachers who inveighed against the tables of the Jewish money-changers. Paul III. openly espoused the cause of the Jews expelled from Portugal, and the New Christians against whom the Inquisition continued to work with all its stern and implacable vigilance. The Pope forbade in his own dominions all such cruel investigations. He granted an amnesty for all former offences.¹ His aim was to encourage the prosperity of his rising port, Ancona. In this city the Pope permitted Turks, Jews, heretics, to trade with perfect freedom without any inquiry into their creed. They paid the same taxes as Christians ; they were not compelled to wear their ignominious badge. It was especially permitted that Jews and New Christians from Portugal and Algarve should fully enjoy this privilege. Ancona rapidly grew in opulence, and in commerce, the parent of opulence. There were two Jewish communities, an Italian and a Levantine synagogue. Julius III. not merely confirmed the wise edict of his predecessor. On the establishment of the Inquisition at Rome on account of the perilous progress of the Reformed opinions, he specially exempted the Jews of Ancona from this jurisdiction. The Cardinals and other delegates of the Papal power were instructed to pay the utmost respect to the religious observances of the Jews. They were forbidden, under pain of the Papal displeasure, to inquire into the religious observances or religion of the Jews, or into their former confession of Christianity, to dispute with them, to drag them into their courts, to burthen or molest them in any way.

Nevertheless, under Julius III. the Jews were endangered by a rash proselyte. A Franciscan Friar, Corneglio of Montalcino, embraced Judaism, circumcised himself, and "set his face as a flint" to preach against Christianity in the streets of Rome. He was seized and burned. Julius issued a mandate, considering the circumstances, of no great severity. The Talmud, to which the guilt of the conversion of the Friar was attributed, was ordered everywhere to be burned : at Rome, at Bologna, and at Venice. Throughout Italy the Jews, dreading some more awful vengeance, sat in terror—they fasted and put on sackcloth—but the merciful Pope was con-

¹ "Impetravano del Papa una perdonanza generale di tutti li crimini che haveano commessi contra la santa e cattolica fede fine ai di che si pubblicasse la bulla della Inquisitione nel regno di Portugalla." MS. authori quoted by Cassel.

tended with punishing their books ; no violence was committed on the Jews.¹

But the reawakening zeal of the Popes, startled from its serene and mild slumbers by Protestantism, soon returned to its ancient bigotry and ignorance ; ignorance the parent and offspring of bigotry. They hastened to discard their wiser policy, to reject the first dawning of political economy, which in calmer times had forced themselves into their councils.

The stern and haughty Pope, Paul the Fourth, renewed the hostile edicts ; he prohibited the Jews from holding real property ;² that which they held was to be sold, and within six months : therefore property estimated at 500,000 crowns was sold for a fifth of that sum. The Pope endeavoured to embarrass their traffic, by regulations which prohibited them from disposing of their pledges under eighteen months ; deprived them of the trade in corn and in every other necessary of life, but left them the privilege of dealing in old clothes.³ Paul IV. first shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were prohibited from appearing after sunset ; he reduced them to one synagogue—the rest were to be destroyed.⁴ They were to wear a distinctive dress ; they were not to work on the Christian Sabbath, to keep their accounts in Italian or Latin, not to have any conversation with Christians, not to practise among them as physicians. Pius the Fourth relaxed the severity of his predecessor. He enlarged the Ghetto, and removed the restrictions on their commerce ; he permitted them to hold real property up to a certain value, 1500 ducats ; to have direct conversation with Christians ; to wear a black instead of a yellow hat ; the owners of the houses in the Ghetto were prohibited from exacting exorbitant rents ; the Jew became almost a citizen and a man. Pius the Fifth expelled them from every city in the Papal territory, except Rome and Ancona ; he endured them in those cities with the avowed design of preserving their commerce with the East ; in other respects he returned

¹ Rabbi Joseph, ii. 523 : "And he was long-suffering with them, because he delighteth in mercy."

² Bullarium, ann. 1555.

³ " Nullam mercaturam frumenti vel horrei aut aliarum rerum usui humano necessariarum." Art. 10.

⁴ According to Bartolocci (iii.), there were nineteen synagogues in Campania, eight in Umbria, thirty-six in the March, thirteen in Romagnola, eleven at Bologna, two at Benevento, six at Avignon, nine at Rome, thirteen in other parts of the Roman States. They paid 1380 scudi annually to the Hospital of the Catechumens at Rome.

to the harsh policy of Paul IV. Gregory the Thirteenth pursued the same course; a Bull was published, and suspended at the gate of the Jews' quarter, prohibiting the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ, or ridicule against the ceremonies of the Church. All Jews, above twelve years old, were bound to appear at the regular sermons delivered for their conversion; where, it seems, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope and the eloquence of the Cardinals, that their behaviour was not very edifying. At length the bold and statesmanlike Sixtus the Fifth annulled at once all the persecuting or vexatious regulations of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in the ecclesiastical dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.¹

The great events of this period—the invention and rapid progress of printing, and the Reformation—could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning, by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth,² and the respect of the learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of Rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study. A strong effort was made by struggling bigotry to suppress all these works, which a pusillanimous faith knew to be hostile, and therefore considered dangerous to the Christian religion. Pfeffercorn, a convert from Judaism, earnestly persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to order the entire destruction of all books printed by the Jews. The celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin (such are the names by which he is best known), interfered; he abandoned certain books, which contained offensive blasphemies against the Redeemer (the

¹ Sixtus V. limited the interest on loans to 18 per cent.

² R. Joseph speaks of Rabbi Tobias Phuall as one of the first who used the press for Hebrew works: "His mind also did not rest until he had propagated the good doctrine which is the perfect Law among Israel; and he instituted the printing-office at Sabionetta, his dwelling-place, which was under the government of the Lord Vespasian Gonzaga Colonna (exalted be his glory!), from whence the Law goeth out unto all Israel" (ii. 475).

Nizzachon and the Toldoth Jesu), to the zeal of his antagonist; but pleaded, and not without success, the cause of the sounder and more useful parts of Jewish learning.

The Reformation affected the people of Israel rather in its remote than in its immediate consequences. It found the Jews spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still liable to the arbitrary caprice of the petty sovereigns or free cities of the empire. But great changes had already come over the Jews in Germany. The days were long gone by when, according to the fine expression, the Imperial Eagle brooded over the Jews to protect and to prey upon them; when, according to the Sachsen Spiegel,¹ the Emperor Titus, or his father, Vespasian, had made over all, or a third of the Jews for ever to his successors the Roman emperors; when the haughty Hohenstauffen, Frederick I., could grant as a favour to the Duke of Austria all the Jews and usurers in his domain without any molestation or interference from the Imperial Courts;² when in a more merciful spirit, in the proclamations of the Truce of God, with the clergy, women, nuns, husbandmen, merchants, travellers, fishermen, Jews came under the general protection.³ By Frederick II., whose stern imperial despotism contrasted with his wise policy as King of Sicily,⁴ the Jews had been first declared serfs of the Imperial Chamber. Later emperors, Rodolph of Hapsburg, Louis of Bavaria, Charles IV., Wenceslaus, Sigismund, had asserted the same broad and indefeasible supremacy, or rather proprietorship in all the Jews of the empire.⁵ Certain taxes had been levied upon the Jews, with more or less regularity, according to the poverty or the power of the emperor, as protection-money (they were at all times, not alone during the Truce of God, under the peace of the emperor). The amount of this, usually paid on St. Martin's Day, was somewhat arbitrary; there was also the head-penny, paid on the coronation of the emperor; and, it seems, a golden penny specially belonging to the Imperial Treasury which he could not alienate.⁶ But the power of the emperor had long been on the wane. Half of the Jew-tax had been ceded, or wrung

¹ Sachsen Spiegel, quoted by Cassel.

² See the Grant, in Pertz, Leges, ii. p. 101.

³ See the proclamations of the Trenga Dei, ibid. p. 207.

⁴ See back, p. 414.

⁵ Compare Cassel, in Ersch und Grüber, p. 85 *et seqq.*

⁶ The account of these various taxes and offerings in Cassel is not quite so clear as might be desired.

from him by the Electors and sovereign princes, who still, however, acknowledged the right of the emperor to do as he would with the Jews, to kill them or burn them, of course to tax them according to his good pleasure. The Golden Bull reserved the imperial rights, but, to a certain extent, made over their protection, and in consequence the power of oppressing them, to the sovereign princes.¹

The Jews were still, at least in theory, under imperial protection, if not as serfs, as a kind of vassals. But the power of the emperor had sunk still more. In the great strife between the princes of Germany and the free cities towards the close of the fourteenth century, both parties at one time came to a kind of truce, and magnanimously agreed to suspend their hostilities in order to persecute and plunder the Jews. At Nuremberg (in the year 1389) it was resolved, by common consent, that neither princes nor cities should pay their debts or interest to the Jews; that all contracts and pledges should be demanded back. The only commerce between Christian and Jew should be of sale and purchase. The Emperor, or rather King of the Romans, the feeble Wenceslaus, only stipulated for his share, a large share, of the spoil. The king's chief councillors, Duke Frederick of Bavaria, the Bishops of Bamberg, Wurtzburg, Augsburg, the Margrave of Nuremberg, the Counts of Oeting and Wertheim, bought the sovereign's assent to their robbery, by a percentage on their gains. The cities paid 40,000 florins, the Bishop of Wurtzburg and the Duke of Bavaria, each 15,000. The king ratified the compact, commanded the Jews (he their protector) to surrender their pledges, and proclaimed that whatever prince, count, knight, or squire would not aid the throne against the Jews should be placed under the ban of the empire.² Yet in his own dominions, in Prague, Wenceslaus was afterwards accused of favouring the Jews.³ Rupert, the Palsgrave, the anti-king of the Romans, followed a wiser and more humane policy. On his coronation day he took the Jews of Oppenheim and Nuremberg under his special protection, and induced persecuting Nuremberg to do the same. What they were to pay to the city appears not; but every Jew and Jewess of full age was to pay yearly a gulden to

¹ See the declaration of Albert Achill (A.C. 1462), Cassel, p. 86.

² See the authorities for this in a recently published book, Hoefler, Ruprecht von der Pfalz, pp. 74-77, with citations.

³ Ibid., pp. 86, 88, 91.

the royal treasury.¹ They were the property of the king, but they made payments to the cities as well as to the king. On these terms also the Jews of Cologne, Mayence, Frankfort, Worms, Spiers, Landau, Schelstadt, Ratisbon, Colmar, Haguenau, Muhlhausen, Kaisersberg, and Eherhausen obtained letters of enfranchisement. In Frankfort they had a special right of appeal from the imperial tribunal to that of the city.

I have no space to enlarge on the local oppressions and persecutions, which may be detected at every period during this intermediate century in almost every province and city in Germany, sometimes told with frightful but significant brevity:² their frequent ejection, and worse than ejection, by the Landgrave of Thuringia; popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, Worms, almost everywhere; massacres in Gotha and Erfurt; their expulsion from the Mark of Brandenburg. Excluded from one city or state, they found refuge in another till the storm blew over. It is clear, however, that wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending and the sale of gold trinkets and jewellery, they opened larger branches of traffic. In Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn trade of that kingdom.

On the history of the Jews in Prague alone I would willingly have dwelt; that community which boasts itself the oldest, at times has been the most prosperous, but which has suffered the most frightful disasters—that community, with all its hoary traditions, and its wild, crowded, weed-and-hemlock-overgrown cemetery, the graves and the epitaphs of which might seem to reach up to the remotest antiquity, and in which a Jewish “Old Mortality” might spell out records of times when Bohemia was still heathen. Rabbi Joseph boldly declares that the Jews “had dwelled in Prague from the day that they were led captive.” Strange traditions tell of their removal, prophesied by the heathen Queen Libussa, of their solemn reception a century after by Duke Hostiwit. Jewish learning has lately illustrated their history, and turned passages into romance out of a history more wonderful and romantic than romance. The Sippurim of Dr. Wolff Pascheles has well been called the *Acts of the Jewish Martyrs*.³ In the Hussite

¹ Hoefer, Ruprecht von der Pfalz, p. 377. Rupert had raised money on the Jew Tax, perhaps for his inroad into Bohemia. See also p. 356.

² “*Judæi occisi*,” “*combusti*,” perpetually occurs in the chronicles.

³ Compare Sippurim, by Wolff Pascheles, Prague, 1838-1856; and an able notice of this curious book which contains two or three very powerful and characteristic tales, in Fraser’s Magazine, Dec. 1862.

wars, and later, in the days of Luther, the Jews of Prague were suspected by the Reformers of fidelity to the Catholic emperors; they were strangely accused of aiding the Turks, the common enemies of the emperor and the Reformers. But the tradition of their sympathy with the Imperialists is preserved by Rabbi Joseph. "Then Bohemia rebelled against her king and her God, because of the wrath of the Lutherans: and in these days they drove out the Jews from the provinces of Bohemia and of Prague the capital; and they removed from thence in waggons, and went into Poland and abode there. And many died on the road, and many were slain by the edge of the sword."¹ They returned, at least some of them, under Emperor Ferdinand, "who spake kindly to them," and invited them back. It is believed that they showed their gratitude by their fidelity, and by useful service during the Thirty Years' War.

During the Reformation period, about A.C. 1542, terrible conflagrations broke out in many cities of Germany which were laid to the account of the Jews. "In that year," writes Rabbi Joseph, "there were burned in Germany many cities both large and small, and their smoke went up toward heaven; and it was not known who had kindled the fire, and they wrongfully accused the Jews and the shepherds [peasants?], saying, 'Ye have done this wicked thing;' and they chastised them and afflicted their souls, so that the Jews confessed what never came into their hearts; and they burned them with fire." As if to prove their guiltlessness, "God took away their reproach" (writes the Rabbi); "Linz was burned after they went out—it was a great city, the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth; and only twenty houses were left in the midst thereof; and it was a lasting heap for many days."

The tone in which Luther spoke of the Jews varied, as on many other points not immediately connected with his main object, according to the period of his life, and the light in which he viewed the race. As sordid usurers he detested them, and at first he seems to have approved of violent means of conversion; but at other times he spoke of them with humane consideration rather than anger, and reprobated all means of attempting their conversion, except those of gentleness and Christian love.²

¹ Rabbi Joseph, ii. p. 337.

² Dr. Scheidler, in his article *Juden Emancipation*, in Ersch und Grüber, p. 271, reverses this view. According to the dates of his citations, Luther began by being more mild and just, and ended in being more fiercely cruel.

It was partly by affording new and more dangerous enemies to the power of the Church that the Reformation ameliorated the condition of the Jews; they were forgotten or overlooked in the momentous conflict: but to a much greater extent, by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate fruits of this great revolution in the European world.¹ The bitterness of religious hatred and fanatical against the Jews. In his Exposition of the Twenty-second Psalm (A.C. 1519) are these words on the conversion of the Jews:—

"Daher ist das Wütem einiger Christen (wenn die andern noch Christen können genannt werden) verdamlich, welche meinen sie thun Gott daran einen Dienst, wenn sie die Juden auf das gehässigste verfolgen, alles Böse über sie denken, und bei ihren beweinen-würdigsten Unglück ihrer noch mit dem äussersten Hochmuth und Verachtung spotten; denn sie vielmehr sollten, nach dem Exempel dieses Psalms (Ps. xiv. 10, und Paulus Röm. ix. 1, 2), von Herzen über sie traurig seyn, sie bedauern, und ohne Unterlass für sie beten. Dergleichen *Gottloser Christen* theilen sowohl zum Christlichen Namen als Voike durch diese ihre Tyrannie nicht geringern Abbruch, und sind an der Gottlosigkeit der Juden schuldig; sitemal sie dieselben durch dieses Exempel der Grausamkeit gleichsam mit Gewalt vcm Christenthum zurück treiben, da sie vielmehr sollten mit aller Freundlichkeit, Geduld, Gebeth, Sorgfalt, herbeziehen. Und diese ihre Wuth vertheidigen noch einige sehr abgesmackte Theologi, und reden ihnen das Wort; indem sie aus grossen Hochmuth daher plaudern, die Juden waren der Christen *Knechte* und dem *Kaiser* unterworfen. Ich bitte euch darum, sagt mir, wer wird zu unser Religion übertreten, wenn es auch der allersanftmüthigste und geduldigste Mensch wäre, wenn er siehet, dass er so grausam und feindselig, und nicht allein nicht Christlich, sondern mehr als viehisch von uns tractirt wird. . . . Die meisten Passions Prediger thun nichts anders als dass sie der Juden Muthwillen, so sie an Christo verübet sehr schwer und gross machen, und die Herzen der Glaubigen wieder sie erbittern; so dass das Evangelium einzige und allein damit umgehet, dass es uns in diesem Stücke die Liebe Gottes und Christo einzige und allein auf höchste anpreise."

Is it possible that later in life Luther (alas, for the power of polemic strife to harden the heart!) should do more than declare the conversion of the Jews impossible? "Doubt not, beloved in Christ, that after the Devil you have no more bitter, venomous, violent enemy, than the real Jew, the Jew in earnest in his belief." Luther inveighs against their usury with all the fierceness of the darkest of the dark ages. Is it credible that he should give this counsel to those who asked the question, what was to be done by Christians with that accursed and reprobate people?—"I. Burn their synagogues and schools; what will not burn, bury with earth, that neither stone nor rubbish remain. II. In like manner break into and destroy their houses. III. Take away all their prayer-books and Talmuds, in which are nothing but godlessness, lies, cursing, and swearing. IV. Forbid their Rabbis to teach, on pain of life and limb. V. Forbid them to travel: 'as they are neither lords nor officials [Amtsleuter], nor traders, they should stay at home'! VI. Interdict all usury: 'we are not their subjects, but they ours.' VII. In the hands of all young Jews and Jewesses should be placed flails, axes, mattocks, spades, distaffs, spinning-wheels, and let them get their livelihood in the sweat of their brow, as should all the children of Adam."

There are above 400 pages, mostly of bitter vituperation (Luther's Werke, p. 2471), but with vigorous argument against the Jews, curious but most painful to read (2290-2632). Walch's Edition, t. xx. p. 2478.

¹ Rabbi Joshua's account of the Reformation is so curious as to be worthy of insertion: "And it came to pass, when the Pope Julius [the Second] began

was gradually assuaged ; active animosity settled down into quiet aversion ; the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character, justified no doubt by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of many of the lower orders who alone came in contact with the mass of the people, rather than revengeful antipathy towards the descendants of those who crucified the Redeemer, and who, by their obstinate unbelief, inherited the guilt of their forefathers.

During the Thirty Years' War the Jews, it has been said, assisted with great valour in the defence of Prague, and obtained the protection and favour of the grateful emperor. Before this, the Reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit—the opening the free cities of Holland, where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic.¹ The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

From Holland they long looked for some favourable oppor-

to build the great high place which is in Rome [St. Peter's], that he sent the Franciscan Friars into all the districts of the uncircumcised. And he gave them power to loose and to bind, and to deliver souls from perdition. And they departed and cried with a loud voice, 'Take off the earrings of your wives and daughters [the words in Exodus xxxii. 2] and bring them for the building of the high place ; and it shall come to pass when ye shall come, that ye shall save the souls of your generation from perdition.' And it came to pass, after the death of Julius, that the Pope Leo sent again, and they went, as before, into the cities of Ashkenaz [Germany], and they were lifted up. And it came to pass whenever the Germans would speak, saying, 'How could ye say this thing ? and how can the pope do it ?' they answered them proudly, saying, 'Ye shall be cursed if ye do not believe, for there is no faith in you ; and ye shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.' And there was one Martin [Luther], a monk, a skilful and wise man, and he also said unto them, 'Why are ye not ashamed when ye let your voice be heard on high speaking such dreams ?' And the priests could not give an answer ; and they behaved with madness after their manner, and they anathematised him in the year 1518, and the wrath of Martin was much kindled. And Martin opened his mouth and preached with a loud voice against the pope, and against the dreams and the abominations of the popes, but still he delighted in THAT MAN [Jesus], and many gathered themselves unto him. And he made them statutes and ordinances, and spake revolt against the wise men of the Church ; and he would explain from his own heart their law and the words of Paul ; and they went not after the precepts of the popes ; and their laws are two different laws until this day " (i. p. 430).

¹ In 1590, three Portuguese Jews were hospitably received in Holland. Many soon followed. The first synagogue was founded in 1598. The States publicly avowed their determination to open a place of refuge for those who were expelled by the tyrannical governments of Europe. About twenty years after, German Jews settled in Holland, but their first community was not formed in Amsterdam till 1630. Ersch und Grüber, p. 120.

tunity which might open the exchange, the marts, and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though, no doubt, often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal.¹ Yet it can hardly be doubted that Jews must have walked the streets of London, and, though proscribed by the law, must, by tacit, perhaps unconscious, connivance, have taken some share in the expanding commerce of England during the reign of the Tudors.² If it were not a creation of Shakespeare, it would be difficult to believe his Shylock a pure creation, or to suppose that the poet drew entirely from his own mind the Jewish character and feelings, the mutual heart-deep hatred of Jew and Christian.³ It was not, however, till the Protectorate of Cromwell that the

¹ I know not on what authority Amador de los Rios asserts that England was among the first countries which received the Spanish Jews on their expulsion from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. He names London, York, and Dover, as three cities where they settled (p. 419). He says (p. 440) that they built synagogues in London as well as in most of the Hanseatic towns, and drove a flourishing trade.

² "I pass over a period in our own history, in which it is supposed there were no Jews in England—the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. My researches might show that they were not then unknown in this country. Had there been no Jews in England, would that luminary of the law, Sir Edward Coke, have needed to inveigh against the Jews as 'Infidels and Turks'?—delivering them all alike to the Devil; stigmatised and infamous persons, 'perpetui inimici,' says Littleton, 'and not admissible as witnesses.'" Disraeli, *Genius of Judaism*, 240.

³ This is more remarkable if, as Charles Lamb has done, with his fine originality of criticism and felicitous language, we contrast Shylock with Marlowe's Jew of Malta: "Marlowe's Jew does not approach so near to Shakespeare as his Edward II. does to Richard II. Shylock, in the midst of his savage purpose, is a man; his motives, feelings, resentments, have something human in them: 'If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?' Barabbas is a mere monster brought in with a large painted nose to please the rabble. He kills in sport, poisons whole nunneries, invents infernal machines. This is just such an exhibition as a century or two earlier might have been played before the Londoners by the Royal command, when a general pillage and massacre of the Hebrews had been previously resolved on in the Cabinet." Lamb's *Specimens*, p. 31.

It is very curious that the Jews have the same story, only with everything reversed. Shylock, the Jew, is the liberal, unsuspecting merchant. Antonio, the Christian, insists on the forfeited pound of flesh. But the noble Portia is even more cruelly used; she is employed in that worst and basest calling to which women can be self-degraded, the procuress who is to inveigle the gentle Jessica. The whimsical part is, that the Jews place the story at Rome, in the time of Pope Sixtus V. (Elizabeth's contemporary); the Pope plays a great part in it. Shakespeare's authorities for his version ascend high in the Middle Ages. It is almost more whimsical that the story, in its Jewish form, found its way into Gregorio Leti's *Life of Sixtus V.* See *Sippurim*, No. IV. p. 202, &c.

Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal re-establishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice, co-operating with the aversion of a large part of the nation towards the Government, gave rise to the most absurd rumours of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was bruited abroad, and widely believed, that they had offered £500,000 on condition of obtaining St. Paul's Church for their synagogue, and the Bodleian Library to begin business with. Harry Martin and Hugh Peters were designated as the profane or fanatic advisers of this strange bargain.¹ Another equally ridiculous story was propagated of certain Asiatic Jews, who sent a deputation to inquire whether Cromwell was not the Messiah, and went to Huntingdon with the ostensible design of buying the Hebrew books belonging to the University of Cambridge, but with the real object of searching the Protector's pedigree to find whether he could claim Jewish descent. The plain fact was this—a physician of great learning and estimation among the Jews, Manasseh ben Israel,² presented a petition to the Protector for the readmission of his countrymen into the realm. The address was drawn with eloquence and skill—it commenced by recognising the hand of God in the appointment of Cromwell to the Protectorate, it dexterously insinuated the instability of all Governments unfavourable to the Jews, and it asserted the general joy with which the ambassadors of the Republic had been received in their synagogues in Holland and elsewhere.³ Manasseh ben Israel issued a second address to the Commonwealth of England. He complimented the general humanity of the nation, stated his sole object to be the establishment of a synagogue in the kingdom; he adroitly endeavoured to interest the religious enthusiasm of England on his side, by declaring his conviction that the restoration of Israel, and of course the Last Day, was at hand. He did not neglect the temporal advantages of the worldly, the profits to be derived from their traffic; and concluded with expressing his sincere attachment to a Commonwealth abounding in so many men of piety and learning. Whether moved by one or all these reasons, Cromwell summoned an assembly of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines, to

¹ This rumour is mentioned in Manasseh ben Israel's Defence of the Jews, p. 7.

² See Manasseh ben Israel, Sein Leben und Werken, von Dr. M. Kayserling (Berlin, 1861)—a careful, and seemingly accurate, account of the life of this remarkable man.

³ See the Vindiciae Judaicæ, in the Phœnix, vol. ii. pp. 391 *et seqq.*

debate the question, first, whether it was lawful to admit the Jews; secondly, if lawful, on what terms it was expedient to admit them. The lawyers decided at once on the legality; the citizens were divided; but the contest among the divines was so long and so inconclusive, that Oliver, having so spoken that one present asserted, "I have never heard a man speak so well," at length grew weary, and the question was adjourned to a more favourable opportunity.¹ It is a curious fact of the times, that so far were some of the Republican writers from hostility to the Jews, that Harrington, in his "*Oceana*," gravely proposes disburthening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his courtiers quietly accomplished that change on which Cromwell had not dared openly to venture.² The convenient Jews stole insensibly into the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their footing, and no doubt contributed their fair proportion to the national wealth.

I have not thought it expedient to interrupt the course of my History with the account of every adventurer who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is

¹ "When the Jews desired leave to have a synagogue in London, they offered him, when Protector, £60,000. Cromwell appointed a day for giving them an answer. He then sent for some of the most powerful among the clergy and some of the chief merchants of the City to be present at their meeting. It was in the long gallery at Whitehall. Sir Paul Rycant, who was then a young man, pressed in among the crowd, and said he never heard a man speak so well in his life as Cromwell did on this occasion. When they were all met, he ordered the Jews to speak for themselves. After that he turned to the clergy, who inveighed much against the Jews as a cruel and accursed people. Cromwell, in his answer to the clergy, called them 'Men of God,' and desired to be informed by them whether it was not their opinion that the Jews were to be called, in the fulness of time, into the Church. He then desired to know whether it was not every Christian man's duty to forward that good end all he could. Then he flourished a good deal on religion prevailing in this nation, the only place in the world where religion was taught in its full purity. 'Was it not,' he said, 'then, our duty in particular to encourage them to settle where they could be taught the truth, and not to exclude them from the light, and leave them among false teachers, Papists and idolaters?' This silenced the clergy. He then turned to the merchants, who spoke of their falseness and meanness, and that they would get their trade from them. 'And can ye really be afraid,' said he, 'that this mean and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?' Thus he went on till he had silenced them too, and so was at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews." Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 215.

Burnet gives rather a different view of Cromwell's policy. He wished to avail himself of their rapid and accurate intelligence on foreign affairs. Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 122, Oxford Edition.

² "Under Charles II. Lord Keeper North found no difficulty in swearing a Jew on his Pentateuch." Disraeli, p. 241.

probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended, nevertheless, to keep alive the ardent belief of the nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. "Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming," was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community. A long list of false Messiahs might be produced—in France, in Fez, in Persia,¹ in Moravia; but their career was so short, and their adventures so inseparably moulded up with fictions, that I have passed them by.² Some few, however, I will endeavour to rescue from oblivion. During the reign of Charles V. a man named David appeared in the Court of the King of Portugal; he announced that he had come from India, sent by his brother, the King of the Jews, to propose an alliance in order to recover the Holy Land from the Sultan Solyman. Many of the forced Christians believed in him. He passed through Spain, where he made many proselytes; into France, to Avignon, into Italy. He inscribed banners with the holy name of God. In many cities, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, many believed that he was commissioned to lead them back to the Holy Land. He had even an interview with the Pope. But some of his more sagacious brethren detected the imposture; and he fell for a time into contempt. The false David was followed by a false

¹ Benjamin of Tudela relates at length the insurrection and death of David Elroy, a Persian. Asher's Edition, pp. 122, 127.

² See the curious treatise of John à Lent, *De Pseudo-Messiis*, in Ugolini, Thesaurus. Moses Cretensis, A.C. 434 (see p. 203). Dunaan in Nigra, a city of Arabia Felix, A.C. 520. Some Jews hailed Julian, some Mohammed, as the Messiah (see Baronius, A.C. 1009; Matt. Paris); a Syrian, A.C. 721 one in France, 1137; in Persia, 1138; in Spain, 1157; in Fez, 1167 (*vide* Maimonides, Epist. ad Judæos in Massilia agentes); another beyond the Euphrates, who went to bed a leper and rose a man of great beauty; in Morocco, David Almasser, a great Cabalist, 1174.

Solomon. There was a Portuguese New Christian, who apostatised openly to Judaism, and set up as the prophet of the movement, Solomon Molcho. It does not indeed appear that either David or Solomon Molcho assumed the title of Messiah. The Jews relate that Solomon was utterly ignorant while he was a Christian; immediately at his circumcision the Lord gave him wisdom; he became rapidly endowed with profound knowledge; he became master of the Cabala; he possessed inspiring eloquence. He preached Judaism before kings; even the Pope, Clement VII., admitted him to an audience, and gave him a privilege to dwell wherever he would. Solomon Molcho seems to have been permitted to pour out his apocalyptic rhapsodies (pages of them may be read) without restraint. Bishops, the Bishop of Ancona—princes, the Duke of Urbino—from credulity, curiosity, or compassion, protected him against his enemies. Two of his prophecies, inundations of the Tiber in Rome, earthquakes in Lisbon, could hardly fail of accomplishment. But he came to a woeful end. He attempted to convert the emperor at Ratisbon. Charles was hard-hearted; the Prophet and the Prince, David and Solomon, were thrown into prison. After the peace with Solyman the Turk, they were conveyed to Mantua. Solomon was condemned to be burned as an apostate Christian. He was offered his life and a maintenance if he would recant his recantation and again become a Christian. He answered, "like a saint and an angel of God," with steadfast refusal. He was cast into the fire; "and the Lord" (so closes the Jewish relation) "smelled the sweet savour, and took to Him the spotless soul."¹ Yet there were Jews who believed that the fire had no power over him, and that he departed—God only knew whither.

But there was one who appeared in more enlightened days, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who demands a more extended notice. This man formed a considerable sect, which—notwithstanding that the conduct of its founder might, one would suppose, have disabused the most blind and fanatic enthusiasm—long existed, and still continues to exist.

In the year 1655, a certain Samuel Brett published a Narrative of a great Meeting of Jewish Rabbins in the Plain of

¹ R. Joseph seems in great perplexity about him: "And would to God I could write in a book with certainty and security, whether the words were true or not!" Whether he was impostor, fanatic, or madman, may be reasonably doubted. His visions favour the last conclusion. Rabbi Joseph, 149, 192.

Ageda, about thirty miles from Buda, in Hungary, to discuss their long-baffled hopes of the Messiah, and to consider the prophetic passages applied by Christian writers to their Redeemer. The author declared himself an eye-witness of the pomp of this extraordinary general assembly, where 300 Rabbins pitched their tents, and gravely debated, for seven days, this solemn question. But the authority of Samuel Brett is far from unexceptionable. The Jews, particularly Manasseh ben Israel, disclaim the whole transaction as a groundless fiction. Many circumstances of the Narrative—the setting Pharisees and Sadducees in array against each other, and the manifest design of the whole to throw odium on the Church of Rome—concur in inducing me entirely to reject the story.¹

But a few years after the date of this real or fictitious event, in 1666, the whole Jewish world, coextensive almost with the globe itself, was raised to the highest degree of excitement by the intelligence of the appearance and the rapid progress of a pretender who had suddenly risen up in Smyrna, and assumed the name and the authority of the Messiah. Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordechai Sevi, who first followed the mean trade of a poultorer at Smyrna, and afterwards became broker to some English merchants. He was born A.C. 1625. Sabbathai was sent to school, where he made such rapid progress in the Cabala, that in his eighteenth year he was appointed a Hakim or Rabbi; he even then had many followers among the youth, and indeed among the elders of the place, with whom he practised rigid fasts, and bathed perpetually in the sea. At twenty years old he married a woman of great beauty and rank among his people, but declined all conjugal connection with her. The father cited him for this neglect of his duty : he was forced to give a bill of divorce. A second time he married; and a second time, on the same plea, the marriage was dissolved. Sabbathai announced that “the voice from heaven” assured him that neither of these women was the meet and appointed partner of his life. His partisans asserted that he was actuated by a holy desire of triumphing over human passion; his enemies gave a different turn to the affair. Still his fame increased. He sometimes fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath.

¹ Brett's Narrative is printed in the *Phoenix*, a collection of scarce tracts. Some of Brett's errors may have arisen from ignorance rather than from mendacity.

and bathed till his life was endangered ; yet his beauty, which was exquisite, seemed daily to increase. His whole body was said to breathe a delicious odour, which the physician of the family, suspecting to be perfume, declared, on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. He now began to preach and to announce himself openly as the Son of David, and had the boldness to utter, in proof of his divine mission, the Ineffable Name, Jehovah. The offended Rabbins, horror-struck at this double crime, declared him worthy of death, and denounced him before the Turkish tribunal. Sabbathai took refuge in Salonichi. There the Rabbins again rose against him. He fled to Egypt; thence to Jerusalem. As he passed by Gaza, he made an important proselyte, named Nathan Benjamin, who, admitted trembling to his presence, declared, by the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth murmuring around him like the waves of the sea : a voice came forth—“Your Redeemer is come ; his name is Sabbathai Sevi ; *he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior ; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.*”¹ In Jerusalem Sabbathai preached, and proclaimed himself the Messiah, with such success, that the Rabbins trembled before him ; and the Elias of the new sect, Nathan of Gaza, had the audacity to issue an address to the brethren of Israel, in which he declared that before long the Messiah would reveal himself, and seize the crown from the head of the Sultan, who would follow him like a slave. After residing thirteen years in Jerusalem, Sabbathai made a second expedition to Egypt, where he married again, by the account of his enemies, a woman of light character—by that of his partisans, a maiden designated as his bride by the most surprising miracles. She was the daughter of a Polish Jew, made captive by some marauding Muscovites. At eighteen years of age she was suddenly seized from her bed by the ghost of her dead father, set down in a burying-place of the Jews, where she was found, told her story, and declared that she was the appointed bride of the Messiah. She was sent to her brother in Amsterdam ; thence to Egypt. After passing three years more in Jerusalem, Sabbathai went openly into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself the Messiah. A violent commotion took place ; the

¹ Isaiah xlii. 13.

Rabbins launched their interdict against him : he fled to his native place, Smyrna. There the ban pursued him ; but the people received him with rapture. One Anakia, a Jew of high rank, denounced him on the Exchange as an impostor. The unbeliever returned to his home, fell from his chair, and died : this singular accident was at once recognised as from the hand of God. The Rabbins feared to pursue their interdict ; Sabbathai assumed a royal pomp ; a banner was borne before him with the words, "The right hand of the Lord is uplifted." He divided among his partisans the kingdoms of the earth ; he named his two brothers Kings of Judah and Israel ; he himself took the title of King of the Kings of the Earth. One man, of high rank, nearly lost his life for opposing the prevailing delusion. The Head of the Rabbins was degraded ; the Vice-President openly espoused the party.

The fame of Sabbathai spread throughout the world. In Poland, in Germany, in Hamburg, and Amsterdam, the course of business was interrupted on the Exchange, by the gravest Jews breaking off to discuss this wonderful event. From Amsterdam inquiries were sent to their commercial agents in the Levant ; they received the brief and emphatic answer, "'Tis he, and no other." In the meantime rich presents were poured into the Court of Sabbathai, and embassies were sent from the different communities of the Jews—some of these were detained three or four weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was surmounted by a crown of gold ; the Twenty-first Psalm was sung before him, and a public prayer offered in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged as the Messiah. In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared—men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Salonichi, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word, "Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David : to him the crown and the kingdom are given." Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbathai had predicted, with the same frenzy and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned. One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this frenzy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the Grand Vizier, and

requested a certificate that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbathai; they accused their crafty opponent of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses, and the over-cautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. Among the Persian Jews the excitement was so great that the husbandmen refused to labour in the fields. The governor, a man, it would seem, of unusual mildness, remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their work, instead of endeavouring to pay their tribute. "Sir," they answered with one voice, "we shall pay no more tribute—our Deliverer is come." The governor bound them in an obligation, to which they readily acceded, to pay 200 tomans if the Messiah did not appear within three months. But Sabbathai had now advanced too far to recede: his partisans were clamorous for his passing over to Constantinople, to confront the Grand Seignior. He arrived, escorted by a vast number of his friends, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the Jews of Constantinople. The Sultan was absent—he demanded an audience of the Grand Vizier. The Vizier delayed till he had received instructions from his master. The Sultan sent orders that Sabbathai should be seized and kept in safe custody. The Grand Vizier despatched an Aga and some Janissaries to the dwelling of Sabbathai, but the superstitious Aga was so overawed by the appearance of Sabbathai, "bright," he said, "as an angel," that he returned trembling and confounded to his master. Another Aga was sent, and returned in the same manner. Sabbathai, however, surrendered himself of his own accord; he was committed to the Castle of Sestos, as a sort of honourable prison, where his partisans had free access to him. From thence he issued a manifesto, suspending the fast religiously kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and ordered the day to be celebrated, with the utmost festivity, as the birthday of the Messiah Sabbathai Sevi. In Sestos he admitted a deputation from Poland into his presence, whom he astonished with his profound knowledge and ready application of the Cabala. But there was in Constantinople one stubborn unbeliever, named Nehemiah, who for three days resisted all the arguments of the Messiah, and at the end, openly proclaimed him an impostor. The partisans of Sabbathai rose in the utmost fury; and, when Sabbathai threatened his opponent with death, rushed forward to put his mandate in

execution. The Rabbi burst out of the chamber, and fled, pursued by the adherents of Sabbathai; escape was hopeless, when he suddenly seized a turban from the head of a Turk, placed it on his own, and cried aloud, "I am a Mussulman." The Turks instantly took him under their protection, and he was sent to Adrianople to the Sultan, who summoned Sabbathai to his presence. Sabbathai stood before the Grand Seignior; he was ignorant of Turkish, and a Jewish renegade was appointed as interpreter. But the man before whom the awe-struck Agas had trembled, now before the majesty of the Sultan, in his turn, totally lost his presence of mind; when the Sultan demanded whether he was the Messiah, he stood in trembling silence, and made no answer. He had some reason for his apprehensions, for the Sultan made him the following truly Turkish proposal:—"That he, the Sultan, should shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah: if he proved invulnerable, the Turk would himself own his title. If he refused to submit to this ordeal, he had his choice, to be put to death, or to embrace Mohammedanism." The interpreter urged him to accept the latter alternative—Sabbathai did not hesitate long; he seized a turban from a page, and uttered the irrevocable words, "I am a Mussulman." The Grand Seignior, instead of dismissing him with contempt, ordered him a pelisse of honour, named him Aga Mohammed Effendi, and gave him the title of Capidgi Basha. Consternation at this strange intelligence spread among the followers of Sabbathai; prophets and prophetesses were silent, but Sabbathai was daunted only by the death-denouncing countenance of the Sultan. He issued an address to his brethren in Israel:—"I, Mohammed Capidgi Basha, make it known unto you that God hath changed me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake, and it was done: he ordered, and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal according to His holy will." He most ingeniously extracted prophetic intimations of his change, both from tradition and Scripture. In the book called Pirke Elieser it was written, "that the Messiah must remain sometime among the unbelievers." From the Scripture the example of Moses was alleged, who "dwelt among the Ethiopians"; and the text of Isaiah, "he was numbered among the transgressors." For some time he maintained his double character with great success, honoured by the Moslemites as a true believer, by the Jews as their Messiah. Many of the latter followed his example, and embraced Islamism. St

Croix had frequently heard him preach in the synagogue, and with so much success, that scarcely a day passed but Jews seized the turbans from the heads of the Turks, and declared themselves Mussulmen. His Polish wife died; he again married the daughter of a learned man, who was excommunicated, on account of the unlawful connection, by the Rabbins. She also embraced Islamism. At length the Rabbins, dreading the total extinction of Judaism, succeeded in gaining the ear of the Sultan. The Messiah was seized, and confined in a castle near Belgrade, where he died of a colic in the year 1676, in the fifty-first year of his age.¹

It might have been expected that his sect, if it survived his apostasy, at least would have expired with his death; but there is no calculating the obstinacy of human credulity: his followers gave out that he was transported to heaven, like Enoch and Elijah; and, notwithstanding the constant and active opposition of the Jewish priesthood, the sect spread in all quarters. His forerunner, Nathan of Gaza, had abandoned his cause on his embracing Islamism, and prophesied against him in Italy and Corfu. But it is the most extraordinary fact of all, that Nehemiah, his most vehement opponent, recanted his enforced Islamism, and after all embraced Sabbathiasm. A prophet of Smyrna proclaimed that the Messiah would reappear in 111½ years. But the doctrine of Michael Cardoso, which spread rapidly from Fez to Tripoli, and even to Egypt, was the most extravagant—the Son of David, he said, would not appear till all Israel were either holy or wicked: as the latter was far the easier process, he recommended all true Israelites to accelerate the coming of the Messiah, by apostatising to Mohammedanism—numbers, with pious zeal, complied with this advice. Sabbathiasm still exists as a sect of Judaism; though, probably, among most of its believers, rather supported by that corporate spirit which holds the followers of a political or religious faction together, than by any distinct and definite articles of belief.

But in the middle of the last century, an extraordinary adventurer, named Frank, organised a sect out of the wrecks of the Sabbathiac party. Before the appearance of Frank, an earlier sect, that of the Hassidin,² the New Saints, the

¹ I have gathered from various Jewish and Christian accounts of Sabbathai Sevi. See Jost, t. viii. There is a Life of Sabbathai in the Sippurim, ii. 55.

² Compare on these Hassidin, Jost, and a long note at the end of Franck, La Kabbale, which contains extracts from the Autobiography of Solomon Maimon—a curious and rare book. Solomon Maimon joined the sect for a

Pietists, had spread from Podolia, its birthplace, into Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, Gallicia. Its founder was named Israel Baal-Schem, the Lord of the Home, or Israel the Wonder-Worker. The sect had its special worship, its books of faith, its doctors, called Tsadikin (the Just). It claimed the Zohar as its organ, but the Zohar with its mysticism alone, and that mysticism reduced to its simplest form. Its sole worship was prayer, prayer sublimed to silent contemplation, ravishment, ecstasy. The whole thought was centred on God, but on God alone. It is strange how limited, after all, are the forms of religious extravagance: whatever the faith, Indian, Heathen, Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan, this detachment from earth, this concentration on the Invisible, is the aim and the boast. But Nature will have her course; the exhausted mind loses its command over the body. The Hassidin not only threw aside all the cumbrous ceremonial of the Talmudists; they threw aside likewise the restraints of morality, even of decency. With the founders and leaders of this vast sect, there was the wild mixture of enthusiasm and imposture, with which this mysticism has sometimes commenced, into which it has almost always degenerated. Israel the Wonder-Worker assumed unbounded spiritual power; he could absolve from all sins; he maintained his power by working miracles; his prayer could cure all diseases. He was endowed with all knowledge, with the gift of prophecy. A witness, at one time a convert to this creed, discovered before long that this extraordinary knowledge was derived from a vast army of spies, great acuteness in reading the countenances of men, and skill in inducing them to reveal the secrets of their thoughts. The sect, spread through a large part of the Judaism of Eastern Europe, resisted alike its proscription by the Talmudic Rabbins, and the attempt of the Government to enslave and to convert the race; it is said still to exist, for these religious lunacies are immortal, unless absorbed by some kindred fanaticism. Frank and his followers, a very few years later, assumed the name of Zoharites. The founder astonished the whole of Germany by living in a style of Oriental magnificence, encircled by a retinue of obsequious adherents. No one knew, or knows to this day, the source of the enormous wealth with which the state of the man was maintained during his life, and his

short time, obtained full insight into their tenets and practices, and, after a strange ramble through all conceivable creeds, settled down as a follower of Kant.

sumptuous funeral conducted after his death. The early life of Jacob Frank did not forebode this splendour. He was born in Poland; in his youth he had been a distiller of brandy, and wandered into the Crimea, thence into Turkey, where he acquired great fame as a Cabalist. He returned to Podolia in his thirty-eighth year, and gathered together the wrecks of the followers of Sabbathai Sevi. He was persecuted by the Talmudists, revenged himself by throwing himself under the protection of the Bishop of Kaminiek, publicly burned the Talmud, announced himself a believer in the Zohar, and promulgated a new creed.

Yet for a time he attempted to maintain his lofty intermediate eclecticism. But those were not the days, nor was Poland the country, in which men could safely halt between two opinions. The Bishop, his protector, died. The Rabbins, his deadly enemies, denounced him at Warsaw to the Government and to the Papal Nuncio, as an apostate Jew, and a heretic Christian. His creed was certainly neither pure Judaism nor orthodox Christianity. The Zoharites began to see the fires of persecution already prepared for them, and themselves at the stake. They set forth for Turkey. As the first pilgrims entered Moldavia, the stern Kadi was as intolerant of men neither Jews, nor Christians, nor Mussulmen, as the Christians. They were left to be plundered by the populace. Those who remained behind openly embraced the Catholic faith, yet retained their secret Judaism. Many were detected, and sent forth, with their beards half-shaved, to the scorn and insult of the people. Some were condemned to hard labour. Yet many succeeded in concealing their doubtful opinions, intermarried, founded families, and attained rank and honour in Warsaw. Frank himself was imprisoned in the fortress of Czentschow. When this fortress was taken by the Russians he was set free. He travelled as ostensibly a Catholic Christian, but levying vast sums of money from his countrymen through Poland, Bohemia, Moravia. The new creed leant towards Christianity rather than Islamism. It rejected the Talmud, but insisted on a hidden sense in the Scriptures. It admitted the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Deity, but preserved an artful ambiguity as to the person in whom the Deity was incarnate, whether Jesus Christ or Sabbathai Sevi. As, however, the great head of this sect, Jacob Frank, afterwards openly embraced Christianity, and attended mass, he scarcely belongs to Jewish History. Suffice

it to say that this adventurer lived in Vienna, in Brunn, and in Offenbach, with a retinue of several hundred beautiful Jewish youth of both sexes; carts containing treasure were reported to be perpetually brought in to him, chiefly from Poland—he went out daily in great state to perform his devotions in the open field—he rode in a chariot drawn by noble horses; ten or twelve Hulans in red and green uniform, glittering with gold, rode by his side, with pikes in their hands, and crests on their caps, eagles, or stags, or the sun and moon. Water was always carefully poured over the place where he had paid his devotions. He proceeded in the same pomp to church, where his behaviour was peculiar, but grave and solemn. His followers believed him immortal, but in 1791 he died; his burial was as splendid as his mode of living—800 persons followed him to the grave. But with his body the secret of his wealth was interred; his family sank into a state of want, and almost beggary. In vain they appealed to the credulity, to the charity of their brethren; they fell into insignificance, and were obliged to submit to the ordinary labours of mortal life.¹

But while these men, half enthusiasts, perhaps more than half impostors, agitated the Jewish mind in the more rude and barbarous parts of Europe, and formed sects hateful alike to Jew, Christian, and Islamite—sects which soon either died out or dwindled away into insignificance and oblivion,—the despised race of Israel produced a man in every respect the direct opposite to these crazy or designing fanatics or impostors. He formed no creed, organised no sect, had during his lifetime no single avowed follower, yet long after his death he has risen to extraordinary fame and influence.

Towards the latter half of the seventeenth century lived, in an obscure village in the neighbourhood of the Hague, a Jew by birth, the influence of whose writings for good or for evil has been extensive, beyond that of most men, on the thoughts and opinions of modern Europe. The Politico-theological Treatise of Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza is the undoubted parent of what is called the Rationalist system, and from his arid and coldly logical Pantheism has grown up the more exuberant and imaginative Pantheism of modern Germany. It may be truly said that to Judaism mankind owes the doctrine of the

¹ Peter Beer, in his *Geschichte der Juden*, is the great authority for the life and opinions of Jacob Frank. See also Jost, viii. 231. See, too, a note at the end of Franck, *La Kabbale*.

Unity, the distinct and active Personality and Providence of God ; from a Jew came forth the conception most antagonistic to the conception of the Godhead revealed through Moses, and accepted, as its primary truth, by Christianity. Such modes of thought as Spinoza's, however concealed, not from timidity, but because they were the inward, almost unconscious, workings of his own mind, would naturally lead to indifference for, and what would seem contemptuous neglect of, the rigid and minute ceremonies of his people and for the authority of his people's acknowledged teachers : and this neglect would vaguely and indistinctly transpire, and from its vagueness and indistinctness appear the more odious and repulsive to the popular feeling. Spinoza was denounced and expelled from the community as a dangerous apostate.¹ The excommunication fell light upon his calm, solitary, self-concentred, and self-sufficing mind. Though Spinoza always treats Christianity with respect, and throughout his famous Treatise cites the Evangelic writers as of equal authority with those of the Old Testament, he can certainly at no period of his life have been called a Christian. The fundamental axioms of his philosophy are utterly irreconcilable, not only with the peculiar and vital doctrines of Christianity, but even with the moral system of Socinus and his school. Spinoza ceased to be a Jew in language as well as in thought and in conviction. Though deeply read in the works of his Jewish forefathers, he wrote in the learned Latin of the day ; for he wrote, if in his time for himself and a few congenial readers, for mankind, not for his own people.

This remarkable man had all the virtue, the abstemiousness, the self-denial, the frugality, and, as far as we know, the purity of the most rigid ascetic. He was entirely above the proverbial reproach of his race, avarice. He had no wants beyond the simplest sustenance. He engaged in no trade, followed no calling ; mathematical and scientific instruments (which it seems that he constructed, perhaps for sale), and books, were his only expense. He was as superior to ambition. An enlightened German prince offered to found and endow a professorship for him, on one not illiberal condition, that he should not assail the established religion. Spinoza

¹ "The form of excommunication, dated 1656, may be read (it is the old, terrible form, with all its awful *curse*s) in the Supplement to Spinoza's works (p. 290). No one might communicate with him orally or by writing, no one show him any favour, no one be under the same roof with him, or within four ells' distance, no one read any writing executed or written by him."

gratefully declined the dazzling offer. The instruction of youth would interfere with his entire and exclusive devotion to his philosophical studies; though he professed great respect for religion, he would not trammel the freedom of his speculations by any restriction.

This was the admirable part of his character; his intrepid assertion of the absolute freedom of human thought, his perfect independence, and consecration of his whole life to the laborious and conscientious investigation of truth, and this with no zealous ardour for proselytism, no fanatic hatred of religion, such as broke out later in Europe. He was content to dwell almost alone (though he would willingly admit the intercourse of congenial minds), in the hermitage of his own thoughts, and we must remember that though his kindred, the Jews, could proceed no further than a harmless excommunication (his life was once attempted), half a century had hardly elapsed, since religious, mingled with political fury, had reddened the streets of the Hague with the blood of the De Witts, and Grotius had suffered a long and ignominious imprisonment.

If ever any man was pure intellect, it was Spinoza. He had neither passions nor affections, of imagination not a gleam; to him, imagination was the source of all fallacy and delusion. He had no domestic ties—none, as far as we know, of the appetencies of our nature. He had friendships, but friendships which grew out of mental sympathies alone, a common interest in mathematical and scientific researches, inquiries into moral and metaphysical truth. Such was his relation, shown by his correspondence, with very acute and distinguished men, Oldenburg, Blyenberg, Leibnitz.

But it may be fairly said that the strength of Spinoza was his weakness. His virtue isolated him, not only from the common vices and follies of mankind, but from all real knowledge of human nature, from that great part of the vast domain of philosophy, the mental constitution of the human race. With his unrivalled power of abstraction, of reducing everything to metaphysical entities, almost all truths to mathematical truths, his delight was in everything to approach as nearly as possible to the forms of geometry—to make, as it were, an algebra of metaphysical science.¹ Of the religious instincts, of the uni-

¹ He uses this strange illustration, singularly characteristic of his mathematical metaphysics: "Hæc non miror, quia credo quod Triangulus, si loquandi facultatem haberet, eodem modo diceret, Deum eminenter trian-

versal, if not inborn, notion of God as a Providential Agent ; of the religious wants, hopes, and fears, he had no comprehension, for he had no experience. The philosophy of Spinoza, his metaphysical system, in its close logical coherence, lies beyond the scope, and could not find room in the space of this work.¹ I would consider him as a born Jew, yet, if I may so say, the protagonistic adversary of Judaism, more especially of Rabbinical Judaism ; and as an obscure Jew, in process of time, taking in his toils, and claiming as his followers, some of the leading intellects of modern Europe.

Spinoza began, like other philosophers of his race, with an aversion for, almost an absolute hostility towards, the anthropomorphism of the Hebrew Scriptures. From this, Philo had taken refuge in Allegory, Maimonides in what bordered on Rationalism ; it had been held by most thoughtful men, at least among Christians, to be an anthropomorphism only of language. But Spinoza carried this principle, as it were, into the Moral Being, at least into our conceptions of the Moral Being of God. Those conceptions of the active love, goodness, righteousness of God, were not merely inadequate, and far below their transcendent and inconceivable excellence, but were utterly without meaning. It was as unphilosophical, as entirely a figure of speech, to speak of the justice, mercy, patience, forbearance, loving-kindness of God, as of his right hand, his footstool, or his countenance ; not merely was God without corporeity, but his moral nature was without kindred, affinity, or resemblance to the same qualities in man. These attributes were reflected back by man from his nature upon God, whom he, as it were, created in his own image. Thus, in his remorseless logic, Spinoza cut off all religious motives and incentives to virtue, rooted up the foundations of morality in our conceptions of God, and in the relations of God and man. And this did a man, himself of unimpeachable virtue, who, if his icy words ever kindled to any warmth, it is in commendation of purity, of kindness, of humanity, of universal charity ; who even, in one of his letters, makes the distinct admission that the wisdom of God is the groundwork of truth and falsehood, good and evil ; that that wisdom was pre-eminently manifested in Jesus Christ and his Apostles ;

*gulum esse, et Circulus divinam naturam eminenti ratione circularem esse, et
hac ratione quilibet sua attributa Deo adscriberet, similemque se Deo redderet
reliquumque ei deforme videretur.*" Epist. xlvi. p. 658.

¹ I would refer, for the only just, candid, and distinct view of the whole, to the Introduction to the French translation of his works by M. Emile Saisset.

and that in the practice of such virtues consists true and enduring beatitude. In this contradiction the old Jew, or the unformed Christian, might seem to linger indelibly, if almost unconsciously, in the mind of Spinoza.¹ In his latest work, his posthumous Ethics, he adheres to his reverence for virtue, will not altogether yield up the immortality of the soul, and admits a certain retribution after life; "virtuous souls, as partaking of the Divine wisdom, will endure forever;" to the vicious he seems to assign something like a natural extinction. But how he reconciled this with his great system, appears to baffle the sagacity of those who judge him most fairly and most charitably. Throughout the Theologico-political Treatise, he writes as a Theist; his leading political object is anti-Judaism, to show that all nations are, and ever were, equally with the Jews, under the providential care of God. The name of Atheist he indignantly rejects² (and indeed, however their consequences may seem the same to a theologian, the words Atheist and Pantheist are in absolute opposition). He repudiates, too, Materialism; he does not identify God with gross and brute matter.³ But God, accord-

¹ "Denique ut de tertio etiam capite mentem meam clarius aperiam, dico ad salutem non esse omnino necessaria, Christum secundum carnem noscere [he utterly denied the Incarnation], sed de æterno illo filio Dei, hoc est Deus æternæ sapientiæ, quæ sese in omnibus rebus et maximè in mente humana et omnium maximè in Christo Jesu manifestavit, longe aliter sentiendum. Nam nemo absque hac ad statum beatitudinis potest pervenire, utpote quæ sola docet quod verum et falsum, bonum et malum sit. Et quia, uti dixi, hæc sapientia per Jesum Christum, maximè manifestata fuit, ideo ipsius discipuli eadem, quatenus ab ipso ipsis fuit revelata, prædicaverunt, seseque spiritu illo Christi supra reliquos gloriari posse ostenderunt." Epist. xxi. ad Oldenburg, Opera, i. p. 510.

These Epistles are the most curious, perhaps most trustworthy, depositaries of Spinoza's opinions. They were published in his lifetime. They answer the objections raised by his friends, men of great acuteness, to the views maintained in the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. They are the vain struggles of the strong man to break the bonds in which he has inextricably involved himself.

The Resurrection of Christ he explained away in a spiritual sense. See the remarkable passage in the Letter xxiii. p. 414, to Oldenburg. Oldenburg, in his reply, strongly presses him with the usual arguments. He rejoins "Christi passionem, mortem, et sepulturam tecum literaliter accipio; eju autem resurrectionem allegoricè" (p. 419).

² "Primo ait parum interesse scire cuius gentis ego sum, nec quod vitæ institutum sequor. Quod sanè si novisset, non tam facile sibi persuasisset me Atheismum docere. Solent enim Athei nummos et divitias ultra modum querere, quæ ego semper certè contempsi; quod omnes qui me norunt sciunt." Epist. xcix. p. 629. Compare also the newly discovered Treatise De Deo et Homine. Suppl. ad B. de Spinoza Opera, Amsterdam, 1862.

³ Attamen quod quidam putant, Tractatum Theologico-Politicum eo nit quod Deus et Natura, per quam massam quandam, sive materiem corpoream intelligunt unum et idem sunt, totâ errant viâ" (p. 509).

ing to Spinoza, being the whole universe, the one primal Substance, all emanating from him as attributes of his Being, or existing but as modes or affections of his Being; God, being the immanent, not the passing,¹ Cause of all things, was immutable—everywhere and in all respects alike immutable.

I cannot soar to the speculative, but rather dwell on the practical part of his system, as contrasted with that of his original faith, and with that of Christianity—the rejection of that active Theism, which is the first axiom of both these religions—indeed, it may be said, of all religion. This immutability of God, and the consequent immutability of all that God was, or that was God, bound up all things in an inevitable necessity. Of course all supernaturalism was discarded; miracles were believed only from the ignorance of man or his superstition; it is difficult to find room even for the remotest influence of Providential government. The free will of man was but an illusion of his pride; indeed any free will of God seemed equally inconceivable.² The individual man could not be other than he was. For it is difficult to understand how any man, predestined, as it might seem, by the irresistible impulse of his nature, could be anything but what he became. Nero could be only Nero; the matricide was the consequence of his unalterable nature. Paul could be but Paul; he had no merit, as he could not choose but be an apostle and a martyr.

During his own time (till the posthumous publication of his Ethics, his system cannot be said to have been complete), and in the following period, Spinoza was more denounced, dreaded, and hated, than read. The world contented itself with the contemptuous sarcasm, that his system was only the philosophic dream of an obscure Jew. Though he wrote in Latin—the language of European learning—and had long been disclaimed by, and had disclaimed his race, I doubt not that

¹ "Transeuntem." Neither of our words *transient* or *transitory* quite expresses the thought of Spinoza.

² Read in Mons. E. Saisset's Introduction to the French Translation the excellent chapter "Du Libre Arbitre," p. 146 et seqq.: "D'où vient donc que la masse entière du genre humain proclame le libre arbitre? C'est que la masse entière du genre humain vit sous l'empire de l'imagination et des sens, dans un profond oubli de la raison. Le vulgaire n'est-il pas convaincu que l'âme meut le corps à son gré? Or, peut-on concevoir qu'une pensée donne du mouvement à une étendue? . . . Et tout ce que je puis dire à ceux qui croient qu'ils peuvent parler, se taire, en un mot, agir, en vertu d'une libre décision de l'âme, c'est qu'ils rêvent les yeux ouverts."

with the natural apprehension and aversion to his tenets mingled much of the disdain and detestation which still in the general mind adhered to his descent. The most sceptical of sceptics, Bayle (as is the wont of sceptics, who seem glad to throw over some one more obnoxious to the religious prepossessions of the age than themselves), in an elaborate Life of Spinoza, acute, desultory, but copious and amusing, denounced him as a bold and declared Atheist. His virtuous life Bayle acknowledges, on the testimony of the peasants among whom Spinoza lived, and refrains from taunts upon his Jewish origin. From this Article of Bayle was probably derived most of the knowledge of Spinoza which prevailed till towards the close of the last century. His name was the byword for Atheism and impiety. By degrees, however, Spinoza could not but find a place in histories of philosophy; and historians were not content to rest on the authority or on the citations of Bayle. His works were translated into German; and with the rise of what is called "the German school of criticism," as also with that of German philosophy, his name and his influence became more and more manifest and avowed. Lessing spoke of him with respect, almost with reverence. Goethe (whose abstract speculations found vent chiefly in his poetry, and that poetry, even in its most abstruse views, and its wildest dreams, though fathoming the depths of human thought, singularly distinct and luminous) declared, it is said, that the three master-spirits which had formed his mind were Shakespeare, Linnæus (in Goethe must be remembered the discoverer of the metamorphoses of plants), and Spinoza. He who knows the influence of Goethe upon the mind and thought of Germany, and through Germany on that of Europe, will hardly think that the name of Spinoza ought not to find room in the History of the Jewish race. It is still more extraordinary that the religious mystic Novalis found, or fancied that he found, in Spinozism a philosophical system which supplied the wants and harmonised with the aspirations of his pious mind.¹ In France there has been a curious controversy. No Frenchman must be acknowledged as the teacher of so unpopular a writer as Spinoza. The memory of Descartes must be relieved from this imputation, and M. Cousin, with his wonted patriotism, has undertaken this desperate task—desperate, for Spinoza himself declares that he was a follower of Descartes—that he began with the

¹ On Novalis compare M. de Saisset's Introduction.

study of the works, deduced much of his reasoning from the axioms, of Descartes, and avowedly adopted his method. But France, in the translation of his works and in the Introduction of M. Emile Saisset, has, with a distinct and eminently judicious disclaimer of Spinozism, done justice, not more than justice, to the character and to the writings of the remarkable Jew. In Germany most of the philosophers, Schleiermacher, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel (Fichte especially), paid him the homage, either of transplanting his system into their own, or of transmuting it into another form.

BOOK XXIX

MODERN JUDAISM

Change in the relative State of the Jews to the rest of Mankind—Jews in Poland—In Germany—Frederick the Great—Naturalisation Bill in England—Toleration Edict of Joseph II.—Jews of France—Petition to Louis XVI.—Revolution—Bonaparte—More recent Acts for the Amelioration of the Civil State of the Jews—General Estimate of the Number of Jews in Africa, Asia, Europe, America—Conclusion.

I HAVE followed the sect of Sabbathai and his disciples to the close of the eighteenth century; I have placed in strong but appropriate contrast the singular phenomena of the life and philosophy of Spinoza. I must now retrace my steps, and terminate this History by a rapid sketch of the more important events which influenced the condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, during that period, down to our own days. The lapse of centuries, and the slow improvement in almost the whole state of society, had made a material alteration in the relative position of the Jews towards the rest of mankind. They were still, many of them, wealthy; but their wealth no longer bore so invidious and dangerous a proportion to that of the community at large as to tempt unprincipled kings, or a burthened people, to fill their exchequer, or revenge themselves for a long arrear of usurious exactation, by the spoliation of this unprotected race. A milder spirit of Christian forbearance with some, of religious indifference with others, allayed the fierce spirit of animosity, which now, instead of bursting forth at every opportunity, was slowly and with difficulty excited and forced to a violent explosion. Still, in the midst of society, the Jews dwelt apart, excluded by ancient laws from most of the civil offices, by general prejudice and by their own tacit consent from the common intercourse of life; they were endured because mankind had become habituated to their presence, rather than tolerated on liberal principles, still less courted by any overtures for mutual amity. The Jew was contented with this cessation of hostilities: he had obtained a truce; he sought not for a treaty of alliance. Where commercial restrictions were removed, he either di-

not feel, or disdained, civil disqualifications. So long as he retained, unmolested, the independent government of his own little world, he left to the Gentiles to administer the politics of the kingdoms of the earth. If he might be permitted to live as a peaceful merchant, he aspired not to become statesman, magistrate, or soldier. So that the equal law protected him in the acquisition and possession of personal property, he had no great desire to invest his wealth in land, or to exchange the unsettled and enterprising habits of trade for the more slow returns and laborious profits of agriculture. He demanded no more than to be secured from the active enmity of mankind ; his pride set him above their contempt. Like the haughty Roman, banished from the world, the Israelite threw back the sentence of banishment, and still retreated to the lofty conviction that his race was not excluded, as an unworthy, but kept apart, as a sacred people ; humiliated indeed, but still hallowed, and reserved for the sure though tardy fulfilment of the Divine promises. The lofty feeling of having endured and triumphed over centuries of intolerable wrong, mingled among the Jews with the splendid recollections of the past and the hopes of the future, which were sedulously inculcated by their Rabbinical instructors ; and thus their exclusion from the communities of the world, from the honours and privileges of social life, was felt, by those who were high-minded enough to feel at all, rather as a distinction than a disgrace. This at once compelled and voluntary unsocialness was still the universal national characteristic of the Jews : yet in process of time they became in some degree assimilated to the nations among whom they lived ; their relative state of civilisation materially depended on the manners of the surrounding people, and there was nearly as great a difference between the depressed and ignorant Jew of Persia, the fierce fanatic of Barbary or Constantinople, and his opulent and enlightened brethren of Hamburg or Amsterdam, as between the Mussulman and Christian population of the different countries. The dominion of the Rabbins was universally recognised, except among the Karaïtes, whose orderly and simple congregations were frequent in the East, in the Crimea, in Poland, even in Africa. Rabbinism was still the stronghold and the source of the general stubborn fanaticism : yet even this stern priesthood, which ruled with its ancient despotism in more barbarous Poland, either lost its weight, or was constrained to accom-

modate itself to the spirit of the age, in the West of Europe.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland, Galicia, and the adjacent provinces, had long been the headquarters of the Jews.¹ Into these regions they had spread at an early period, silently and obscurely, from Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia. Some had taken refuge from the atrocities perpetrated by the early Crusaders as they passed through those realms; some from the persecutions by the Flagellants, and those which arose out of the Black Plague. It is usual to date their flourishing state and protection by the paternal government from the reign of Casimir the Great in the fourteenth century.² Casimir, however, only confirmed a law of Duke Boleslaw, the regent of the realm during the minority of his nephew.³ This was the first enlightened edict which secured to the Jews with unusual precision their privileges, their rights, and their duties, as subjects. Boleslaw, and still more Casimir avowed the policy that by encouraging the Jews they encouraged the commerce of the kingdom. They had the premature wisdom to appreciate the value of trade and industry to the wealth and happiness of their country. To the influence of a beautiful Jewish mistress, Esther, was attributed, probably to a certain extent not without justice, this humane policy of Casimir the Great.⁴ Esther was permitted to bring up her daughter by the king in her own faith; the sons had liberal appanages. Many circumstances concurred in advancing the comparative security, with the security, the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Jews in this part of Europe. In the Slavonian kingdoms the feudal system never prevailed to the same extent as in Germany and the West.

¹ Cassel, in Ersch und Grüber, pp. 130-138, enters into many minute details on the settlement in Poland and Galicia, and Red Russia. In Kiew they were in great numbers in the year 1113. A persecution followed the death of Swatopulk.

² Casimir reigned from 1337 to 1370.

³ See Depping, p. 237, who translates the original charter of 1264, first published in *Archiv für Geschichte*, Vienna, 1826. In case of a mulct, they paid, as in the South of France, so much pepper instead of so much money. Boleslaw adopts the maxim of some of the Popes, that the modern Jews are not guilty of the blood of Christ.

⁴ Casimir's law, however, is dated 1343; Esther was not his mistress till 1350. All his subjects were not so tender or so courteous to the Jews, "quorum foetor olidus usque in hanc diem perseverat." Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* quoted by Cassel. Cassel will not subscribe to the passage in the *Corpus Polon. Hist.* ii. 602: "Hujus Hester operâ gens Judaica magnas prærogativas in Polonia a rege adepta est, cum novas tum quam ipsis Boleslaus . . . concesserat" (p. 132).

Though under the royal protection, the Jews were not the liegemen, the vassals of the royal chamber, the property of the king. The Slavonian clergy never, even when the Papal power was recognised, attained the same authority ; the nobility were in constant strife with the hierarchy ; the Canon-law had far less power. In vain did the clergy make, as under the reign of Sigismund I.,¹ a desperate struggle to draw the rigid line of demarcation between the Jew and the Christian, to prohibit social and commercial intercourse, to demand their exclusion from offices of State and public service, even to enforce the peculiar and distinctive dress upon the Jew. The Jews living on the estates, and under the protection of the independent nobles who would brook no interference with their authority, defied the edicts of synods and even of kings. Not that the kings were adverse to them ; the greatest and the best, as John Sobieski, looked on them with favour, and maintained them in their rights and in their industry. Nor indeed were the Slavonian Jews always secure against the calumnies, against the popular tumults, the plunders, and the massacres perpetrated so much more frequently, so much more cruelly, in Western Europe. Posen and Cracow, the chief seats of the most powerful Roman Catholic hierarchy, may claim distinctive infamy for these persecutions. The building of a synagogue in Posen was the signal for a rumour about an insult to the Host, an outbreak of the populace, and pillage and murder of the Jews. In Cracow, in 1407, a priest, Budeek, craftily spread a report of a murdered child. The authorities of the city would have protected the Jews ; but the great bell tolled (it is said, through some mistake), the mob rose, the Jews' houses were fired, and a terrible conflagration wasted the city. The Crusaders against the Jews sometimes followed the fatal examples of the Crusaders to the Holy Land. In 1464 the Jews were plundered in Cracow, and thirty men killed. In 1500 the gates of the Jewish quarter, notwithstanding the king's protection, who had removed the Jews to a safer place, were forced by another band of Crusaders, and a great slaughter perpetrated. Even as late as 1737 in Posen, as in 1753 in Kiew, the child-murder fable rose anew against the Jews. An appeal was made to the Pope, Benedict XIV. His successor, Clement XIII., did

¹ 1506-1526 : "Indignum et juri divino contrarium censentes, ejus generis homines aliquibus honoribus et officiis inter Christianos fungi debere." Apud Cassel, p. 133.

not shrink from the investigation. By his orders the Nuncio wrote to Count Bruhl, commanding that nothing should be done on hearsay evidence—nothing without clear and substantial proof.¹ Wonderful as it may seem, such things have taken place in our own times, in the nineteenth century. It needed Russian Imperial Ukases to interpose. In the province of Witepek in 1805 a child was found drowned in the Dwina; the Jews were accused of the murder. In 1811 a child eight weeks old disappeared out of its cradle; the Jews were arraigned as having stolen it for their evil purposes. The process lasted till 1827. An Imperial Ukase appeared in 1817 prohibiting such charges, yet they continued to be made and heard till 1835; the date of the great Imperial Edict concerning the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews in Poland gradually grew up into a middle order between the nobles and the serfs; the only middle order, between the nobles, however gallant yet the haughtiest in Europe and most contemptuous of trade or industry, and the serfs perhaps the most degraded, wretched, and unimproved in their condition and in their minds. Almost every branch of traffic was in the hands of the Jews. They were the corn merchants, shopkeepers, inn-keepers. In some towns they formed the greatest part of the population; in some villages almost the whole.² If heavily, it does not appear that they were exorbitantly taxed either by the nobles or the government.³

The Jews suffered with the rest of the inhabitants of that unhappy country, when Poland and its neighbouring provinces, already in the middle of the seventeenth century,⁴ became the battle-ground, hereafter to be the prey, of its

¹ "C'est pour ça, que dans le cas des pareilles accusations l'on ne doit pas appuyer le jugement sur les dits fondements, mais aux preuves légales qui peuvent regarder l'affaire et rendre certain le crime qu'on leur impute." Quoted by Cassel, p. 134.

² Schlosser ascribes their settlement to the deliberate policy of Kasimir the Great:

"Kasimir nämlich wollte Gewerbe, Handel, Regsamkeit schaffen, nicht langsam entstehen sehen: er wollte Geld und Deutsche ins Lande ziehen die damals gedrückten Juden folgten seinem Ruf am ersten, und er begünstigte ihre Einwanderung. Die zahlreich in Galizien einwandernder Juden bemächtigten sich bald aller Gewerbe und Geschäfte, welche einträglich gemacht werden können ohne mühsam zu seyn und körperliche Arbeit zu fordern, und drängten sich auf diese Weise als Bürgerstand in die Mitte eines Nations von Herren und leibeigenen Bauern. Diese Juden vermehrten sich, wie in Ägypten, und überliessen gern Ehre und Rang in Staat anderen wenn ihnen nur das Geld bleibe." Schlosser, Weltgeschichte, iv. p. 162.

³ Cassel, in Ersch und Grüber, p. 134.

⁴ 1674 to 1697.

ambitious neighbours. In an invasion by the Grand Duke of Muscovy, in 1655, of twelve thousand Jews in Wilna when that city was laid waste with fire and sword, eight thousand submitted to baptism; four thousand, more heroically obstinate, were burned alive.¹

If Poland was hospitable, Russia Proper, from ancient times, was sternly inhospitable to the race of Israel. Paulus Jovius in his "Embassies" relates that they are hated by the Russians. The mischievous race could not be permitted to dwell within their frontiers; the Jews are accused of having perfidiously furnished the Turks with iron artillery. There was a deeper and more enduring cause of this enmity. Towards the end of the fifteenth century (in 1490), in Novogorod, a Jew named Zacharias, with the aid of some of his brethren (it is added, through the mysterious and attractive Cabala, with the dark sentences of which he bewildered their minds), induced several Priests and many Boyars to renounce Christianity; to believe that Moses alone had a divine mission; that the whole Gospel was a fable; that the Christ was not yet come. One of the converts, a priest, Alexis, took the name of Abraham; his wife that of Sarah.² They became Jews in all but the rite of circumcision, which, to avoid detection, they had the prudence or the cunning to dispense with. The sect spread rapidly among Ecclesiastics and Boyars. It was embraced among the rest by Zozimus, Archimandrite of the Monastery of St. Simon. They still performed the Christian ceremonies, and kept the fasts of the Church with the utmost rigour. The two leading heretics, Denis and Alexis, became arch-priests, one of the Cathedral of the Assumption, one of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel. The sovereign, Ivan III., listened, without suspicion of heresy, to the Cabalistic teaching of these men. The Princess Helena became a convert. Even more wonderful, the Archimandrite Zozimus was promoted to the Metropolitan throne of All the Russias. "The son of Satan sat on the throne of the Holy Saints who had Christianised the realm." At length the dire

¹ "Le Grand Duc de Moscovie est entré dans la Pologne d'un autre côté que le roi de Suède: il a assiégié Vilna, qui est la capitale de la Lithuanie, qu'il a pris par force, où il a tout fait mettre à feu et à sang. De douze mille Juifs qui y ont été trouvés, il y en a eu huit mille qui ont composé et qui ont reçu le baptême, et quatre autres mille, avec la loi de Moïse gravée dans leur cœur, ont été brûlés, n'ayant pas voulu se convertir." Lettres de Guy Patin. ii. 208, dated 21 Sept. 1655.

² Compare Cassel, p. 135.

spiritual conspiracy was discovered by Gennadius, Archbishop of Novogorod. The Czar could not but summon a council of Bishops, Archimandrites, Abbots, and Priests. Before this council the depositions were laid, implicating a great number of ecclesiastics and laymen at Novogorod, Moscow, and other cities. Zozimus only and Kouritzin the Secretary of State were not involved in the charge. Zozimus was obliged to listen while the others were arraigned by the zealous Archbishop as guilty of cursing Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin, of spitting on the crucifix, of calling the sacred images idols, and biting them with their teeth while they seemed to kiss them with their lips; of casting them into foul places; of denying Paradise and the Resurrection of the Dead. Some were for putting the accused, even priests of the highest rank, to the torture, and condemning them to death. The mild Iwan interfered; the council by his direction was content with launching an anathema against the terrible heresy, and banishing its adherents. The zealous Archbishop, Gennadius, sent some of the most notorious to Novogorod (the council was held at Moscow). These were set on horses, with their faces to the tails, their garments turned inside out, and with horned caps, like the paintings of the Devil, and crowns of straw, with a writing thereon, "Behold the Host of Satan!" They were thus paraded through the streets; the rabble spat upon them, and jeered them, "Lo, the Enemies of Jesus Christ!" The mildness of this punishment among the rude Muscovites might put to shame the bloody hecatombs and flaming Autos-da-Fé of more civilised kingdoms. Zozimus the Metropolitan, still wore the mask of consummate hypocrisy. In public he was a pious Christian; it is said that he practised the Christian virtues. In secret he mocked at the kingdom of God, at Christ, and the Resurrection; "at Him who never was and never will be." In the palace of the Metropolitan, in the palace of the Secretary of State, meetings were held, it was said, sumptuous banquets in which the Cabala, with its profound questions, its subtle allegories, its astrology, were the common conversation. A general Pyrrhonism spread abroad; monks and laymen were heard in public discussing the mysteries of the Holy Trinity. Zozimus abused his power by degrading orthodox and advancing Judaising priests. He affected the fullest Christian toleration: "Bear no malice to any one, not even to heretics: the pastors of the Church should always and only preach peace."

At length some discovery was made. It is not known how far these secret proceedings were divulged to the sovereign. But the wise Iwan would avoid the scandal of the degradation of a Metropolitan—a Metropolitan promoted by himself. Zozimus was quietly dismissed and sent back to his monastery. He was afterwards (we may perhaps mistrust the charges of his enemies), on account of drunkenness, removed from that of St. Simon to that of the Trinity. But Kouritzin, the Secretary of State, long enjoyed the favour of his master. This Crypto-Judaism lurked long in the bosom of the Russian Church; when it was entirely extinguished, if extinguished, remains unknown.¹

Russia in the following centuries still adhered to her hostility to the Jews; but her ambition was too strong for her intolerance. As province after province was added to her vast empire, and as of almost all these provinces a large part of the population, at least the wealthiest and most industrious, were Jews, expulsion was impossible; Russia did not conquer to rule over a desert. Her policy became of necessity more wise and humane. The partition of Poland, or rather the two partitions, with the enormous share which fell into her iron grasp, gave her nearly half a million of Jewish subjects. Though, like other Poles, they were unwilling subjects (many Jews fought bravely in the army of Kosciusko), yet their numbers, their wealth, their importance, enforced only moderate oppression.

Of the millions of Jews upon the face of the earth, loosely and vaguely estimated at five, seven, or eight millions, two millions² are subjects of the Russian empire. I return to the subject.

Poland was the seat of the Rabbinical Papacy. The Talmud ruled supreme in the public mind; the synagogues obeyed with implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly conducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition. Lublin and Cracow were the great seats of Jewish learning. How far in more recent times these barriers have been broken down by the more free and liberal spirit of Western Judaism, it would be hard to determine. We have seen in the last Book some

¹ All this is from Karamsin's Hist. of Russia (French translation), t. vi. pp. 242-250.

² Cassel, Ersch und Grüber, gives for the year 1838:—In Russia, 1,507,995 souls; in Poland, 453,646, of which 36,390 are in Warsaw.

insurrections—insurrections which ended in almost general submission, and so added to the strength of the ruling authority.

In the West of Europe, during all this period, those great changes were slowly preparing, which, before the close of the century, were to disorganise the whole framework of society. The new opinions not merely altered the political condition of the Jews, as well as that of almost all orders of men, but they penetrated into the very sanctuary of Judaism, and threatened to shake the dominion of the Rabbins, as they had that of the Christian priesthood, to its base. It is singular, however, that the first of these daring innovators, who declared war alike against ancient prejudices and the most sacred principles, excluded the Jews from the wide pale of their philanthropy. The old bitter and contemptuous antipathy against the Jews lurks in the writings of many of the philosophic school, especially those of Gibbon and Voltaire. It was partly the leaven of hereditary aversion, partly, perhaps, the fastidiousness of Parisian taste, which dreaded all contamination from a filthy and sordid, as well as a superstitious race ; but, most of all, it arose from the intimate relation of the Mosaic with the Christian religion. The Jews were hated as the religious ancestors of the Christians ; and, in Paley's phrase, it became the accustomed mode of warfare "to wound Christianity through the sides of Judaism." Strange fate of the Jews, after having suffered centuries of persecution for their opposition to Christianity, now to be held up to public scorn and detestation for their alliance with it !¹

The legislation of Frederick the Great almost, as it were, throws us back into the Middle Ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of Jews in the kingdom, divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the Crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child, the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia ; exceptions were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burthens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the

¹ Montesquieu, if he may be justly reckoned with this school, is a bright example of the opposite spirit. Read the striking letter, supposed to be addressed on the occasion of the burning of a young Jewess in an Auto-da-Fé at Lisbon, to the Inquisitors, showing that the persecution of the Christians in Japan was only an antitype of theirs. *Esprit des Lois*, xx. 14.

kingdom, for their patent of protection, for every election of an elder in their communities, and every marriage. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined, every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain, to the amount of 300 rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burthened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade—from agriculture, from breweries and distilleries, from manufactures, from innkeeping, from victualling, from physic and surgery.

Nor in more enlightened countries was the public mind prepared for any innovations in the relative condition of the Jews. In England, from the time of Charles II., they had lived in peace in their two communities of Portuguese and German origin. At first, indeed, the favour which was said to be shown to them by Cromwell was looked on with jealousy by the Royalists after the Restoration. A remonstrance was addressed to the king.¹ It dwelt on the mischiefs perpetrated by the Jews from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Edward I. ; their privileges obtained by bribery, their usuries, and malpractices ; their expulsion from the realm at the petition and amid the general joy of the nation. They had returned, resumed their fraudulent practices, and in their prosperity presumed to offer to buy the Cathedral of St. Paul's for a synagogue. The remonstrants prayed for a commission to seize their property for the people's use, and to banish them for ever from the kingdom. They were in some danger in those loose days. Some of their wealthiest were threatened with the seizure of their whole property, as illegally trading, even as residents in the land, by some of the profligate courtiers (Mr. Rycant and others), who, no doubt from their Christian zeal, declared both their estates and lives to be forfeit. The Earl of Berkshire betrayed the secret of that zeal ; he pretended to have received a verbal order from the king to prosecute them and seize their estates, *unless they made agreement with him*. To do the king (Charles II.) justice, he received their petition graciously, utterly denied the verbal order, and gave them permission to enjoy the same

¹ Mrs. Everett Greene, Calendar of State Papers, 1666, p. 366. There is a petition from two converted Jews to share in the charity of Henry III. settled on the Rolls House. The Master of the Rolls of that time had charged the estate with £202, os. 4d. for the charity (p. 171).

favour as before, so long as they should live peaceably and in obedience to the laws.¹

The Jews had obtained relief under James II. from an alien-duty, which restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under William III. The Lord Treasurer Godolphin was tempted with an offer of the Jews to purchase the town of Brentford (was it the situation or the dirt of Brentford which attracted the Jews?) at the price of £500,000,—it might be a million. Godolphin dreaded the fanaticism of the clergy and the jealousy of the merchants, and declined the offer.²

Under Queen Anne a regulation was made to facilitate conversions among the Jews; the Chancellor was empowered to enforce from the father of a convert to Christianity a fair and sufficient maintenance. The baptism of a rich and influential person of the sect, named Moses Marcus, excited a considerable sensation at the time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cause of the Jews was brought forward under the unpopular auspices of Toland the Freethinker. In 1753 a more important measure was attempted. A Bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalisation of all Jews who had resided three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in other respects bestowed all the privileges of British subjects. The Bill passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. But the old jealousies only slumbered—they were not extinguished. The nation, as if horror-struck at finding those whom it had been accustomed to consider as outlaws thus suddenly introduced into its bosom, burst into an irresistible clamour of indignation. The Mayor and citizens of London (for mercantile jealousy mingled with religious prejudices) took the lead in denouncing this inroad on the

¹ See the notice of the Petition of Emanuel Martinez Dormido (doubtless a Portuguese Jew) and others in behalf of the Jews trading in and about London, in Mrs. Everett Greene's Calendar of State Papers, Aug. 22, 1664, p. 672.

² "The Jews offered my Lord Godolphin to pay £500,000 (and they would have made it a million), if the Government would allow them to purchase the town of Brentford, with leave of settling there entirely, with full privilege of trade, &c. The agent from the Jews said that the affair was already concerted with the chief of their brethren abroad, that it would bring the riches of their merchants hither, and of course an addition of more than twenty millions of money to circulate in the nation. Lord Molesworth was in the room with Lord Godolphin when this proposal was made, and, as soon as the agent was gone, pressed him to close with it. Lord Godolphin was not of his opinion. He foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation, the clergy and the merchants. He gave other reasons, too, against it, and, in fine, it was dropped." Spence's Anecdotes, 215.

Constitution and insult on Christianity.¹ The bishops were everywhere insulted for not having opposed the Bill. The Bishop of Norwich on his Confirmation circuit was hooted in almost every town. At Ipswich the youths who were to be confirmed called out for circumcision. A paper was affixed on the door of one of the churches, that his Lordship would the next day, Saturday, their Sabbath, confirm the Jews, on Sunday the Christians.

The pulpits thundered: a respectable clergyman, Tucker, who had written a defence of the measure, was maltreated by the populace. The Ministry and the Houses of Parliament found it necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute.²

The number of the Jews in England was then reckoned at 12,000.

In Italy, till the French Revolution, the Jews enjoyed their quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto, and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the maritime towns they continued to prosper. An attempt by the king himself to secure their re-establishment in the kingdom of Naples is remarkable for the politic boldness on the part of the king, and its failure through the unmitigated hostility of the clergy and the populace. On the separation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the Spanish monarchy, the king, Charles, seemed determined to repudiate the Spanish policy. With a view probably to the restoration of the commerce of the realm, a royal edict was issued, inviting the Jews to settle for sixty years in the Two Sicilies. The edict, by the rights and privileges which it conferred, might seem studiously to reverse all the policy of the Middle Ages. They might trade in all parts by sea and land, exempt from tolls, and on the same footing as other corporations. They might practise every handicraft, hold lands, except such as had feudal jurisdiction. They might import the necessaries of life without custom dues; they might practise medicine even upon Christians, under Christian superintendence; they had their special judicature, and were exempt from all other civil magistracy; they might print books in all languages; they might have Turkish slaves and Christian domestics, men of twenty-five years old, women of thirty-five; they might bear arms; they

¹ Among the arguments for the Naturalisation Bill in England was the manifest extent to which the Jews had contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the great trading cities of Europe—Amsterdam, Leghorn, Venice.

² Coxe's Lives of the Pelhams. In this work there is a good account of the debate, with an abstract of the speech of Mr. Pelham (ii. 290).

might have their special meat markets and granaries. The excommunicating power of the Rabbins was acknowledged; they might choose the heads of their communities in Naples, Messina, Palermo. Christians were strictly forbidden to insult or injure them, or to make proselytes of their children. The Jews crowded at the royal summons to Naples; perhaps not without ostentation of their newly-acquired privileges, and of their wealth. But they ought to have known better the public mind at Naples. The hatred, which was here universal, broke out into fury. The clergy thundered against them from the pulpits; the Pope, and the king's confessor, held almost a saint, denounced them in the sternest sermons. A Capucin Friar threatened the king himself: "For this impious deed he would die childless." There were brooding murmurs of a massacre. The Jews dared not open shops; they withdrew, except a few of the lowest. The premature scheme of toleration utterly failed.¹

In Germany the public mind was surprised at the unusual phenomenon of a Jew suddenly starting forward in the career of letters, and assuming a high and acknowledged rank in the rapidly awakening literature of that country, as a metaphysical and philosophical writer. This was the celebrated Moses Mendelssohn, who, by genius and unwearyed application, broke through the most formidable obstacles, poverty, dependence, and the spirit of his sect. The Jews were proud of his distinction, but trembled at his desertion of their ancient opinions; the Christians confidently looked forward to the accession of so enlightened a mind to the Church; the philosophers expected him to join in their fierce crusade against religion. Mendelssohn maintained his own calm and independent course. He remained outwardly a member of the synagogue, while he threw aside disdainfully the trammels of Rabbinism; to a letter of Lavater, urging him to embrace Christianity, he returned a firm and temperate vindication of his adherence to his former faith; his mild and amiable spirit had little in common with the unprincipled apostles of unbelief. It would be difficult to define the religious opinions of Mendelssohn, whose mind, in some respects singularly lucid, in others partook of the vague and dreamy mysticism of his German countrymen; but if he had any fixed view, it probably was to infuse into a kind of philosophic, or, as it would now be

¹ Muratori, Ann. d'Italia (sub ann. 1740); Mémoire Historique et Politique.

called, rationalising, Judaism the spirit of pure Christian love. But whatever the opinions of Mendelssohn, whether Jew or Christian, or with an undefined and blended creed, his translations of the Pentateuch and of the Psalms into German forbid all doubt as to the sincerity of his belief ; his success in letters exercised an important influence both on the minds of his own brethren, and on the estimation in which the Jews were held, at least in Germany. Many of the Jewish youth, emancipated by his example from the control of Rabbinism,¹ probably rushed headlong down the precipice of unbelief ; while, on the other hand, a kindlier feeling gradually arose towards the brethren of a man whose writings delighted and instructed much of the rising youth of Germany.

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of Mendelssohn in Europeanising, if I may so say, and civilising his German brethren, in throwing down the barriers behind which the Jews were self-exiled, or exiled by the scorn and hatred of mankind, and introducing them imperceptibly within the pale of society. No one, except perhaps a hard orthodox Rabbi, could refuse to admire, to love Mendelssohn, and that admiration and that love spread unconsciously over his race.

In the year 1780, the imperial *avant-courier* of the Revolution, Joseph the Second, ascended the throne. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer, was a measure for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. In Vienna, they had been barely tolerated since their expulsion by Leopold the First. This monarch had a Jewish mistress, named Esther, who was shot crossing the bridge from Leopoldstadt to the capital. The crime was, most improbably, charged on the Jews, and the afflicted monarch revenged her death by the expulsion of her brethren from the city. But this exile was not lasting. Under Maria Theresa, the Jews were permitted to reside in Vienna, and enjoyed some sort of protection. They might exercise certain trades,² as money-changers, jewellers, manufacturers ; they had full freedom of worship in their synagogues, but might

¹ For the double effect of the progress of more liberal opinions, and the overthrow of the Rabbinical rule without any counterbalancing method of instruction, or books of authority, read a remarkable passage in Jost, ix. 107, 110.

Jost's account of his own youth, and the lamentable state of the Jewish schools, in his Autobiography (*Sippurim*, iii. p. 141), is instructive.

² Jost, ix. 66.

not leave their houses during the hours of Divine service on Sundays and holidays. In the other provinces of the empire they had lived unmolested, unless perhaps by some vexatious local regulations, or by popular commotions in the different cities. Joseph published his edict of toleration A.C. 1782, by which he opened to the Jews the schools and the universities of the empire, and gave them the privilege of taking degrees as doctors in philosophy, medicine, and civil law. It enforced upon them the wise preliminary measure of establishing primary schools for their youth. It threw open the whole circle of trade to their speculations, permitted them to establish manufactories of all sorts, excepting gunpowder, and to attend fairs in towns where they were not domiciliated. In all the cities of the empire it made them liable to a toleration-tax, and certain other contributions; but it gave them equal rights, and subjected them to the same laws, with the Christians. Some years after, they were made liable to military conscription; but, according to the established Austrian code, not being nobles, they could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers.

The publication of Dohm, 1781, upon the rights of the Jews as citizens, with many valuable suggestions on the elevation of their position and character, and especially their education, excited public attention. It reserved certain powers to the Rabbinical priesthood, particularly that of excommunication. Mendelssohn raised his voice loudly and fiercely against this last vestige of spiritual domination.

Frederick William the Second repealed to a great extent the barbarous edicts of Frederick the Great. The Jews were permitted to redeem for a certain sum the compulsory purchase of porcelain at the royal manufactory.

The French Revolution was advancing, that terrible epoch in which all that was wise and sound, as well as all that was antiquated and iniquitous in the old institutions of Europe, was shattered to the earth—but from which All-merciful Providence has educated much, and will no doubt, as from the tornado, the earthquake, and the volcanic eruption, educate much further eventual good. The Revolution found Jews in France: after their final expulsion, a few Portuguese fugitives had been permitted to take up their abode in Bordeaux and Bayonne. These passed at first under the name of New Christians. Letters patent of Louis XIII. recognise their civil existence. By degrees they were emboldened to marry

without the intervention of the clergy, and to elude baptism. The clergy were too busily employed in the persecution of the dangerous Protestants to waste their intolerance on a few contemptible Jews. But the Jews were gradually accumulating wealth ; and wealth, taxable wealth, was profitable, not dangerous, to the State. New letters patent (in 1623) recognised them as Jews. They had already built a synagogue ; the Parliament of Bordeaux did not hesitate to reject the royal edict. The Jews paid 110,000 francs for their privilege. It was understood that the registration was to be renewed at the commencement of each reign. The Jews of Bayonne, which included those of St. Jean de Luz, Biarritz, and other towns, at first wore the same disguise, and by degrees obtained the same privilege, as did also the Jews of Marseilles ; letters patent in their favour were registered in the Parliament of Aix (1688). There were a certain number in the old Papal dominions in Avignon. The conquest of the city of Metz, and afterwards of Alsace, included some considerable communities under the dominion of France. There, especially in the Comtat de Venaisin, they had been exposed to the zeal of the clergy, who decoyed, or even stole, their children in order to baptize them. Many of them, however, attained to wealth, and indulged in great luxury. Within houses modest, humble, even rude in their outward appearance, lurked Oriental splendour ; costly furniture, silken hangings, sumptuous plate, and all the show and reality of wealth. The Jews of this latter province presented a remarkable petition, in 1780, to the king in council. It displayed the almost intolerable grievances¹ under which their communities had especially suffered from the time of their remote establishment. The Parliament of Metz had burned many Jews on the old charge of murdering an infant at Glatigny on Easter-day, A.C. 1670. On the annexation of Alsace, Louis XIV. extended, for his own advantage, the privileges of free commerce, enjoyed by those of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Marseilles, to the Jews of Metz. They paid a head-tax of forty francs a family, afterwards compounded for by 2000 francs annually. This revenue had been granted, as in days of old, as a gift to the Duke of Brancas. The Jews complained of the burthen of the seigniorial rights. Besides the royal patent of protection, for which they paid,

¹ See on these grievances, and the acts of Louis XIV., Bédarride, pp. 377 et seqq., as also on the condition of the Jews of Lorraine.

the lords of the soil exacted a capitation-tax for the right of residence within their domains, from which not even the aged or infirm, nor children, nor the Rabbins and officers of the synagogue, were exempt. These privileges were not hereditary; they expired with the person of the bearer, and for each child a special patent was to be purchased. They complained likewise of the restrictions on their commerce, and of the activity of the clergy, who seduced their children at a very tender age to submit to baptism. They proposed, with great justice, that no abjuration of Judaism should be permitted under twelve years of age. In later days an appeal to the equity of Louis the Sixteenth was not in vain—the capitation-tax was abolished in 1784; and in 1788 a commission was appointed, with the wise and good Malesherbes¹ at its head, to devise means for remodelling on principles of justice all laws relating to the Jews. The celebrated Abbé Grégoire gained the prize for a dissertation, which was received with great applause, on the means of working the regeneration of the Jews. But the revolutionary tribunals were more rapid in their movements than the slow justice of the sovereign. In 1790, the Jews, who had watched their opportunity, sent in petitions from various quarters, claiming equal rights as citizens. The measure was not passed without considerable discussion; but Mirabeau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the Jews were recognised as free citizens of the great republic.²

A parallel has often been instituted between Cromwell and Bonaparte; it is a curious coincidence that both should have been engaged in designs for the advantage of the Jews. In the year 1806, while Bonaparte was distributing to his followers the kingdoms of Europe, and consolidating the superiority of France over the whole Continent, the world heard with amazement, almost bordering on ridicule, that he had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at

¹ Malesherbes first abolished the toll which the Jews paid, like animals, at the gates of the cities, especially in Alsace and the neighbouring provinces. Denisart has given the tariff paid at Château-neuf-sur-Loire:—

For a Jew	12 deniers
For a Jewess with child	9 "
For an ordinary Jewess	6 "
For a dead Jew	5 sous
For a dead Jewess	30 deniers.

(Quoted by Bédarride, p. 555.)

² 27 Sept. 1791, and 30 Nov. Hist. Parlementaire, ii. 457.

Paris. We are more inclined to look for motives of policy in the acts of Napoleon, than of vanity or philanthropy ; nor does it seem unlikely that in this singular transaction he contemplated remotely, if not immediately, both commercial and military objects. He might hope to turn to his own advantage, by a cheap sacrifice to the national vanity, the wide-extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers ; and the secret ramifications of their trade, which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his Continental system. At all events, in every quarter of Europe, the Jews would be invaluable auxiliaries of a commissariat ; and as the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland might at any time enter into his political system, their aid might not be unworthy of consideration. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the twelve questions submitted first to the deputation of the Jews, and confirmed by the Sanhedrin, seem to refer to the Jews strictly as subjects and citizens of the empire. They were, briefly, as follows :—I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? II. Is divorce recognised by the Jewish law? III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren? V. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French? VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land? VII. Who elect the Rabbins? VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins? IX. Are the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom? X. Is there any kind of business in which the Jews may not be engaged? XI. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the Law? XII. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers? The answers of the deputies were clear and precise.¹ They were introduced by some general maxims, skilfully adapted to the character of the ruling power, and to that of the French nation. They declared that their religion commanded them to acknowledge the supremacy of the law enacted by sovereigns in all civil and political affairs. If their religious code, or its interpretation, contained any

¹ The President of the Sanhedrin's first deputation was Abraham Furtado, of Bordeaux ; the imperial commissioners, MM. Molé, Portalis the younger, and Pasquier. The deputation met July 26, 1800. The Sanhedrin met Feb. 8, 1807.

civil or political regulations inconsistent with the Code of France, they would be overruled, as it was the primary duty to acknowledge and to obey the law of the sovereign. They further declared that France was their country, all Frenchmen their brothers. "This glorious title, so exalting to us in our own estimation, is the true guarantee for our steadfast endeavours to deserve it. Our relations to Christians are the same as to Jews ; the only distinction is, that each should be permitted to worship the Supreme Being in his own way." As the special answers tend to elucidate the opinions of the more enlightened Jews, they are subjoined, with as much conciseness as possible, though I suspect that they are not universally recognised as the authoritative sentence of the nation.¹ I. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030. II. Divorce is allowed, but in this respect the Jews recognise the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live. III. Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. IV. The Jews of France recognise in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren. V. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion. VI. The Jews acknowledge France as their country when oppressed,—how much more must they when admitted to civil rights ! VII. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community. VIII. The Rabbins have no judicial power ; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal. The Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they might otherwise exercise is annulled. IX. The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on usage. X. All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade. XI., XII. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest ; but this was the

¹ See the curious scene described by the elder Disraeli (*Genius of Judaism*), p. 74—the dispute between the freethinker and the orthodox Jew whether the Law should be called the Law of God or the Law of Moses. Mr. Disraeli's conclusion is somewhat magniloquent : "It is not surprising that the Parisian Sanhedrin was not only a mockery but a failure of the mocker. Even despotism sinks into the weakness of infancy when Heaven itself seems to place an impassable barrier to its design ; and it encounters minds inscrutable as the laws which govern them." With due respect, I do not see the failure. Napoleon wished to conciliate the Jews (for their religious opinions he cared not a jot) ; the Jews obtained what they wanted, the right of citizenship.

law of an agricultural people. The Talmud allows legal interest to be taken from brethren and strangers ; it forbids usury.

There was a preparatory assemblage of Jewish Deputies selected from the different provinces in proportion to the Jewish population in each : A. Furtado of Bordeaux was President of that assembly. In 1807 the Sanhedrin was formally assembled, according to a plan then proposed for the regular organisation of the Jews throughout the empire. Every 2000 Jews were to form a synagogue and a consistory, of one head and two inferior Rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory chose twenty-five Notables, above thirty years old, for their council. Bankrupts and usurers were excluded ; the consistory was to watch over the conduct of the Rabbins ; the central consistory of Paris was to be a Supreme Tribunal, with the power of appointing or deposing the Rabbins ; the Rabbins were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrin, to preach obedience to the laws, to urge their people to enter into the military service ; to pray in the synagogues for the Imperial House ! The Sanhedrin, assembled in this manner, generally ratified the scheme of the Deputies. The imperial edict confirmed the whole system of organisation, though the triumph of the Jews was in some degree damped by an ordinance, aimed chiefly at those of the Rhenish provinces. It interdicted the Jews from lending money to minors without consent of their guardians, to wives without consent of their husbands, to soldiers without consent of their officers. It annulled all bills for which "value received" could not be proved. All Jews engaged in commerce were obliged to take out a patent, all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. The general effect of these measures was shown in a return made in 1808. It reported that there were 80,000 Jews in the dominion of France, 1232 landed proprietors, not reckoning the owners of houses, 797 military, 2360 artisans, 250 manufacturers.

The extension of the French kingdoms and the erection of tributary kingdoms were highly beneficial to the Jews ; in Italy, in Holland, in the kingdom of Westphalia, the old barbarous restrictions fell away, and the Jew became a citizen with all the rights and duties of the order.

The laws of France relating to the Jews have remained unaltered, excepting that the Law of the Restoration, which

enacted that the teachers of Christianity alone should be salaried by the State, was modified at the accession of Louis Philippe. Since that period the Rabbins have received a stipend from the State. In Italy, excepting in the Tuscan dominions, they have become again subject to the ancient regulations. In Germany, some hostility is yet lurking in the popular feeling, not so much from religious animosity, as from commercial jealousy, in the great trading towns, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and particularly Frankfort, where they are still liable to an oppressive tax for the right of residence. Nor did the ancient nobility behold, without sentiments of natural indignation, their proud patrimonial estates falling, during the great political changes, into the hands of the more prosperous Israelites. Nevertheless, the condition of the Jews, both political and intellectual, has been rapidly improving. Before the fall of Napoleon, besides many of the smaller states, the Grand-Duke of Baden in 1809, the King of Prussia in 1812, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1812, the King of Bavaria in 1813, issued ordinances, admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from particular imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. The Act for the federative constitution of Germany, passed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, pledges the Diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil state of the Jews throughout the empire. The King of Prussia had, before this, given security that he would nobly redeem his pledge; he had long paid great attention to the encouragement of education among the Jews; and in his rapidly improving dominions, the Israelites are said to be by no means the last in the career of advancement. Nor has his benevolence been wasted on an ungrateful race; they are reported to be attached, with patriotic zeal, to their native land; many Jews are stated to have fallen in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. During the year 1828, while the States of Wirtemberg were discussing a Bill for the extension of civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stuttgart surrounded the Hall of Assembly with fierce outcries, "Down with the Jews! Down with the friends of the Jews!" The States maintained their dignity, and, unmoved, proceeded to the ratification of the obnoxious edict.

Russia, it has been said, if we take the low estimate, which I am altogether disinclined to do, of four millions for the whole Jewish population in the world, contains half the descendants of Abraham. In the earlier period of her empire,

dating that empire from Peter the Great, before her wider southern conquests and the Polish annexations, she still maintained her stern inhospitality. In Muscovy Proper, by law, no Jew could reside within the frontiers. Under Peter the Great a few stole in unobserved and unmolested. They were expelled by an *Ukase* of the Empress Elizabeth, A.C. 1795, for a crime unpardonable by a Russian autocrat. They had, by letters of change, secured the property of certain exiles to Siberia and foreign countries; and invested, out of Russia, the savings of foreigners employed in the Russian service. In later years, the policy of the Russian Government seems to have been to endeavour to overthrow the Rabbinical authority, and to relieve the crowded Polish provinces by transferring the Jews to less densely peopled parts of their dominions, where, it was hoped, they might be induced or compelled to become an agricultural race. An *Ukase* of the Emperor Alexander, in 1803-4, prohibited the practice of small trades to the Jews of Poland, and proposed to transport numbers of them to agricultural settlements. He transferred, likewise, the management of the revenue of the communities, from the Rabbins, who were accused of malversation, to the Elders. A decree of the Emperor Nicholas appears to be aimed partly at the Rabbins, who are to be immediately excluded by the police from any town they may enter, and at the petty traffickers, who are entirely prohibited in the Russian dominions; though the higher order of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, are admitted, on receiving an express permission from the government: artisans and handicraftsmen are encouraged, though they are subject to rigorous police regulations, and must be attached to some guild or fraternity. They cannot move without a passport. The important *Ukase* of 1835 is the charter, we must not say of their liberties, but limits the oppression to which the Jews were formerly liable, and gives them a defined state and position in the Russian empire.

It only remains to give the best estimate I can obtain of the number of the Jews now dispersed throughout the four quarters of the world. Such statements must of necessity be extremely loose and imperfect. Even in Europe it would be difficult to approximate closely to the truth; how much more so in Africa and Asia, where our conclusions depend on no statistic returns, and where the habits of the people are probably less stationary!

It is usually calculated that there exist between four and

five millions¹ of this people, descended in a direct line from, and maintaining the same laws with, their forefathers, who, above 3000 years ago, retreated from Egypt under the guidance of their inspired lawgiver.²

In Africa we know little more of their numbers than that they are found along the whole coast, from Morocco to Egypt ; they travel with the caravans into the interior ; nor is there probably a region undiscovered by Christian enterprise which has not been visited by the Jewish trafficker. In Morocco they are said to be held in low estimation, and to be treated with great indignity by the Moors. That empire has about 540,000.³

In Egypt, 150 families alone inhabit that great city, Alexandria, which has so often flowed with torrents of Jewish blood, and where, in the splendid days of the Macedonian city, their still-recruited wealth excited the rapacious jealousy of the hostile populace or oppressive government.⁴

In Cairo, the number of Jews is stated at 2000, including it appears, sixty Karaïte families.

The Felashas, or Jewish tribe named by Bruce, inhabit the borders of Abyssinia ; and it is probable that in that singular kingdom many Jews either dwell or make their periodical visits.⁵

¹ Monsieur Renan (*Langues Sémitiques*, p. 43) sets down the Jews scattered over the whole world at four millions. Bédarride (himself a Jew) gives six or seven millions (*Preface*, p. v.). I am assured, on good authority, that there cannot be less than three millions in Europe. I should think this a low statement.

² I have made inquiries in many quarters, among some of our best-informed Jews, yet have been able to obtain very few satisfactory results. It does not appear that they themselves keep any regular statistics : the only certain statements are from the official population returns in some of the kingdoms of Europe.

³ Ersch und Grüber, p. 234. Compare also this page on their occupation and condition.

⁴ In the Weimar Statement, quoted in my first edition, the Jews of Africa stand as follows :—Morocco and Fez, 300,000 ; Tunis, 130,000 ; Algiers 30,000 ; Gabes or Habesh, 20,000 ; Tripoli, 12,000 ; Egypt, 12,000. Total 504,000.

⁵ The Felashas have been recently visited by a pious missionary, M. Stern. See his account, his simpler account, reprinted from the *Jewish Intelligence* by the London Missionary Society (for in his later volume, "Wandering among the Felashas in Abyssinia," he has been unfortunately seized with the ambition of fine writing). His earlier account contains some curious particulars, but is silent on many points on which we should most desire knowledge. According to M. Stern, the Felashas are miserably priest-ridden ; and among the priests were a number of Jewish monks, less like to the Essenes and Therapeutæ of old, than to the Faquires of India, and to the most fanatical Christian ascetics of the East. The fulfilment of the Levitical Law, of which they were proud, seemed to be their highest notion of religion. They boasted

In Asia the Jews are still found in considerable numbers on the verge of the continent ; in China, they are now found in one city alone, and possess only one synagogue.¹ On the coast of Malabar, in Cochin, two distinct races, called black and white Jews, were visited by Dr. Buchanan.² The traditions of the latter averred that they had found their way to that region after the fall of Jerusalem ; but the date they assigned for their migration singularly coincided with that of a persecution in Persia, about A.C. 508, from whence, most likely, they found their way to India. The origin of the black Jews is more obscure : it is not impossible that they may have been converts made by the more civilised whites, or, more probably, are descendants of black slaves. The Malabar Jews were about one thousand ; they possessed a copy of the Old Testament. Many are found in other parts of the East Indies.

In Bokhara reside two thousand families of Jews ; in Balkh, 150.

In Persia they have deeply partaken of the desolation which has fallen on the fair provinces of that land ; their numbers were variously stated to Mr. Wolff at 2974 and 3590 families. Their chief communities are at Shiraz and Ispahan, Kashaan and Yazd. They are subject to the heaviest exactions, and to the capricious despotism of the governors. "I have travelled far," said a Jew to Mr. Wolff ; "the Jews are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burthen, heavy is our slavery ; anxiously we wait for redemption."

In Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews are still occupied by 5270 families, exclusive of those in Bagdad and Bassora. The latter are described as a fine race, both in form and intellect ; in the provinces they are broken in mind and body by the heavy exactions of the pashas, and by long ages of sluggish ignorance. At Bagdad

that they had Moses and David ; but, if I understand right, their Scriptures were in the Ethiopic language and character. They had no Hebrew writings. Of their numbers M. Stern appears to have formed no estimate. On that subject, as on many others of interest, his expressions are vague and unsatisfactory. See Account of a Missionary Visit to the Felashas, London, 1861 ; Wanderings among the Felashas of Abyssinia, by the Rev. H. A. Stern, London, 1862.

¹ "Kai-fung, the capital of the latter province [Hoo-nan], and famous to Europeans by being the city in which the small and only tribe of Jews in China have their synagogue and carry out their religious observances." Brine, The Taeping Rebellion in China (London, 1862), p. 184.

² Buchanan's Researches. I was promised further information on this subject, but it never reached me.

the ancient title of Prince of the Captivity, so long, according to the accounts of the Jews, entirely suppressed, was borne by an ancient Jew named Isaac. He paid dear for his honour; he was suddenly summoned to Constantinople and imprisoned.

At Damascus there are seven synagogues and four colleges.

In Arabia, whether not entirely expelled by Mohammed or having returned to their ancient dwellings in later periods, the Beni-Khaibar still retain their Jewish descent and faith. In Yemen reside 2658 families, 18,000 souls.

In Palestine, of late years, the Israelites have greatly increased; it is said, but I am inclined to doubt the numbers, that 10,000 inhabit Safet and Jerusalem. They are partly Karaïtes; some very pathetic hymns of this interesting Israelitish race have been published in the Journals of Mr. Wolff, which must have a singularly affecting sound when heard from children of Israel, bewailing, upon the very ruins of Jerusalem, the fallen city, and the suffering people.¹

In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States, the Israelites are calculated at 800,000.² In Asia Minor they are numerous, in general unenlightened, rapacious, warred on, and at war with mankind.

In Constantinople they are described as the most fierce and fanatical race which inhabit the city: hated by and hating the Greeks with the unmitigated animosity of ages, they lend themselves to every atrocity for which the government may

¹ The accuracy of the following statement of the Jewish population of Palestine and Syria may be relied on:—Jerusalem, 5700; Safed, 2100; Tiberias, 1514; Hebron, 400; Jaffa, 400; Saida, 150; St. Jean d'Acre, 120; Kharfa, 100; Schafamer, 60; Peykin, 50; Nablous, 40; Ramah, 5. Total, 10,689.

Damascus, 5000; Beyrouth, 180; Deir el Kamar, 100; Charbera, 100; Tripolis, 40. Total, 5420. Syria and Palestine, 16,059.

From "The Jews in the East," by Dr. Frankl (translated by J. R. Beaton), vol. ii. p. 20.

Dr. Frankl, himself a Jew, and a very liberal one, was employed by a devout lady of Vienna to found an educational institution for the Jews of Jerusalem. He gives a most deplorable account of their state. They are divided into sects, and sects of sects, hating each other with unmitigated cordiality. The chief divisions are the Sephardim (the Spanish), the Ashkonasim, the Khasins (Germans and Poles). All the munificent charities founded by Mr. Cohen, Sir M. Montefiore, the Rothschilds, except one hospital, have sunk into decay and utter uselessness. The poor and indolent Jews, the dregs of the people, are drained from Europe, Asia, and indeed from all parts, to live in Judæa upon the alms of the most wealthy and most bountiful people in the world. This is a kind of Poor-law fund paid by the rich and flourishing houses of the race, with all the evil effects of a Poor-law, and none of its benefits. For these lavish donations are intercepted and swallowed up by the Rabbins and Priests, who live in idleness and luxury, while the poor starve in idleness and misery.

■ This number I should think overrated.

demand unrelenting executioners. 'They were employed in the barbarous murder and maltreatment of the body of the Patriarch ; on the other hand, the old rumours of their crucifying Christian children are still revived : the body of a youth was found pierced with many wounds ; the murder was, with one voice, charged upon the Jews. Their numbers are stated at 40,000.

At Adrianople reside eight hundred families, with thirteen synagogues.

In Salonichi, 30,000 possess thirty synagogues ;¹ and in this city, the ancient Thessalonica, the most learned of the Eastern Rabbins are reported to teach in their schools, with great diligence, the old Talmudic learning.

In the Crimea the Karaïtes still possess their wild and picturesque mountain-fortress, so beautifully described by Dr. Clarke, with its cemetery reposing under its ancient and peaceful grove, and retain the simple manners of an industrious and blameless people, who are proverbial elsewhere, as in this settlement, for their honesty. Their numbers amount to about 1200.²

In the Russian Asiatic dominions, about Caucasus and in Georgia, their numbers are considerable. In Georgia some of them are serfs attached to the soil ; some, among the wild tribes about Caucasus, are bold and marauding horsemen, like their Tartar compatriots.

But the ancient kingdom of Poland, with the adjacent provinces of Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, is still the great seat of the modern Jewish population.³ Three millions have been stated to exist in these regions ; but no doubt this is a great exaggeration. In Poland they still to a great extent form the intermediate class between the haughty nobles and the miserable agricultural villains of that kingdom. The rapid increase of their population, beyond all possible maintenance by trade, embarrasses the government. They cannot ascend or descend ; they may not become possessors, they are averse to becoming cultivators, of the soil ; they swarm in all the

¹ Luzzate, according to Cassel, reckons 80,000 in Adrianople and Salonichi. Ersch und Grüber, p. 200. The other towns which they inhabit are recorded in the same page.

² Among the most interesting passages in Dr. Wolff's Journal is the account of his intercourse with the Karaïtes in the Crimea. Read their two simple and striking hymns (iii. p. 148), inferior, however, to those of the Karaïtes in Jerusalem (i. 263).

³ See the account of the Polish Jews, Jost, ix. 167.

towns. In some districts, as in Volhynia, they were described by Bishop James as a fine race, with the lively, expressive eye of the Jew, and forms, though not robust, active and well-proportioned. Of late years much attention, under the sanction of the government, has been paid to their education, and a great institution established for this purpose at Warsaw. The last accounts in Ersch und Grüber for the year 1838 gave for Poland 453,646 (36,390 in Warsaw); for the whole Russian dominions altogether, 1,507,995 souls.¹ A later statement, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Alderman Salomons, gives for Russia, 1,250,000; for Austria, 1,049,871; Poland, 600,000.²

The number of Jews in the Austrian dominions is estimated, not including Poland, at 650,000; in Prussia, 242,000; in the rest of Germany, by conjecture, 108,000. The Emperor of Austria afforded to Europe, some years ago, the novel sight of a Jew created a Baron, and invested with a patent of nobility.

In Denmark and Sweden the Jews are in considerable numbers; those resident in Copenhagen were stated, in 1819, at 1491. They enjoy freedom of trade and the protection of the government. In Sweden King Charles John gave a free constitution to the Jews in the four cities which they chiefly inhabited—Stockholm, Gothenburg, Norköping, and Carls-crona—but the States would not accept it. The king, however, obliged to yield in some points, maintained his authority. They are not permitted to enter into Norway. A law of Christian VIII. in Denmark was in like manner rejected by the States; but the Jews are protected by the government.

The kingdom of Belgium contains by the last census only 1843. In Holland the best authenticated returns state the numbers at no less than about 65,000.

In France the Israelites were reckoned in 1829 at about 40,000 or 50,000. By the last accounts, they are thought to be underrated at 100,000. Many Jews have attained to the highest political dignities: M. Crémieux was a member of the Provisional Government; M. Fould is now the financial minister, as in the older days of France and of Spain, to the Emperor Louis Napoleon.

¹ Ersch und Grüber, p. 139.

² It would seem, as far as I can conjecture, that the Polish Jews are not comprehended in the Russian, but are in the Austrian, calculations.

³ Ersch und Grüber, p. 140.

In Spain, the iron edict of Ferdinand and Isabella still excludes the Israelite. At the extremity of the land, in Gibraltar, 3000 or 4000 are found under the equitable protection of Great Britain. Yet there are Jews, or reputed Jews, in the highest ranks and offices.

In Portugal they have been tolerated since the time of King John VI., who remunerated their services in introducing large cargoes of corn during a famine, by the recognition of their right to inhabit Lisbon.¹

In Italy their numbers are considerable.² It is said that many took refuge in Tuscany from what was the sterner government of Sardinia; where, under the French dominion, among a Jewish population of 5543, there were 182 landed proprietors, 402 children attended the public schools: 7000 is given as their number in the Austrian territories in Italy.

In Great Britain the number of Jews was variously stated at from 12,000 to 25,000.³ They may now fairly be reckoned at 30,000 in England; but this is uncertain, as no accurate register is kept. In 1829 I wrote thus: "They are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in Parliament, from which they are excluded by the Act which requires an oath to be taken on the faith of a Christian. They cannot vote for Members of Parliament, at least might be disqualified from so doing by the form of the Oath of Abjuration; and they are excluded from the higher branches of the learned professions by the same cause, and probably by restrictions on education; from the lower chiefly by popular opinion and their own habits. In the City of London they are prevented by municipal regulations from taking out their freedom—a restriction which subjects them to great occasional embarrassment and vexation, as no one

¹ Europe:—in Russia and Poland, 658,809; Austria, 453,524; European Turkey, 321,000; States of the German Confederation, 138,000; Prussia, 134,000; Netherlands, 80,000; France, 60,000; Italy, 36,000; Great Britain, 12,000; Cracow, 7300; Ionian Isles, 7000; Denmark, 6000; Switzerland, 1970; Sweden, 450. Total number of Jews in Europe, 1,916,053; or a proportion of an 113th part of the population, calculated at 227 millions.—*Weimar Statement*. (I retain this note from the older edition.)

² I was informed, in 1829, on the authority of a very intelligent Italian, that the number of Jews in Italy is greatly underrated. Some suppose that they amount to near 100,000. In the Austrian dominions they are extremely numerous. In the district of Mantua alone, under the former kingdom of Italy, they were reckoned at 5000. In Parma and Modena, 7000. In Venice, Tuscany, and the Papal States, they abound.

³ Since the first edition of this work, their number has been stated in Parliament at near 30,000.

can legally follow a retail trade, without having previously gone through this ceremony."

Since that time (1829) all the high offices of the City of London have been filled by Jews. A Jew, Mr. Salomons, has been Lord Mayor; it may be said that few have maintained the office with greater dignity, liberality, or popularity. The act of the City of London in electing a Jew, Baron Rothschild, as one of its Members of Parliament, eventually broke down the one remaining barrier which insulated the Jews from the other subjects of the realm. Notwithstanding the opposition of several years, during which the House of Lords steadfastly adhered to the principle of exclusion, the Bill in their favour at length passed; and the oath, the great obstacle, was modified so as to admit conscientious Jews to the Legislature. There are now four Jewish Members of Parliament.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact in the history of modern Judaism is the extension of the Jews in the United States of America. Writing in 1829, I stated, on the best authority then attainable, their numbers at 6000. They are now reckoned at 75,000. In New York alone there are thirteen large synagogues. The few in the former dominions of Spain and Portugal are descendants of those who, under the assumed name of Christians, fled from the Inquisition. In Surinam a prosperous community is settled under the protection of the Dutch; they were originally established at Cayenne; there are some in Jamaica. There are now considerable numbers in our Australian colonies. A late account mentions Jews in the new colony of Vancouver's Island.

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have access, is the number and distribution of the children of Israel; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and, at least the mass of the community, treasuring in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers.

History, which is the record of the Past, has now discharged its office; it presumes not to raise the mysterious veil which

the Almighty has spread over the Future. The destinies of this wonderful people, as of all mankind, are in the hands of the All-wise Ruler of the Universe: His decrees will be accomplished; his truth, his goodness, and his wisdom vindicated. This, however, we may venture to assert, that true religion will advance with the dissemination of knowledge. I cannot but think that the doom of the Talmud, with that of much of our mediæval legend, is pronounced. The more enlightened the Jew becomes, the less credible will it appear that the Universal Father intended an exclusive religion, confined to one family among the race of man, to be permanent; the more evident that the faith which embraces the whole human race within the sphere of its benevolence, is alone adapted to a more advanced and civilised age. On the other hand, Christianity, to work any change on the hereditary religious pride of the Jew, on his inflexible confidence in his inalienable privileges, must put off the hostile and repulsive aspect which it has too long worn; it must show itself as the faith of reason, of universal peace and good-will to man, and thus, unanswerably, prove its descent from the All-wise and All-merciful Father.¹

¹ I find from Dr. Frankl's book that there is an opinion widely spread among the more enlightened Jews, that Christianity was the publication of true religion among the Gentiles, and therefore but an expanded Judaism. This notion probably confines true religion to the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the universal principles of morality. But of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity it takes no note. It may perhaps be admitted as groundwork for a treaty of amity and mutual respect, but not as a complete and lasting harmony of the two religions.

BOOK XXX

Survey of Influence of the Jews on Philosophy, Poetry, History, &c.

THE History of the Jews will be fitly closed by a brief and rapid view of the services (the intellectual services, exclusive of those connected with the industry and commerce of the world) rendered to mankind by this remarkable race during the ages which they have passed through, alone, unmixed with the other families of mankind—services either direct and manifest, or through remoter influences more difficult to trace in their effects on the knowledge, civilisation, and humanity of the world.

The religious obligations of mankind to the Jews it is impossible to appreciate in all their fulness. Up to a certain time they are the sole designated conservators of the great primary truths of religion, the Unity of the Godhead, and that Godhead an ever-present, overruling Providence, present not only as the One Power which originated and the One Force which sustains with conscious goodness and wisdom the whole universe, but also, in some mysterious way, as the Supreme Will, exercising its dominion over the (inexplicably but unquestionably) free will of man. The Jews are the religious parents, in a certain sense, both of Christianity and Mohammedanism. Mohammedanism, it has been justly said, is but a republication of Judaism, with all its stern Monotheism hardened into a rigid Predestinarianism, and with the Law-giver and the Prophets centred, and as it were condensed, in Mohammed and his successors. To the Christian the Jews are the appointed conservators, not only of their sublime Monotheism, but guardians of the oracles of that One God, oracles predictive of a nobler, purer, more comprehensive faith, significant of the Christ to come; oracles which they have, fatally for themselves, interpreted in a more narrow and unspiritual sense. Their sacred Scriptures, therefore, in what we believe to be their true scope, became the common property of mankind, at least of Christianised mankind, subordinate to, or rather preparatory for, the Christian New Testament.

But the Hebrew sacred books, as interpreted by the Jews, withdrew with the Jews into their total isolation from the rest of mankind. The language itself kept them in almost complete seclusion. Before Jerome, very few of the Christian writers—still fewer after Jerome—had any knowledge of Hebrew. The Greek Version of the LXX. was in general the Old Testament of the early Christian Church. But around the Hebrew Books, as has appeared, had grown up a mass of tradition, according to the common view and according to the teaching of the Jewish schools coeval with, and of equal authority with the Law itself. The study of this tradition, and its adaptation to the sacred books, furnished full scope for the restless ingenuity, and occupation for the indefatigable activity, of the Jewish mind. An authorised interpretation fenced round the original Law. Even the Masora, the insertion of the vowel points and of the other grammatical signs, as well as the Targums or commentaries on the sacred writings, was part of this system of interpretation. By degrees arose the Mischna; upon the Mischna was accumulated the Gemara; the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud comprehended the vast stores of Jewish erudition. And the Mischna and the Talmud were to the Jews what the Roman law was to the lawyers, the canons of Councils, the decrees of Popes, the whole authorised theology of the Church, to the clergy of Christendom.¹

But to the world at large, to the Pagan and Christian world, or to the half-Pagan and half-Christian world of Alexandria, all this Rabbinical theology was utterly unknown and unapproachable. Neither Gentile nor Christian student found his way into the schools of Tiberias, Nahardea, Sura, or Pumbeditha. Even the Syrian Christians, speaking a cognate dialect, seem to have stood altogether aloof from the Jews and their seats of learning. The estrangement, of course, had been gradual. The Judaising Christians of the earlier ages had kept up some communication between the synagogue and the rapidly Christianising world, at least in usages and tone of

¹ I omit all notice of the countless Jewish commentators on the Old Testament, valuable as many of them are.

Nothing can be more uninteresting—if I may judge by myself, so uninteresting—as a long, barren list of authors, and of their works. The bibliography, therefore, of Jewish literature I would leave to Wolff, Bartolocci, De Rossi; to the Spanish writers, De Castro and other expounders of Rabbinical learning. (For the writers on geography, see the elaborate Essay of Dr. Zunz in the Supplement to Asher's Benjamin of Tudela.)

thought. The ceremonial law was among them but slowly abrogated ; and those who had been bred in obedience to the ceremonial law, would not renounce at once all allegiance, and break off all intercourse with the authorised interpreters of the Law. The Judaising Christians split up, it appears, into countless sects, of which it is difficult, and has taxed the ingenuity of the most profound Christian scholars of our day, to trace the shadowy differences. Some of the Gnostic sects blended Judaism with Christianity, and their Judaism betrays their lingering intimacy with the teaching of the Jewish schools. In some regions, in parts of Arabia and of Africa, the divorce between Judaism and Christianity was less complete. Jewish apocryphal books,¹ entirely lost in Asia, have been recovered in the dialect of Abyssinia. At a later period, Hebrew tradition (no doubt through the Arabian Jews) found its way, to a remarkable extent, into the Koran.²

In general, however, Rabbinical literature, excepting in the few indistinct glimpses obtained by Jerome, was for a long period a sealed volume to the Christian mind. And all this vast literature to the Jew himself was fatal to freedom and originality of thought, to science properly so called, to all invention, to all bold inquiry. It was theological, if with some of the deep devotion and some of the sublimity of theology, with its fetters riveted even more closely than any system belonging to a less insulated people, a people more in contact with the rest of mankind, more inevitably swept forward by the stream of progress, could ever be. Within its circle man might move with some freedom ; without that circle he dared not venture a single step. He was the galley slave of the most rigid orthodoxy. No Church authority, no Articles of the narrowest sect have been more jealous, more imperious, more vigilant, than the perpetual dictatorship of the Rabbins. The sacerdotalism of the Middle Ages was not more tyrannous and intolerant than were the schools of Jewish learning. They had their anathemas, their excommunications, of course, more awful, more terrible, to the member of a small community than the ban of Pope or Council ; at times they claimed, and even exercised, the right of capital punishment over the obstinate heretic. Within its sphere the Rabbinical lore is infinitely copious and various ; its Scholasticism is as acute and subtle, as much delighting in its peculiar subtlety as that

¹ The Book of Enoch, the Ascensio Isaiæ.

² Geiger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen ?

of Bradwardine or Duns Scotus ; its casuistry is as ingenious, as wiredrawn, as perplexing, and as perilously tampering with morals, as that of Suarez or Del Soto. Not that there were any determinate creeds or articles of belief.¹ These were of a later period, such as the articles drawn up by Maimonides. But it was the awful and unlimited and admitted authority of the Rabbins which, notwithstanding certain differences which at times arrayed master against master, school against school, held the Jews of all countries in passive, and, if it may be said, eager, unstruggling submission. Of the purity of each man's faith, the Rabbins, the authoritative expounders of the Law, the guardians of the hallowed traditions, were the supreme, irrefragable judges.

Yet even under the most revered and time-hallowed tyranny, under the severest and most watchful sacerdotal despotism, the uncontrollable human mind will strive to make a way to its emancipation. In Judaism it was not by impugning (excepting in the case of the Karaïtes) or lowering this uncontested authority, that it strove for freedom. The philosophic Cabala aspired to be a more sublime and transcendental Rabbinism. It was a mystery not exclusive of, but above their more common mysteries ; a secret more profound than their profoundest secrets. It claimed the same guarantee of antiquity, of revelation, of tradition ; it was the true, occult, to few intelligible, sense of the sacred writings and of the sayings of the most renowned Wise Men ; the inward interpretation of the genuine interpretation of the Law and the Prophets. Men went on ; they advanced, they rose from the most full and perfect study of the Talmuds to the higher doctrines, to the more divine contemplations of the Cabala. And the Zohar was the Book of the Cabala which soared almost above the comprehension of the wisest.

The mysterious Cabala appears at length to have disclosed its secrets to the general reader. The Dissertation of M. Ad. Franck of Paris,² comprehensive, yet not too minute, profound,

¹ Delitzsch may be right in his statement :—“ Die Juden haben seit ihre Zerstreuung nie Synagogale von der Nation bestätigte und angenommene Bekenntnisschriften gehabt. . . . Die Talmude haben deshalb gar keine dogmatische Einheit ; selbst die gesetzwissenschaftlichen Resultate sind individuell und provisorisch gültig, die Synagoge hat ihnen nie durch eine Sanction das Ansehen anerkannter, allgemeingültigen Decretalen gegeben.” Yet the Rabbinical system was sternly and severely orthodox, impatient of heretical teaching. Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie, Vorrede, p. 9.

² La Kabbale, ou la Philosophie religieuse des Hébreux, par Ad. Franck, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres, &c., Paris, 1843.

yet perfectly clear, has determined, on grounds to which (if I may do so without presumption) I subscribe in almost every respect, its age, its origin, its doctrines, and its influence. In its traditional, no doubt unwritten form, the Cabala, at least a Cabala, ascends to a very early date, the Captivity; in its proper and more mature form, it belongs to the first century, and reaches down to the end of the seventh century of our era. The "Sepher Yetzira," the Book of Creation,¹ which boasts itself to be derived from Moses, from Abraham, if not from Adam, or even aspires higher, belongs to the earlier period; the Zohar, the Light, to the later. The remote origin of the Cabala belongs to that period when the Jewish mind, during the Captivity, became so deeply impregnated with Oriental notions, those of the Persian or Zoroastrian religion. Some of the first principles of the Cabala, as well as many of the tenets, still more of the superstitions of the Talmud,² coincide so exactly with the Zendavesta (the Zendavesta not only as expounded by Anquetil du Perron and Klenker, but by the higher authority of Bourouuf, in his Commentary on the Yaçna) as to leave no doubt of their kindred and affiliation. They found their first Western home in Palestine after the return from the Captivity. Some of their doctrines, or doctrines closely analogous, found their way to Alexandria, and may be traced in the Translation of the LXX. (as well as in the Book of Ecclesiasticus and the Targums of Onkelos) and in Philo. With Philo they were crossed, blended, and modified by the Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, which in a later period expanded into the mystic school of Porphyry, Proclus, and Plotinus. This Alexandrian system could not have been their source. The Cabala is essentially Jewish in thought, in language, in its utter aversion to, or rather ignorance of, Greek philosophers and Greek philosophy.

But while it is undoubtedly Zoroastrian in many of its primary conceptions, and still more in its wild imaginations, in what may be called its mythology, yet in its unalterable Monotheism, it is strictly and rigidly Mosaic. It repudiates

¹ Pp. 362, 369.

² Franck shows that this secret doctrine, the history of the Creation, and the Mercaba (the Chariot), are mentioned in the Mischna and Gemara, and therefore are older. R. Akiba and Simon ben Jochai were their first compilers: "Les partisans enthousiastes de la Kabbale la font descendre du ciel, apportée par les anges, pour enseigner au premier homme, après sa désobéissance, les moyens de reconquérir sa noblesse et sa félicité premières." According to others, Moses received it from God on Mount Sinai, and entrusted it to the seventy elders. Franck, p. 51.

altogether the Dualism, into which the Persian Monotheism seems, even with Zoroaster himself, to have degenerated. There is an absolute Unity in its Pantheism, for Pantheism it undoubtedly is, open and undisguised, as all mysticism either is by nature or has an irresistible tendency to become ; as the Pantheism of India, Brahminical and Buddhist, as the Pantheism of Spinoza, even of Hegel. The base of the Cabalistic system is absolute Unity : a God who is at once the cause, the substance, and the form of all that is or all that can be. The Ensoph,¹ the One Infinite, the Mystery of Mysteries, Light of Lights,² remains above in its solitary, unapproachable majesty. Below this, but far below, is the common Emanation System of the East. First comes the Word, the Creator, and the Demiurgos, as it were the Godhead in action or development. The impersonated attributes of God, at once metaphysical and abstract conceptions, become real beings, the Sephiroth, the Æons of Gnosticism, of which Cabalism was to a great degree the parent. (Some of the most famous Gnostics were Jews ; Simon Magus was Jew or Samaritan.) The ten Sephiroth are the manifestation of God, the triple Trinity, in concentric circles around the central Godhead. Then follows the primal and archetypical Man, the Man Above to be carefully distinguished from the Man Below ; the conflict of Good and Evil, of Spirit and Matter, of Light and Darkness ; the pre-existence of human souls, their imprisonment in matter, their reunion with God by faith and love. There are beautiful images illustrative of this, and of the tender remonstrances of the souls of men against being submitted to this gross trial ; the death, the release, of the just, is the kiss of love.³ Among the Cabalists there is the universal sacred horror of anthropomorphism, from which sometimes, in their coarser moods, they take refuge in monstrous allegories. Infinity is represented by immensity, the Incomprehensible by heaping upon each other inconceivable masses of numbers, of times, and of distances (as in the Indian poets) by which at last the Immortal is materialised. The Ancient of Ancients has a face of the length of 370 times 10,000 worlds. The

¹ The Ensoph, p. 183.

² "Ainsi Dieu est à la fois, dans le sens le plus élevé, et la matière et la forme de l'univers. Il n'est pas seulement cette matière et cette forme ; mais rien n'existe, ni ne peut exister, en dehors de lui ; sa substance est au fond de tous les êtres, et tous portent l'emprunte, tous sont les symboles de son intelligence" (p. 160).

³ Pp. 178 (a remarkable passage) and 182.

light of the head illuminates 400,000 worlds. Every day issue from his brain 400,000 worlds, the inheritance of the just in the life to come.¹ Nothing indeed is absolutely bad, nothing eternally accursed ; the great fallen archangel himself will resume his former nature, the venomous beast lose his venom.² Yet it is remarkable, and especially Jewish, that there does not seem to have been that deep sense of the malignity of matter which prevailed in kindred systems. Marriage, the lawful union of the sexes, was not in itself an evil, a necessary but still fatal contamination, as it was held even by Philo, and by some of the early Christian Fathers, and by Monachism Oriental as well as Christian. Marriage was acquiesced in by the Cabala as in the natural order of things, with no aversion or proscription. The Cabalists, as has been said, anticipated or coincided with Origen in the final restoration of Satan, or rather Samael (the great Evil Spirit) himself.³ On the whole, the notion of man in the Cabala is of singular elevation : not only the primal and celestial man, the Adam Caedmon, who as the image of God comprehends within himself the Sephiroth, the Divine attributes, but the man of the lower sphere. Man was the consummation and perfection of Creation, and therefore not formed till the sixth day. He is inferior to the angels ; the Dæmons seem to be but other names for his passions, pride, avarice, cruelty. Thus, throughout, the Cabala differs from its parent, the Zendavesta. The impersonated beings of the Zendavesta are metaphysical entities in the Cabala. Zoroastrianism is a mythology ; the Cabala approaches to a philosophy. In the Cabala, too, are some singular premature gleams of scientific knowledge. The Cabala, as well as the Talmud, dares to assert the earth to be spherical and rotatory,⁴ and the existence of antipodes ; there is even an approach to the Copernican system. This, too

¹ Franck, p. 171 ; see the whole strange passage.

² P. 217. The whole of this passage is very curious. There has been a succession of worlds. Before they were created, all things appeared in the sight of God. See, too, about the Dæmons as inferior to men :—"The souls of the just are above the angels" (p. 223).

³ P. 217.

⁴ "Dans le livre de Chamouna le Vieux, on apprend, par des explications étendues, que la terre tourne sur elle-même en forme de cercle ; que les uns sont en haut, les autres en bas ; que toutes les créatures changent d'aspect suivant l'air de chaque lieu, en gardant pourtant la même position ; qu'il y a telle contrée de la terre qui est éclairée tandis que les autres sont dans les ténèbres ; ceux-ci ont le jour, quand pour ceux-là il fait nuit ; et il y a des pays où il fait constamment jour, ou au moins la nuit ne dure que quelques instants" (p. 102 ; compare 187).

about the time when, according to the Christian Fathers Lactantius and Augustine, such opinions bordered close on damnable heresy. Of the human brain, its triple division, and peculiar integuments, and thirty-two nerves which ramify through the whole body, the Cabala had a clear and distinct apprehension.¹ And this exalted view of man, even when immersed in the material world, supports the theory of Franck, that the Cabala belongs to the end of the seventh century, when the Jews were yet in some independence and prosperity ; not to the thirteenth (as Tholuck and others have argued, confuted, as I think, by Franck), when they were in their lowest state of depression, trampled on by the rest of mankind.

Such was the high speculative Cabala ; but, like the neo-Platonic philosophy, the Cabala degenerated into a theurgic system of magic and wonder-working. Not only was the Bible one vast allegory, in which the literal sense was cast scornfully aside, and a wild, arbitrary meaning attached to every history and every doctrine, but at the same time there was a superstitious reverence of the letter ; the numbers of the letters, 10, 7, 12, 32, every single letter, the collocation of every letter, the transposition, the substitution, had a special, even a supernatural power. The traditional Fathers of the Cabala, R. Akiba and Simon ben Jochai, had wrought miracles with the letters of the Scripture ;² and later there was no kind of vulgar conjuring trick that was not performed by the Adepts,³ till Cabalism sank into contempt and suspicion. Though studied with fond perseverance and patient industry, as something above and beyond genuine Talmudical learning, yet the ordinary Talmudists looked on the Cabalists with not ungrounded jealousy, as tampering with forbidden things, as aspiring to knowledge of unrevealed mysteries, and practising unlawful arts. The Cabalistic pretensions to enchantments, amulets, charms, justified to the more sober, if not the proscription, the discouragement of these, in their essence lofty, in their practice vulgar and degrading studies.

¹ "Dans l'intérieur du crâne, le cerveau se partage en trois parties, dont chacune occupe une place distincte. Il est en outre recouvert d'un voile très mince, puis d'un autre voile plus dur. Au moyen de trente-deux canaux, ces trois parties du cerveau se répandent dans tout le corps en se dirigeant par deux côtés : c'est ainsi qu'elles embrassent le corps sur tous les points et se répandent dans toutes ses parties." It is suggested that the legal practice of dissecting animals to separate the clean from the unclean, must have led to some study of anatomy (p. 138).

² See on the worship of the letters, Franck, p. 69. The Cabalists had an alphabet of their own (p. 76).

³ On the powers of letters, pp. 79, 145, 154.

But the influence of the Cabala was not confined to the Jewish mind ; some of the strange, powerful intellects of the Middle Ages, when the borders of science and wonder-working were utterly confounded, were tempted at once by the abstruseness, the magnificent pretensions, and the mysticism of the Cabala, to penetrate into its secrets and appropriate its powers and virtues. From Raymond Lully to Van Helmont, the Adepts boasted, perhaps too boldly, their familiarity with the Jewish Cabala. How far they were really indebted to it, it is perhaps impossible to determine.

The Cabala is purely Jewish ; it may be said to represent the Oriental or Asiatic part of the Jewish mind. But the European philosophy of the Jews assumed a more European cast. It is impossible, I apprehend, to separate and distinguish between the Jewish and Arabian influences which created what is usually called the Arabian philosophy of Spain. The earliest, by some thought the greatest, of this school, who passed under the name of Avicébron, turns out to be, under this disguised appellation, Salomon ben Ghebirol of Malaga, the famous Jewish hymnologist.¹ Of this philosophy, the Judæo-Arabic of Spain, the value and the originality are now called in question. Its immense mass rivals that of Christian scholasticism. Is it more than the opinions of the Greeks, passing through the Jewish and Arabian minds ?—more than in a great part Aristotelism in other forms and in other language ?—the Eternity of matter, on which the Eternity of thought or intelligence is eternally operating—the Eternal Thought, which swallows up and absorbs, and so is one with, all active intelligence, and of which, whether individual or that of collective humanity, human intelligence is a part or an efflux ? This philosophy also would issue in a kind of Pantheism ; or, if the Divine be co-ordinate with the same all-absorbing one Matter, in a Dualism.

But if the Jews were the primary authors, they were likewise the conservators, of the Arabian philosophy ; through them these tenets were no doubt propagated into the Christian schools. Considerable parts of the works of the Arabian writers are to be read only in Hebrew translations.

The doctrines of Averroes and his followers, contained in their Commentaries on Aristotle, were translated by the Spanish Jews who took refuge, after the expulsion of the Jews from

¹ This discovery is due to M. Munk. (See Ernest Réan, *Averroes*, p. 100.)

Spain, in Languedoc ; the family of the Tibbon at Lunel, Solomon ben Job at Beziers, Calonymus ben Meir at Arles, Judah ben Meshullam at Marseilles. Besides these were Judah ben Solomon Cohen of Toledo, who flourished under the protection of the Emperor Frederick II.; and another Provençal Jew, settled at Naples, Jacob ben Abba Mari, who enjoyed the patronage of the same enlightened monarch.

"None," writes a distinguished Orientalist of our day, M. Ernest Rénan, "were in earnest about the Arabian philosophy but the Jews."¹ He acknowledges at the same time that the first impulse to that philosophy came from the Oriental Jewish school of Sura, that of Saadi.

The time is perhaps approaching in which at least some award may be made of the share of the Jews in that philosophy to study which the Adelards,² the Gerberts, visited the schools of Toledo and Cordova, and from which, in the days of Frederick II., Jews certainly assisted in restoring the genuine Aristotle to the knowledge of the West. It may be impossible to discriminate between the converging and harmonising thought of Jew and Arabian, or their common debt to the Greek philosophy, which they joined in disguising and passing off on themselves as their own. Hebrew writings are not necessarily the produce of Hebrew thought, nor Arabic of Arabian. No one will ever perhaps thread completely the bewildering labyrinth ; perhaps it may not at last be worth the labour.³ But no one is more likely to succeed than M. Munk ; and, as a descendant of the race of Israel, M. Munk, we may be assured, will render full justice to his ancestors.

The old Hebrew poetry, that of the Bible, by its transcendent excellence, dooms to obscurity all later Hebrew verse. With a religious people, and through their religion alone the Jews persevere in being a people, their poetry must be, and almost always has been, essentially religious. But every avenue to the heart and soul of the Jew is preoccupied by hymns, by odes, by Gnomic verse, which have cloven to the

¹ Ernest Rénan, Averroes, pp. 176, 186, *et seqq.*

² For Adelard see Sprenger's Preface to his Life of Mohammed.

³ "Les Juifs remplissaient dans ces relations un rôle essentiel, et dont on n'a pas tenu assez de compte dans l'histoire de la civilisation. Leur activité commerciale, leur facilité à apprendre les langues en faisaient les intermédiaires naturels entre les Chrétiens et les Mussulmans. . . . Le peuple seul les avait en antipathie. Quant aux hommes désireux de s'instruire, ils n'éprouvaient aucun scrupule à s'en faire en philosophie les disciples de maîtres appartenant à d'autres religions. La science était quelque chose de neutre et commun à tous." Rénan, p. 202. See also the following paragraph.

universal heart and soul of man to a depth, and with a tenacity, never surpassed or equalled. Every emotion, every thought, almost every occurrence in the somewhat narrow sphere of Jewish life, has already found its expression in words so inimitable, in music so harmonious, that all other words must seem pale and feeble. What can be the choral hymns of the Synagogue compared with those which resounded in the courts of the first, or even of the second, Temple? What lyric language can refuse to borrow its tone from, and therefore but faintly echo, the devotional Psalms of David, and of those who followed him? What Odes on all the awful events of human or national life can approach those of the Prophets? The sorrows of centuries can hardly wring from Jewish hearts any lamentations approaching to those of Jeremiah. According to the historian of later Jewish poetry, the three treasure-houses of Jewish song are, their History, their Law, and their Legends.¹ But their older History is in itself such poetry that it can only be expanded into a comparatively flat and lifeless paraphrase. If by the Law be meant their Gnomic poetry, the Proverbs, and the first-fruits of their poetic wisdom, subsequent to the Sacred Books, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, will hardly be rivalled by the wisdom and ingenuity of the later Rabbinical school. Even the Legend, from which the Arabic writers, the Koran itself, have drawn so abundantly, in its most creative and imaginative form is found in the Targums.² Their wild and fantastic apocalyptic writings are full of poetry, extravagant, it is true, but still rich in invention, in bold and striking imagery, and with a luxuriant and lavish symbolism.³

Nevertheless, Hebrew poetry boasts a succession of writings as copious as that of most modern nations. The lineage of their poets, if occasionally interrupted, has gone on, singing the songs of Zion in strange lands, but in strains audible only

¹ Delitzsch. *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, von Franz Delitzsch. Leipsic, 1836. I believe that the continuation of this work, promised by the author, has not appeared.

² "Die ganze Sagen-welt der späteren Moslemen, der Araber, Perser, und Turken, soweit sie zur die alttestamentliche Geschichte berührt, findet sich ein Jahrtausend früher schon in den Jüdischen Targumen weit einfacher, reiner und würdiger abgeschildert: die Geschichte wird in ihnen zur reitzendsten, lehrreichendsten Poesie; diese Poesie ist aber nicht Einkleidung, Dichtung, Phantasma des Schreibers, sondern die alte und volksthümliche, venerable Sage, deren Redactoren die Targumisten sind: die Targumen sind Exegese, Geschichte, altsynagogales Bekenntniss, und bei dem allen poetisch in ihrem Inhalt, poetisch in ihre Form." Delitzsch, p. 27.

³ Read Hilgenfeld, *Die Jüdische Apocalyptic*, and many passages in Ewald's History, especially his account of the apocryphal Esdras.

to the Jewish ear. It is acknowledged, indeed, that the whole Mischna is hard and arid prose;¹ that what is poetical occasionally in the Talmuds is without poetic form or language; that the age of the Gaonim, nearly five hundred years, from A.C. 540 to 997, was barren, uncreative, without invention or fancy.² But then began, it is said, in Spain the golden age, from 940 to 1040.³ It was succeeded by a silver age, 1090 to 1190. At a later period winter fell on the poetic Jewish mind.⁴ Yet there is no form which the poetry of modern European nations has taken which Hebrew poetry has not attempted to domiciliate. It had its Troubadours, with their amorous conceits. It had its epic poems, its Mosaides, its Zionides,⁵ even its drama,⁶ the form of poetry, notwithstanding the early attempt of the Judæo-Alexandrian Ezekiel to mould the wonders of their early history into a Greek tragedy, the most irreconcilable with their older models. A late poet in Italy has even ventured on a harlequinade for the joyous festival of the Purim.⁷ The Jewish poets either borrowed rhyme from the Arabian poets, as is most probable, or, as some with national partisanship aver, imparted it to them.⁸ They have their Dantes,⁹ but it is not writing in triple rhymes, nor attempting to unfold the mysteries of the unseen world, which can make a Dante; they have their sonnets, but sonnets make not a Petrarch; they have even, they confess it with shame, their Aretin.¹⁰ Their poetry is that of all countries in which they dwell, Spain, Italy,¹¹ Germany, Holland, Poland,

¹ Delitzsch, p. 120. He says, indeed, "In den Talmuden ist uns eine grosse Vergangenheit des Jüdischen Volkslebens nicht in der Copie einer blossen Relation, sondern wie in einer Mumie erhalten, ihr eignes Fleisch und Bein: der Dichter löse die künstlichen Speicereien ab, deren Hülle sie so lange vor der Zerstörung sicherte, und stelle uns das Leben wieder lebendig dar" (p. 121).

² Delitzsch, p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴ Ibid., p. 42.

⁵ The Zionide. Delitzsch, p. 162.

⁶ The earliest Jewish dramas were written in Holland in the seventeenth century (p. 77).

⁷ The Harlequinade, by Rappoport, p. 119.

⁸ "Selbst in der Mischna und Gemara findet sich nichts von Metrum und Reim, sondern diese sind erst den Arabern entlehnt und dann von den Dichtern in der Provence, Catalonien, Arragon und Castilien ausgebildet worden." Delitzsch, p. 5. Compare p. 132, and on rhyme, p. 137.

⁹ The Hebrew Dante was Mose de Rieti (p. 54). Compare pp. 72, 73.

¹⁰ Delitzsch, p. 523. This Hebrew Aretin was Imanuel Romi ben Salomo, of the March of Ancona, author of The Divan.

¹¹ On the different character of the older Italian and the Spanish Hebrew poetry, see Delitzsch, p. 43: "Die Spanische Poesie mahlt mit dem Pinsel Rafaels; die Italienische bildet mit dem Meissel Michel Angelos"!! The world ought not to be deprived even of a faint copy of the works of such masters.

even Russia.¹ But, after all, these are still foreign lands. There is something deeply pathetic in a sentence of the historian of Hebrew poetry—"The pure poetry of Nature cannot be the national poetry of the Jews, for down to this time the Jewish people has been a nationality without a native country, and neither the luxuriant nature of the Barbaresque lands, nor the vine-clad shores of the Rhine, can make up to them for Judæa. A naturalised Jew cannot be a national poet."² I presume not to judge of these hidden treasures, secluded in their own libraries, and veiled in their own peculiar language. But it is remarkable that even in translations, however it might be that translations could hardly transfuse poems, retaining much of an indelible Oriental cast, with full justice into European tongues, so far as I know, hardly any of these boasted treasures have been communicated to the general ear of Europe; and those which have been communicated have fallen dead on the ear. I have never read any piece of modern Hebrew poetry in any translation in which I have not felt that I had heard it before—its images, its thoughts, its passion, its very cadence, is that on which I have dwelt in the Bible.

I cannot but apprehend too that all this poetry labours under another fatal cause of inferiority. It is an immutable law that no great poet has ever been inspired but in his native tongue. Now, Hebrew, though no doubt fully comprehended, and fluently spoken, it may be, by the instructed or educated Jew, is after all a foreign or a dead language. It is not his vernacular; not the language of ordinary every-day life; not the language in which the man, if we may so say, speaks, thinks; not the language of his emotions, his passions. It is what the Latin was to the clergy, and to the few educated men of the Middle Ages; and as European poetry was only born with the young European languages, as Dante would never have been Dante had he fulfilled his original fatal scheme of writing the Divine Comedy in Latin; as Petrarch, after labouring for years on the unread, unreadable Africa, fortunately condescended to the vulgar tongue in his Sonnets, so, however the Hebrew poets may learn to move with some ease in the fetters of their ancient language, they are still fetters. No one perhaps can derive more pleasure than myself (through education, familiarity with Greek and Latin through

¹ Jewish Poets in Russian Poland, p. 83.

² Delitzsch, p. 123.

Eton and academic studies and practice) from writers of modern Latin verse, the Italians, some of the French Jesuits, the Poles, our own Milton, Cowley, Gray, R. Smith, still I feel, every one feels, that the whole is admirably ingenious, but no more; the play of fancy, the feeling, the passion, all is artificial. They neither rouse, nor melt, nor transport us out of ourselves. So I suspect it is, I believe that it must be, with most of the later Hebrew poetry. It is the Synagogal poetry in which I conceive rests all its true strength and beauty. The legitimate son of such a parent could not so altogether forget its rich inheritance as to fall into absolute poverty. The heirlooms could not but retain some of their original splendour, though but reflected splendour.

The historian indeed admits that the Synagogal hymns (in which, as the devotional outpourings of souls in whom devotion must have been their one consolation, the very life-blood of their miserable being, and therefore all the emotional part at least of their poetry must have found vent) are but an echo of those in the Bible;¹ still that echo may be of deep solemnity—its dying wail of exquisite tenderness. A late writer, unrivalled, I believe, among his compatriots for the vast range of his knowledge—knowledge which he pours forth with such overflowing copiousness and minute particularity as to overload and weary the most patient reader—has taken upon him the office of doing justice to the Synagogal poetry of the Middle Ages.² Its continuous history, its various forms, its use in the public services, its measures, its rhythm, the construction of its verse, are followed out into the utmost detail; but what is more valuable, and more likely to obtain it a fair hearing, is that he has rendered some of its best passages into that flexible German, which Goethe and Rückert have shown can accommodate itself with such ease and harmony with Oriental thought, imagery, and melody. I will not attribute to Dr. Zunz the unrivalled skill and facility of these great poets—Zunz indeed complains that of one passage no European language can render the thunderstrokes of the

¹ This Delitzsch asserts broadly of the older Synagogal poetry, the Liturgic, which was "Reminiscenz und gleichten das Echo der Bibel." The new school aspired to be neither the echo of the Bible nor of the Talmud; yet "Sie will aus der Bibel als der reinsten, idealsten Darstellung des Hebraismus, sich bloss dem Sprachshatz aneignen, ihn aber dann selbständig handhaben." But if all the power of the language is Biblical, it would be very difficult to rise much above imitation.

² Die Synagogalen Poesie des Mittelalters, von Dr. Zunz, Berlin, 1855.

continuous rhymes, that the lightning of its beauty is quenched in the dull auxiliaries and pronouns. I venture, however, on a few lines:—

Him sings the voice of every living creature,
 Echoes from above, from underneath his glory;
 "One God," shouts forth the Earth, and "Holy One," the
 Heavens;
 From the waters songs are sounding to the Mighty in the
 Highest:
 Majesty from the abyss, hymns come chanting from the stars;
 Speech is from the day, and music from the night;
 His name the fire proclaims,
 And melodies are floating o'er the forest,—
 The beasts proclaim God's overpowering greatness.

The work of Zunz will try, but we think will reward, the patience of the curious reader. Still, in the long line of Jewish Hymnology, transferred into German verse or rhythm, there is a wearisome sameness, and a constant reminiscence of the Biblical language, spun out into enfeebling length, and prolonged with perpetual iteration. There, are, however, fine thoughts, bold expressions, and the constant allusions to the sufferings of the people, and their lofty and undying trust in the faithfulness and promises of their God, are not without tenderness and sublimity. They may be but variations on the unapproachable music of Job and the Psalms, but these variations are full of sweetness and grandeur, almost of genius and originality.

The true poetry of the Jews was secluded in the isolation of their own language. But on their expulsion from Spain, the Sephardim bore with them to different countries, to Italy,¹ to France, to Holland, to Greece, and Constantinople, the noble language which was hereafter to be made illustrious by Cervantes and Calderon. So entirely were they Spaniards, that parts of their religious services were in Spanish.² Among the earliest typographical works was a Spanish translation of the Old Testament, issued by Abraham Usque at Ferrara,³ and frequently reprinted, in a more correct form, in the Low

¹ Qualir the Sardinian is the first great name in the Mediæval Synagogal poetry. Delitzsch, p. 51.

² Amador de los Rios, ii. c. 5.

³ On the Bible of Ferrara, Amador de los Rios, p. 432. Ten years before the publication of the Bible at Ferrara, Francesco Freelon published at Lyons a poem in Spanish, *Retratos o tablas de las Historias del Testamento Viejo*. See for extracts from this poem, ibid., pp. 437, 442.

Countries. They had Spanish poets, too, in many countries. In Spain, before the Expulsion, the Hebrew Spanish poets had been almost exclusively converts.¹ They had had their Troubadour poets in Catalonia. The Rabbi Abner, Santo de Carrcon, the famous Paul, Bishop of Burgos, Hieronymo di Santa Fé, find their place in the history of Spanish poetry.² The Sephardim with singular fidelity adhered in foreign lands to that which had become the native tongue. This can hardly indeed be said of Moses Pinto Delgado. He had embraced the Gospel in Spain, but fell back to his old religion. He fled from the searching eye of the Inquisition and found refuge in France. There he published his Poem of Esther,³ the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the Poem of Ruth the Moabitess.⁴ The Jews likewise printed books in Spanish at Constantinople and Salonicci, as well as at Venice and Amsterdam, of a much higher order than the poems of Delgado, such as the translation of the Psalms by David Abenatar Melo. This remarkable man had been baptized. Either from some suspicion of his sincerity, or, to crush out of him the betrayal of some of his kindred, he was committed to the prison of the Inquisition. There he lived for some years, and was released (no crime being proved against him) in 1611. He found refuge in Germany; at least the rare volume of his Psalms was printed at Frankfort in 1626. This translation, if I may judge from extracts, is one of the finest in any European language, and shows that the lingering Orientalism in the Spanish language is singularly adapted for the bold and lofty imagery of the Hebrew poetry. It is of strange interest, too, to find a Jew, a prisoner escaped from the Inquisition, uttering his own sorrows and thanksgiving in the words of the Psalmist. These verses are inserted into the Thirtieth Psalm:—

“Nel Infierno metido
De la Inquisicion dura,
Entre fieros leones de alvedrio,
De allí me has redimido
Dando a mis males cura,
Solo porque me viste arrepentido.”

¹ For the Judæo-Arabic Chronicle of the Cid, see Delitzsch, p. 65.

² Amador de los Rios, ch. v.

³ See, for the extracts from Esther, which have much sweetness and tenderness, Amador de los Rios, ch. iii.

⁴ Extracts are given at length in Amador de los Rios, p. 469, &c.

(Doomed in the depths to dwell
 Of the Inquisition's Hell,
 At those fierce lions' hard arbitrement,
 Thou hast redeemed me,
 Healed all my misery,
 For thou didst see how deeply I repent.)

Michael Silveyra was the author of one of those long and wearisome epic poems which encumber the literature of Spain, "The Conquest of Jerusalem by the Maccabees," a poem written in rivalry of Tasso, but in the inflated style of Gongora, which, nevertheless, found admirers in Spain. Michael Silveyra was a converted Jew, who adhered faithfully to his new religion, and escaped the jealousy of the Holy Office. Not so a man of more versatile genius, Enriquez de Paz, better known under the name of Antonio Enriquez Gomez.¹ Son of a Portuguese Jew, captain, and enrolled in the Order of St. Michael, accused, not without justice, of Judaism by the inexorable Inquisition, he fled from his country, A.C. 1636, wandered over many parts of Europe, and settled in the centre of Judaism, Amsterdam; he was burned in effigy at Seville in 1660. During all this time he was pouring forth Spanish verse without ceasing; an epic poem on Samson, lyrics in profusion, a satirical poem called the "Age of Pythagoras," and many dramas. These dramas were acted at Madrid. By a strange anomaly, the people of Madrid were listening not without applause, to the verses of a man under the proscription of the Holy Office, known no doubt to be an avowed Jew. Nor was Enriquez de Paz the last of the exiled race who in foreign countries perpetuated the language of their native land, and gave to Spanish poetry an European fame in regions into which, without their aid, it would hardly have penetrated.

I may sum up in one word—to be poets, in Europe and in our days, the Jews must cease to be Jews; whether retaining their creed or not, they must abandon their language. One who I fear abandoned much more of his Judaism than his language, Heinrich Heine, may prove how deep a vein of true poetry can spring from such sources. The one German whose short lyrics can be read after Goethe's, may show what Jewish poets can become, if they will, I would that I could.

¹ See on Gomez, Amador de los Rios, c. vii. and viii., and Ticknor, iii. 67. According to the Spanish writer, his lyrics are not without grace and beauty and there is something of the fine old chivalrous extravagance of the Spanish drama in some of the plays of the Jewish exile.

in his case say, Christianise (though I believe that Heine's last hours were far different from his earlier ones), at all events fully and entirely Europeanise themselves. Jews may be English, German, Spanish, Italian, French poets,—they will hardly be Hebrew poets.

History, of all departments of letters, might appear, at first sight, that for which, as the Jews possessed special advantages, so they might seem specially designated. Dwelling in the seclusion of their own communities, yet those communities spread over the face of the earth, and maintaining more or less intimate and frequent intercourse with all nations; many of them merchants, travellers, with every opportunity of observation; excepting when they were immediate objects of persecution, unimpassioned and above the ordinary interests of men; for centuries they surveyed the world, and yet were not of the world. They saw the mightiest revolutions among the Gentiles, which they could look on with impartial indifference; empires rising and falling, kingdoms established and passing away; migrations from east to west, from north to south; powers temporal and spiritual, in the ascendant, in their supremacy, and in their decline; revolutions as complete in human thought, in human laws, in human manners, as in their rule and in their polities. Like the Wandering Jew of the legend, the nation might be the calm witness of the revolutions of ages—the chronicler of all the untold vicissitudes. But of History, in its highest sense, Jewish literature is absolutely barren. The historical faculty seems to have been altogether wanting. As if, either in their pride or their misery, they had obstinately or desperately closed their eyes to all but the narrow concerns of their own race, they have left us no trustworthy record even of their own interworking into the frame of society, their influence, their commerce, their relations to the rest of mankind. Still more, of their degradation and their sufferings they have preserved but broken and fragmentary notices, hardly to be dignified with the name of History.¹ There are traditions of their Babylonian Principality, of the rise and fall of their schools in

¹ "A thousand years had been suffered to elapse without the appearance of a single historian; but when the Rabbins saw that the antiquity, that is the authenticity, of their traditions became doubtful, and was disputed by the anti-traditionists, they attempted to demonstrate their antiquity by a meagre catalogue of generations, always opening with the year of the Creation, by which they pretended they had preserved an unbroken line of tradition." Disraeli, *Genius of Judaism*, p. 9.

Palestine, and in the East ; but of their influence in the great struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity, when they stood between the decaying civilisation of the East and the dawning civilisation of the Arabian dynasties at Damascus and Bagdad, there is nothing which can even compare with a Monkish Chronicler, far less with the works of a Froissart, a Comines, a Villani.

Even in their early narratives, of their fall in the war of Titus, of the insurrection under Bar-cochab, history is so overgrown with legend, truth is so moulded up with fiction or with allegory, that we wonder less at their want, in later times, of grave and sober annals. Of their own historian Josephus they either knew little, or chose to know little.¹ His vernacular History, which he wrote, by his own account, in the language of his people, doubtless the Aramaic Hebrew of the day, seems soon to have perished. The Greek they could not, or would not, read. Of Justus, the rival and adversary of Josephus, they seem equally ignorant.²

But the place of Josephus was usurped by one of the most audacious of romancers, who wrote under the name of Joseph ben Gorion, and is known in later times as Josippon. It is inconceivable that this strange rhapsody should be accepted as genuine history, as it was even by some of the most learned of the Jews. No Mediaeval Chronicle ever indulged in such bold latitude of anachronism. The author asserts himself to have been born during the empire of Julius Cæsar, whom he had seen ; by his own account he must have lived about two hundred years. From King Tsepho the Arabian, son of Eliphaz, the contemporary of Joseph in Egypt, general and son-in-law of Agnias, King of Carthage, he leaps to Daniel, from Daniel to Alexander the Great ; whose history is related after the mediæval poem or romance. Romulus and David are contemporaries and allies. Hannibal, on his way to Italy, subdues the Goths in Spain and all Germany. To complete all, he describes the election and coronation of a Roman emperor (Vespasian ?), which he himself witnesses. The emperor was chosen by the seven electors ; he scatters golden

¹ See Gagnier's Preface, pp. xxviii., xxix. :—

" Nam quod ad Josephum Græcum adint, illum non in magno habere solent pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et tanquam in Historicum mendacem et adulatorem adversus illum acriter invehuntur : Suum verum Josephum quasi hominem veracem et pene divinum summis laudibus ad sidera evehunt, extollunt et predicateant."

² Gagnier, p. xxii.

florins among the mob. He is received in Rome by the Patron, the Father of all the Prefects, evidently the Pope, who gives him the sceptre, the ring (made of the bone of a dead man), and the chalice on which is the golden apple, sets the crown on his head, and cries "Long live our Lord the Cæsar!" And all the people, Pope, electors, princes, shout "Amen!"

The history of the calamities of the Jewish nation by Solomon ben Virga,¹ a Spanish Jew, a physician, is trustworthy as to the events concerning which he may have received immediate traditions, and those which occurred in his own time. All above and beyond is clouded with fable. The whole is desultory and unequal; some passages, as the histories of many persecutions in different parts of Europe, are disappointingly brief and without particulars, while the disputation with Thomas di Santa Fé runs out into disproportioned prolixity, though not without its interest. The close of this History is perhaps the most remarkable. It is a bold attempt by an apologue, which assumes the form of history, to place the Jews under the protection of the Pope. After their expulsion from Spain, ambassadors from the King of Spain appear before the Supreme Pontiff, urging him to exterminate them from his dominions. The wise and gentle Pope betrays great reluctance to comply with this request, and bears a kind of unwilling testimony to the piety and virtue of the Jews. He himself moves the somewhat perilous question of the image-worship of the Christians, as resembling that of the Egyptians, which the Jews were taught to abominate. The Pope's scruples relieved on that head, the enemies of the Jews revert to the old calumnies. A Jew is accused of having stolen a silver image, and melted it in scorn of the Christians. He is hanged for the offence. The Pope issues Bulls commanding that all the Jewish infants should be immediately baptized; that those of the adults alone who embraced Christianity should escape; the rest must perish by the sword. That very night the bishop, or cardinal, their most bitter persecutor, falls dead from his chair. The Pope, deeming this a sign from heaven in favour of the Jews, suspends the execution of his orders. On the following night the other bishop, or cardinal,

¹ This work was translated into Latin by Gentius (Amsterdam, 1690). In the dedication to the Consuls, Senate, and people of Hamburg, is related the Apologue of Abraham and the Fire-worshipper quoted by Franklin, who probably took it from Jeremy Taylor.

gives a splendid banquet to all the magnates, the bishops, and ambassadors, who had come to Rome to demand the banishment of the Jews. That night Rome is shaken with an earthquake more terrible than was ever before known. But it does no harm to any of the private or sacred edifices of the city; only the palace where this banquet was held falls on the cruel guests, and crushes them all to death. The Pope acknowledges that Heaven has thus declared the Jews guiltless of the sacrilege: "I am almost induced to believe that the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews is a calumny, falsely charged upon them from hatred of their race." The Bulls are rescinded, and from that time the Jews have been held in the utmost honour by that benignant Pope.

Unquestionably the most valuable historic work of the Jews which has been made accessible to the European reader is the Chronicle, often cited in these pages, of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir.¹ But this is the work of a late writer, subsequent to the Reformation, and therefore obtaining his knowledge chiefly from the remote and troubled stream of tradition. Its Biblical style, wisely retained by the translator, gives an attractive character to the Chronicle, and the author has thrown aside much of the fable and wild imagination which render almost worthless all other Rabbinical histories.²

As in poetry, so it would seem in history, a man must cease to be a Jew to take a place in the goodly catalogue of the annalists of the world. Had Neander remained a Jew, would he have aspired to the rank which he now so justly holds as the historian not of the events only, but of the intimate spirit of Christianity? I would gladly hail a Jewish Neander; but even Jost (and I am too deeply obliged to Jost

¹ Translated for the Oriental Fund, by C. H. F. Biallobotsky, London, 1835.

² The translator of this work has observed, in accordance with the views expressed above: "An extensive mercantile correspondence, and frequent wanderings and pilgrimages, afforded to the Jew many opportunities of acquiring information during centuries in which the greater part of the nations professing Christianity remained in comparative ignorance. Jews were, during the Middle Ages, admitted into the secrets of European and Asiatic Cabinets, and consulted on questions of political importance. The interests of their nation were then, much more than at present, interwoven with those of almost every people, both barbarous and civilised; and while self-interest quickened the perceptive faculties of the children of Israel to the observation of passing events, their natural bias was also so essentially different from that of the nations among whom they sojourned, that the misconceptions and misstatements of their historical writers could hardly ever coincide with those of any contemporary party, either political or religious."

not to do him ample justice) will hardly fill that place which no Christian, perhaps, has a right to occupy—not even Ewald in the earlier scenes of Jewish History, certainly not Basnage in the later, least of all one like myself, who began too early, and have been called off too much by other studies, fully to appropriate or worthily to execute this work of universal, of perpetual interest to mankind.¹

¹ To one of the fine arts alone, the enchanting science of music, the Jews have made vast contributions; but even in music the son of Mendelssohn had passed over to Christianity before he achieved his immortal fame.

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